

Government Oriental Series -- Class B, No. 6

# HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

( ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL  
RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW )

BY

PANDURANG VAMAN KANE, M. A., LL. M.

**Vol. I**

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

1930





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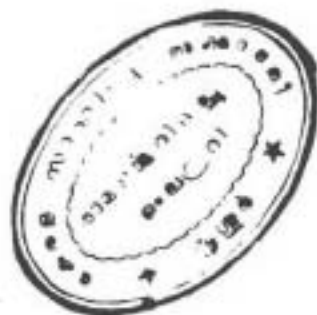
( ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL  
RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW )

BY

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## PREFACE

WHEN preparing materials for my edition of the Vyavahāramayukha it occurred to me that a brief history of Dharmaśāstra on the lines of the history of Aśāhikāra Literature that I prefixed to my edition of the Sahityadarpaṇa would not fail to be of great use to Indian students of Dharmaśāstra. As I pursued my studies in Dharmaśāstra I found that the materials were so vast and of such a varied character that to compress them into a brief introduction would hardly do justice to the subject and would not convey an adequate idea of their richness and their importance to the study of social institutions, comparative jurisprudence and other branches of knowledge. Ultimately I made up my mind to bring out independently a history of Dharmaśāstra. At first I intended to treat in a single volume of the chronology of the Dharmaśāstra and the historical developments of the various topics comprised therein from the earliest times. The chronological portion alone took all the leisure I could spare during five years. During this period for some years I suffered from a very painful internal complaint which had at one time almost induced me to lay aside the work in despair. Latterly however I felt much better and I thought it desirable to issue the chronological portion of the work in a volume by itself. Following as I do the exacting profession of an advocate, and not being in the best of health, I feel great misgivings whether I shall carry out my original intention by publishing another volume on the development of the various subjects comprised in Dharmaśāstra such as marriage and other saṁskāras, judicial procedure and actions at law, daily observances, vratas, śrāddha and impurity, from Vedic times down to modern days. I hope, however, that, time and health permitting, I may be able to issue the second volume also in a few years more. As the Śāstris entertain strange notions about the changes of usages that occurred in India, about the vicissitudes of Indian social institutions and about chronology in general and as their influence upon the masses of India is very great, I intend in the near future to translate this work into Sanskrit and Marathi, my own vernacular, in the hope that their outlook may undergo a welcome change on perusing this work.

## PREFACE

What remains is the pleasant duty of acknowledging my obligations to others. I must first mention the veteran scholar Dr. Jolly whose *Recht und Sitte* in the German *Grundriss* was the model I set before me and to whom I owe a deep debt of gratitude. I derived valuable help from the labours of eminent scholars such as Dr. Bühler, Rao Sahab V. N. Mandlik, Prof. Hopkins, Mr. M. M. Chakravarti, Mr. K. P. Jayasval, who worked before me in the same field. I am very thankful to the authorities of the India Office and to Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. Kuppasvami Sastri, Dr. Bhattacharya ( of Baroda ) and Prof. H. D. Velankar ( of Wilson College, Bombay ) for giving to me all facilities for consulting the valuable collections of Sanskrit Mss. in their charge. For help in various directions I am obliged to Dr. V. G. Paranjpe, Dr. S. K. De, Mr. P. K. Gode, Mr. G. N. Vaidya and a host of other friends. I am conscious that, in spite of all this help, the work contains numerous deficiencies, lapses and omissions. For these I crave the indulgence of scholars.

Bombay,  
28th August 1930

P. V. KANE

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Pages
List of Abbreviations ... ..	- iv
Additions and corrections ... ..	v- xii
Synopsis of contents ... ..	xiii- xlvii
History of Dharmaśāstra ... ..	1-467
General Index ... ..	468-502
Appendix A - List of works on Dharmaśāstra ...	503-676
Appendix B - List of Authors on Dharmaśāstra ...	677-760



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A. Br. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

Anan.  
or  
Anan. P. } = Anandāśrama series, Poona.

Ap.  
or  
Ap. Dh. S. } = Āpastamba-dharmasūtra.

Ap. Gr. S. = Āpastambagrhyasūtra.

A. S. B. = Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Baud. or Bau. Dh. S. or Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhayana-dharmasūtra  
(Mysore edition).

Bau. Gr. S. = Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra (Mysore edition by Dr. Shama  
Śastri).

B B R A S. = Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

Bom. H. C. R. = Bombay High Court Reports.

Bom. L. R. = Bombay Law Reporter (edited by Messrs. Ratanlal  
and Dhirajlal).

B. I. or B. I. S. = Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta.

Br. Upaniṣad or Br. Up. = Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.

B. S. or BSS. = Bombay Sanskrit series.

Cat. = Catalogue.

Caturvarga. = Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi of Hemādri (B. I. series).

C. O. = Calcutta Oriental Series.

D. C. = Deccan College collection of Sanskrit mss. now lodged at  
the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.

Dh. S. = Dharmasūtra.

E. C. = Epigraphia Carnatica.

E. I. = Epigraphia Indica.

Gau.  
Gaut. } = Gautama-dharmasūtra (Anandāśrama edition).

Gr. S. = Gr̥hya-sūtra.

H. D. A.



H. A. S. L. = Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.

Hir. = Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra.

H. O. S. = Harvard Oriental series.

Hp. cat. or Hp. Nepal cat. = Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasad Śāstri's catalogue of palmleaf and paper mss. belonging to Durbar Library, Nepal.

I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly.

I. L. R. = India Law Reports series, Bom. standing for Bombay, Cal. for Calcutta, All. for Allahabad and Mad. for Madras series.

Ind. Ant. or I. A. = Indian Antiquary.

I. O. cat. = Catalogue of the Sanskrit mss. at the India Office in London (ed. by Dr. Eggeling).

JASB. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

JBORS = Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.

Jivananda Sm. = Dharmaśāstra-saṁgraha, published by Jivananda at Calcutta in 1876 (two parts).

L. R. I. A. = Law Reports, Indian Appeals, the number of the volume being inserted between L. R. and I. A.

Mad. H. C. R. = Madras High Court Reports.

M. Gr. S. or Mānava Gr. S. = Mānava-Gr̥hyasūtra.

Mit. = Mitakṣarā on Yājñavalkya.

Moo. I. A. = Moore's Indian Appeals.

N. = Nāradaśmṛti (ed. by Dr. Jolly).

P. Gr. S. = Pāraskarag̥hyasūtra.

P. S. series = Punjab Sanskrit series.

Rg. = R̥gveda.

R. u. S. = Recht und Sitte (by Dr. Jolly).

S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East Series.

S. B. H. = Sacred Books of the Hindus Series.

Tai. = Taittirīya.

Tai. S. = Taittiriya-saṁhitā.

Tri. Cat. = Triennial Catalogue of Madras Government Sanskrit mss.

Tri. ed. = Trivandrum edition.

Vāj. S. = Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā.

Vas. or Vas. Dh. S. = Vasīṣṭhadharmasūtra ( B. S. series ).

Viś. = Viśvarūpa.

Viṣṇu Dh. S. or Vi. = Viṣṇudharmasūtra ( ed. by Dr. Jolly ).

V. S. = Vedāntasūtra.

W. B. = West and Bühler's Digest of Hindu Law ( 3rd ed. ).

Yāj. = Yājñavalkya-smṛti.

आ. स. सू. or आप. स. or आप. स. सू. = आपस्तम्बसूत्र.

आप. ध. सू. or आ. ध. सू. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र.

ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतरेयब्राह्मण.

काम. = कामन्दकीपनीतिसार.

कौ. = कौटिल्य's अर्थशास्त्र ( Dr. Shamasastri's edition ).

गौ. or गौ. ध. सू. = गौतमधर्मसूत्र.

चतुर्वर्ग. = चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि.

जीघृह. = जीघृहवाहन.

ताण्ड्य. = ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण.

तै. आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक.

तै. ब्रा. = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण.

तै. सं. = तैत्तिरीयसंहिता.

नि. सि. = निर्णयसिन्धु.

परा. मा. = पराशरमाधवीय ( B. S. series ).

पा. = पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी.

पू. मी. सू. = पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र.

प्रायश्चित्तम. = प्रायश्चित्तमण्डल of नीलकण्ठ.

बौ. स. = बौधायनसूत्र.

बौ. ध. सू. = बौधायनधर्मसूत्र.

मद्. पा. = मदनपारिजात ( B. I. series ).

मनु. = मनुस्मृति.

मिता. = मिताक्षरा

मेधा. = मेधातिथि's भाष्य on मनुस्मृति

या. or याज्ञ. = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति.

वि. वि. = विवादखिलासणि of वाचस्पतिमिश्र.

वि. र. = विवादरत्नाकर ( B.I. edition ).

विश्व. = विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. ( Tri. ed ).

वीर. = वीरमिश्रोद्घ ( on व्यवहार ed. by Jivananda ).

व्य. म. = व्यवहारमूल of नीलकण्ठ ( my edition ).

व्य. मा. = व्यवहारमायुका of जीयुतबाहन.

शतपथ or शतपथभा. = शतपथभाष्य.

सं. को. = संस्कारकोशुभ of अनन्तदेव.

सरस्वती०  
or  
स. वि } = सरस्वतीविलास.

स्मृतिच. = स्मृतिचन्द्रिका ( ed. by Mr. J. R. Gharpure ).



## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

( N. B. Errors in printing that can be easily detected have been passed over ).

Sec. 4 pp. 12-20 *The Dharmasūtra of Gautama*. Mr. Batakrişna Ghose ( in I. H. Q. vol. III for 1927, p. 607 ff ) has an exhaustive note on the mutual relations of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. He holds that Gautama is not the oldest extant author, that Āp. and Gautama stand in the same relation as Manu and Yājñavalkya, that Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra is not older than Āpastambadharmasūtra, that the reference to the views of some in Gautama 15. 30 may easily be to Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 21. Some of the reasons on which he relies for these views have already been examined in the body of the work. That the extant sūtra of Gautama has been in some places revised may be admitted ; but that Gautama as an author on dharma preceded Āpastamba's work cannot be denied. There is nothing of chronological value so far as Gautama is concerned in Āpastamba's rejection of the view of Śvetaketu that even a married man should continue Veda-study. That Āpastamba says nothing about mixed castes is on a par with his silence as to *niyoga* and the secondary sons. Āpastamba knew the lowest castes such as Caṇḍāla and Paulkasa and Vaina ( Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 2. 6 ). As to beef-eating allowed by Āpastamba, vide p. 45 of text and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa ( S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 11 where beef-eating is not allowed to a dīkṣita ). Doctors of law were not agreed on many points of dharma and hence no certain chronological conclusion about individual authors can be drawn merely from their views on certain points. It is not correct to say as Mr. Ghose does that Āpastamba knows no fines for crimes. Āpastamba does say that in case of dispute between litigants elders were to decide, that in case of doubt they were to decide by inference or divine proof, that witnesses were to tell the truth and that if the witnesses were found to be false they were to be fined ( II. 11. 29. 5-8 ). This shows that fines were not unheard of in Āpastamba's days and if he omits a detailed statement the reason must be sought for elsewhere

than in his being prior to all dharmaśāstras. Fines for crimes are as old as the Taittirīya Saṁhitā II. 6. 10. 2.

Sec. 9 p. 56 l. 18 read 'note 41' for 'note 46.'

Sec. 10 p. 60 ll. 25-27. After the words 'the sūtra is in close relation to one of the oldest schools of the Yajurveda, viz. Kāṭha' the following should be added 'Vācaspati in his Śraddha-kalpa alias Pitrbhaktitarāṅgiṇī says that the sūtra of Viṣṇu is meant for students of the Kāṭhaśākhā, as Viṣṇu is a sūtra-kāra of that Śākhā'; यच्चाग्निं परिस्तीर्यै पौष्णं श्रवयिष्या युषा गा इति विष्णुसूत्रादुक्तं तत्कठशास्त्रिपरं तस्य तत्सूत्रकारत्वात् । ms. of विष्णुभक्ति in the India Office, folio 17a ( I. O. cat. p. 556 No. 1730 ). The sūtra referred to is विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 86. 9.

Sec. 11 p. 71 Vide Ind. Ant. vol. 25 for 1896 pp. 147-48 for an account of the ms. of the Hāritadharmaśāstra found by the late Pandit Vaman Śāstri Islampurkar.

Sec. 13 p. 84 l. 10 read '110' for '108'.

Sec. 14 *The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*. There is a perennial stream of articles and works inspired by the Arthaśāstra. Some of them that appeared after this work was sent to the press and some that had appeared before but had been omitted through oversight are noticed here. Dr. Stein has a note on the word 'suruṅgā' occurring in the Arthaśāstra and its connection with the Greek word 'syrinx'; (vide I. H. Q. vol. I. pp. 429-432) and holds that the Arthaśāstra must be later than the 2nd century B. C. The same scholar contributes a note on 'Pāṇḍyakavāṭa' occurring in the Arthaśāstra II. 11 (in I. H. Q. vol. IV p. 778) and concludes from comparison with Brhat-saṁhitā and other works that the list of countries cannot be earlier than 6th century A. D. I am glad to note that the veteran *savant* Dr. Jolly (in 'Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik' for 1927 pp. 216-221) approves of my view that the original name was Kauṭilya and not Kauṭalya. In the Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskara-varman ( E. I. vol. 19 p. 245, at p. 248) donees of Kauṭilya-gotra are mentioned. The verse in the second Act of the Mālatīmādhava of Bhavabhūti ( युष्मापेसादुत्थं कथमिदं सुख-क्रान्तमथवा कुतोऽप्यन्वेष्टः कुटिलनयनिष्णातमवसायः ) contains a hit at

the name Kautilya and his teaching. Mr. E. H. Johnston contributes in the J R A S for 1929 pp. 77-102 an article on 'two studies in the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya,' wherein he examines the works of Aśvaghoṣa, the Laṅkāvatāra and the Jātakamālā and holds that the Arthaśāstra is not much earlier than Aśvaghoṣa and not later than 250 A. D. It is gratifying to see that from the untenable position of relegating the Arthaśāstra to the 3rd century A. D., western scholars are receding to the first century of the Christian era. Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar contributes an appreciative and lengthy review of Dr. Meyer's work 'Das altindische Buch vom Welt-&c' in the Indian Historical Quarterly for 1928 pp. 348-383. Dr. Meyer has brought out another work 'on Hindu Law-books and their relation with one another and with Kautilya' (über das Wesen der altindischen Rechtschriften &c.). This work compels admiration for the author's patience and industry, but is seriously marred throughout by wild generalisations, perverse and startling propositions unsupported by weighty evidence. He makes Gautama the latest of the Smṛtis and Nārada one of the earliest, places Nārada several centuries before the Christian era, regards the compiler of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti as a stupid brāhmaṇa. He is blissfully ignorant of the references to Gautama occurring in the Tantravārtika, which I collected in my paper on 'the Tantravārtika and the dharmaśāstra literature' (JBBRAS vol. I new series for 1925 pp. 66-67). He propounds the absurd theory that the Brāhmaṇas were people like gypsies roving about in bands without any morals or principles of conduct. I can agree with some of his conclusions, viz. the non-existence of a Mānavadharmaśūtra, the non-existence of a floating mass of verses on which authors of dharmaśāstra could draw. Mr. Batakriṣṇa Ghose submits Dr. Meyer's work to a scholarly and trenchant criticism in I. H. Q. for 1928 vol. IV. pp. 570-592. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently published in a book-form his lectures on 'some aspects of ancient Hindu polity.' Vide I. H. Q. vol. V (1929) p. 780 for an article on 'salaries and allowances in Kautilya'.

- Sect. 15 pp. 105-107 *Vaikhāṇasadharmapraśna*. Dr. Eggers recently published (Göttingen, 1929) his work 'Das Dharmasūtra der Vaikhāṇasa', which is reviewed in JRAS for 1929 pp. 916-918.
- Sec. 29 pp. 129-131 *Sumantu*. For a dharmasūtra of Sumantu, vide Madras Tri. cat. of Sanskrit mss. (1919-1922) pp. 5160-62.
- Sec. 31 p. 154 read 'In other places' for 'In another places'.
- Sec. 34 pp. 170-175 *Yājñavalkyaśmṛti*. Dr. Hans Losch writes a monograph on 'Die Yājñavalkyaśmṛti und Beitrag zur Quellenkunde des Indischen Rechts' (Leipzig 1927). His conclusions may be briefly summarised as follows : ( I ) the text of Yājñavalkya that we have and that is commented upon is not the original, but is enlarged with interpolations such as Vināyakaśānti and Grahaśānti ( which are borrowed from Agnipurāṇa chap. 266 and 164 respectively by the compiler of Yāj. Śmṛti ), the section on rājadharmā ( which is a versified copy of ideas contained in arthaśāstra literature ), verses 60-205 of the third chapter ( of Yāj. ) : ( II ) the 2nd book of Yāj. ( on vyavahāra ) is a later addition corresponding to an older redaction of the Agnipurāṇa ; ( III ) that the first and 3rd books of Yāj. are a recast of an ancient text which has been better preserved in the Garuḍapurāṇa. I have shown in my history of Sanskrit Poetics that the Agnipurāṇa was compiled about 900 A. D. and in this book it has been shown that the Garuḍapurāṇa must have been compiled about the same time, that it summarises Parāśaraśmṛti and that it presents a text of Yāj. which is intermediate between that of Viśvarūpa and that of the Mitākṣara. Dr. Losch's work adduces no proofs that would shake these conclusions. I am pleased to find that Mr. Chintaharāna Chakravarti holds ( JASB for 1928 vol. 24 p. 467 ) that the *śmṛti* portion of Garuḍapurāṇa belongs to the 9th or 10th century. The indefatigable scholar Dr. Meyer appears to have criticized Dr. Losch in a monograph ( vide review of it by Mr. Batakrishna Ghose in I. H. Q. for 1929 pp. 367-375 ). Mr. Batakrishna Ghose holds that vyavahāra did not originally form part of the Yājñavalkya

smṛti on the ground that otherwise it is very difficult to explain its absence in the Garuḍapurāṇa. But this is quite unconvincing. We have no sure criterion for judging on what bases the eclectic purāṇas (Agnipurāṇa and Garuḍapurāṇa) proceeded. But in the case of the Garuḍapurāṇa the omission of the vyavahāra section is easily explicable in several ways. The Garuḍapurāṇa was concerned more with purely religious matters and so omitted the rather secular chapter on vyavahāra. One might ask, why did the Agnipurāṇa omit the first and third kāṇḍas of Yājñavalkya if they existed in its day. One may with equal logic argue that those two kāṇḍas did not exist in the Yājñavalkya smṛti when the Agnipurāṇa was compiled.

P. 181 The late Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar outdid even Western scholars in assigning Yājñavalkya to a date not earlier than the 6th century A. D. In his work 'Vaishnavism and Śaivism' (p. 148) the learned doyen of modern Sanskrit studies in Western India holds that the worship of Ganeśa is a late one, as it is not mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions. The veteran scholar did not notice the points brought out in my book (such as the mention of nakṣatras from Kṛttikā). He is willing to assign Amarasimha to the 5th or 6th century A. D. (ibid. p. 45). The great lexicographer mentions Vināyaka and his synonyms (such as ekadanta &c), but the words Mita, Sammita that are given as the appellations of Vināyaka in Yaj. are conspicuous by their absence in Amara's lexicon. Hence the conclusion is that Amara wrote centuries after Yājñavalkya and that Vināyaka worship had taken a complexion before Amara flourished that was very different from what it was in Yājñavalkya's day.

Mita and Sammita occur as names of Maruts in the Taittiriya Sāthitā.

P. 186 That गजच्छाया and व्यतीपात had nothing to do with 'rāśis' follows from the following. 'बोभो मवाचयोदध्यां कुजरच्छायसंज्ञितः । महेन्मवायां संरधे च तक्षिम्यर्के करे स्थिते ॥' (quoted in कुम्भारनाकर p. 319 as from ब्रह्मपुराण); मवाचाम्बिचनिहार्त्तामागद्वैषतमस्तके । यद्यमा राविचारेण व्यतीपातः स वच्यते ॥ quoted in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघुनन्दन as from बृहन्महा.



Sec. 38 pp. 213-221 *Kātyāyana*. Mr. Narayana Chandra Bandopadhyaya has recently published (Calcutta 1927) about 800 verses of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra culled from five *nibandhas*. In the Hindu Law Quarterly recently started in Bombay I am editing a reconstruction of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra (reconstructed text from twenty *nibandhas*, references to the places whence verses are taken, translation, notes &c.). About 300 verses have been printed in the first two issues for January and April 1930.

Sec. 38 p. 215 read 'Manu' for Bhṛgu' in l. 11.

Sec. 39 pp. 221-223 *Āṅgiras*. In the 2nd Act of the Mālatimadhava (p. 104 of Bhandarkar's edition) we have a prose quotation from Āṅgiras 'गीतश्रावमर्षोक्तिरता यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोरनुबन्धस्तस्याश्चक्षुरिति'. In the Āpastambagrhya (l. 3. 19-21) this is cited without name as the view of some 'बन्धुशीलक्षणसंपन्नामरोगास्तुपयच्छेत । बन्धुशीलक्षणसंपन्नः सुतयानरोग इति वरसंपद् । यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोरनुबन्धस्तस्याश्चक्षुरितरश्चाप्रियेतोयेके'. It is not likely that Bhavabhūti who was a great scholar would commit a mistake and it is extremely probable that he had a sūtra of Āṅgiras before him.

Sec. 44 pp. 226-227 *Pitāmaha*. Dr. Karl Scriba collected together from several *nibandhas* about 200 verses of Pitāmaha and published them with translation (Die Fragmente des Pitāmaha, Leipzig, 1901) on the eight constituents of karaṇa (i. e. the court of justice), fifty *chalas*, twenty-two wrongs (in which king acted *mo motu*), ordeals (162 verses) and the four kinds of ascetics.

Sec. 64 pp. 275-279 *Dharmīvara Bhojadeva*. In the Madras Tri. Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. for 1919-1922 p. 4562 No 3078 there is a ms of Bhujabalanibandha by Bhojarāja in 18 chapters on astrological matters in relation to vratas, marriage &c.

In the Kṛtyaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara quotations from a Kṛtyasamuccaya of Bhūpāla or Bhūpālasamuccaya are cited (at pp. 278, 289, 449, 461, 496 &c.). It appears that this is entirely a different work from the Rājamārtanḍa and the Bhujabalabhima.

Sec. 68. p. 285. l. 20 read 'Misarumiśra' for 'Harinātha'.

Sec. 71, pp. 294-296 *Kāmadhenu*. That Bhoja was not the author of the *Kāmadhenu* follows from the following words of the *कल्परत्नाकर* ( p. 156 ) 'एतानि वाक्यानि अलङ्कारतृतीयावतबोधक-  
वाक्यमप्ये बृपालकामधेनुकल्पतरु लिखितानि.' At p. 30 of the same work the कामधेनु is spoken of as equal in authority to the Rājā ( राजतुल्ययोगसेम ). These references show that the *Kāmadhenu* was not regarded by Caṇḍeśvara as the work of Bhūpāla ( or Bhojadeva ); other passages of the *Kṛtyaratnākara* where Gopāla, Kalpataru, and Bhūpāla are spoken of in the same breath indicate that Gopāla was as great an authority as the Kalpataru; and knowing as we do that Caṇḍeśvara looked upon *Kāmadhenu*, Kalpataru, *Pārijāta*, *Prakāśa* and *Halāyudha* as his best authorities, it follows that Gopāla was the author of the *Kāmadhenu*. Vide *कल्परत्नाकर* pp. 277, 443 ( गोपालबृपालकल्पतरुकारिजातेषु तु ).

Sec. 72 pp. 298-299 *Halāyudha*. There is a Ms. of a work called *Paṇḍitasarvasva* in the Madars Trī. cat. of Sanskrit mss. for 1919-22 p. 5165. In the manuscript itself there is no reference to the author or his parentage. It is a large work and deals with वर्णाश्रमाचार, वैवर्तियनिकल्प, उपवास, शौच, अशौच, भ्रातृ, ज्योतिःशास्त्र, विवाहादिसंस्कार, दान, वाचस्पति, प्रतिज्ञा, स्त्रीधर्म, विजय, अन्नपचिचार, छात्रि. From the style it seems more likely that it is not the work of Halāyudha.

In the *Ekādaśitattva* ( *Jīvananda* vol. II p. 51 ) and *Suddhitattva* ( *Jīvananda* vol II p. 327 ) Halāyudha is said to be the author of *Saṁvatsarapradīpa*.

Sec. 73 pp. 301-306 *Bhavadevabhāṭṭa*.

There was another work of Bhavadevabhāṭṭa called *Sambandha-viveka*. This work is mentioned in the *Saṁskāratattva* ( *Jīvananda* vol I p. 890 ) and in the *Vivāhatattva* ( vol. II p. 143 ).

Sec. 74 pp. 306-308 *Prakāśa*.

The *Vivādaratnākara* and other *Ratnākara*s of Caṇḍeśvara generally refer to *Prakāśa* only, but sometimes Caṇḍeśvara speaks of *Smṛtimahānavaprakāśa* e. g. on p. 326 of *Kṛtyaratnākara* we have 'जाबालमत्स्यपुराणवाक्यपरामर्शाक्षिरात्रि-सकलद्वयेः सागिनविद्योत्तरद्वयेरेकोद्दिष्टं कार्यमिति स्मृतिमहानवप्रकाशाकार इति

कल्पतरौ लिखितमन्यैश्चाहुर्मोदितं तदुच्यते. This also shows that *Smṛtimahārṇavaprakāśa* was a work referred to by the *Kalpataru* and so earlier than 1100 A. D.

Sec. 87 pp. 354-359 *Hemādri*.

In the Marathi Quarterly of the *Bhārata-itihāsa-saṁśodhaka-maṇḍala*, vol. X part 2 p. 84, Mr. Y. K. Deshpande quotes from a work called *Bhānuvijaya* of the *Mahānubhāva* sect passages wherein *Hemādri* is charged with having been won over by Turks (Mahomedans) and with having brought about the imprisonment of *Bhānubhaṭṭa* alias *Bhāskara Kaviśvara Vyāsa* (a *Mahānubhāva* saint) 'जरि करावा रणकन्दन । हेमाद्रि तुर्का लागले पण । दिल्लीभर देवोनि घन । मंत्री पा वधु केला ॥ भालगणीं असाहर्णेपणे । अहिता घेरिले तुर्जे । तुर्का काई असे आंगवणे । हेमाद्रियेची बंधाविले ॥'.

But in the absence of other corroborative evidence hardly any reliance can be placed on this charge, as it might have been levelled at *Hemādri* in revenge for his imprisoning a leader of a dissenting sect like that of the *Mahānubhāvas*.

P. 359 In the *Śivadigvijaya* (printed at Baroda in śake 1817) at p. 442 *Hemādapanta* (*Hemādri*) is credited with having brought from *Laṅkā* (Ceylon) in śake 1193 (1271-2 A. D.) the '*Piśācca lipi*' (Modi script).

P. 368 l. 16 Read 'contemplate' for 'complete'.

P. 398 foot note 969 Read 'अलभत सुनयं' for 'अलभत तनयं'.

## SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

### Sec. 1 *Meaning of dharma* :

... pp. 1-4

Defies exact rendering in English - In the R̥gveda, used as adjective or noun - means 'upholder or supporter' in some R̥gvedic passages - in most R̥gveda passages means 'religious ordinances or rites' and in rare cases 'fixed principles or rules of conduct' - in Aitareya-brāhmaṇa dharma means 'whole body of religious duties' - in Chāndogya-Upaniṣad *dharma* means 'peculiar duties of āśramas' - *dharma* came to mean 'duties and privileges of a person as a member of the Āryan community, as member of one of the varṇas or as in a particular stage of life' - the same meaning in Taittiriya Upaniṣad (I. 11), Bhagavadgītā, Manusmṛti and other smṛtis - according to Medhatithi, dharma five-fold viz., varṇadharmā, āśramadharmā, varṇāśramadharmā, naimittikadharmā, guṇadharmā - this meaning of dharma taken in this work - definitions of dharma according to Jaimini, Vaiśeṣikasūtra, Hārta, Mahābhārata and Buddhist works - subjects treated in this work, viz. sources of dharma, contents of works on dharma, their chronology.

### Sec. 2 *Sources of dharma* :

... pp. 4-7

According to Gautama, Āpastamba, Vasiṣṭha, Manu, Yājñavalkya - principal sources were Veda, smṛtis and custom - Vedas do not contain positive precepts on dharma, but give information incidentally - examples from Vedic literature suggesting dharmasāstra rules.

### Sec. 3 *When dharmasāstra works were first composed*

... pp. 8-10

It is difficult to say when composed - Nirukta (III. 4-5) exhibits controversies about inheritance and quotes a verse (śloka) from some work on dharma - Bühler's view about such verses - Gautama and Baudhāyana speak of dharmasāstra - Baudhāyana and Āpastamba mention numerous sages on *dharma* - Vārtika of Kātyāyana and Jaimini speak of dharmasāstra - Patañjali on dharmasūtrakāras - dharmasāstra works existed prior to Yāska or at least before 600 B. C. and in 2nd century B. C. dharmasūtras had become authoritative - method of dealing with the whole dharmasāstra literature followed in this

book, first dharmasūtras, then early metrical smṛtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya, later versified smṛtis, then commentaries and digests, such as the *Mitākṣarā* - chronology of early writers very difficult to settle - Max Müller's view that works in continuous śloka metre followed sūtra works not acceptable.

Sec. 4 *Dharmasūtras* : ... pp. 10-12

Many of them formed part of the Kalpa and were studied in distinct sūtra-*caranās* - dharmasūtras of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana presuppose grhyasūtras of their *caranā* - no dharmasūtras extant corresponding to the śrauta and grhya sūtras of Āśvalāyana, Śāṅkhāyana and Mānava-Tantravārtika on what dharmasūtra was studied in what particular Vedic Śākhā - all dharmasūtras gradually became authoritative in all schools - close connection between grhyasūtras and dharmasūtras on certain topics - scope of dharmasūtras - grhyasūtras sometimes refer to dharmasūtras - points of distinction between dharmasūtras and the other smṛtis.

Sec. 5 *Dharmasūtra of Gautama* : ... pp. 12-20

Gautama's is the oldest extant dharmasūtra - specially studied by followers of Sāmaveda - Gautama one of the nine subdivisions of the Rāṇāyana school of Sāmaveda - Gautamadharmaśūtra points to close connection with Sāmaveda - Gautama refers to his own previous dicta - contents of 28 chapters of Gautamadharmaśūtra - the work is entirely in prose - Gautama's language agrees more with Pāṇini's rules than Āpastamba's - explanation of this - Haradatta prefers Pāṇinian readings of Gautama's text - some sūtras of Gautama quoted in the *Mitākṣarā* and other works not found in extant text - extent of literature known to Gautama - the only author named is Manu - the meaning of 'ācāryāḥ' whose views are cited by Gautama - earliest reference to Gautama on dharma is in Baudhāyana-dharmaśūtra - Baudhāyana ( III. 10 ) borrows chap. 19 of Gautama - close correspondence between many other sūtras of Gautama and Baudhāyana - Vasiṣṭha ( 4. 34 and 36 ) refers to views of Gautama - Vasiṣṭha's 22nd chap. is borrowed from 19th of Gautama - many sūtras the same in Gautama and Vasiṣṭha - Gautama referred to by Manu as son of Utathya - Gautama referred to by Yājñavalkya, Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, Kumārila, Śaṅkarācārya, Medhātithi - Gautama's reference to *Yatana* - probable age between 600 -

400 B. C. - Haradatta and Maskarin commented on Gautama - Asahāya also did so - śloka - Gautama and Vṛddha - Gautama.

Sec. 6 *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* :

... pp. 20-32

Baudhāyana is a teacher of the Black Yajurveda - arrangement of Baudhāyana kalpa according to Dr. Burnell and Dr. Caland - Baudhāyanagrhya presupposes the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra - grhya (III.9.6) speaks of pravacanakāra Kaṇva Bodhāyana and sūtrakāra Āpastamba - tarpaṇa in Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra ( II. 5. 27 ) mentions Kaṇva Bodhāyana, Āpastamba and Hiranyakeśin - contents of Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra - extant sūtra has not come down intact - fourth praśna probably an interpolation - third praśna also not free from doubt - Baudhāyana III. 10 taken from Gautama - Baudhāyana III. 6 agrees closely with Viṣṇudharmasūtra 48 - Dr. Jolly thinks both borrowed from a common source - probably Viṣṇu borrows from Baudhāyana - repetitions exist even in the first two praśnas - form and structure of Baudhāyana - quotes numerous verses, even in the first two praśnas - language of Baudhāyana often departs from Pāṇinian standard - literature known to Baudhāyana - several authors on dharma together with their views mentioned by Baudhāyana - Asura Kapila said to be originator of āśramas - Śābara, Kumārila, Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi refer to Baudhāyana dharmasūtra - home of Baudhāyana - Baudhāyana is styled pravacanakāra and Āpastamba sūtrakāra - Bühler holds that Baudhāyana was a southern teacher - age of Baudhāyana dharmasūtra - later than Gautama - Bühler's reasons for placing Baudhāyana a century or two earlier than Āpastamba not convincing - divergences between Baudhāyana and Āpastamba - style of Baudhāyana compared with that of Āpastamba - Baudhāyana to be placed between 500-200 B. C. - numerous sūtras of Baudhāyana identical with those of Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha - Baudhāyana mentions several appellations of Ganeśa, just as Mānavagrhya does and mentions seven planets, Rāhu and Ketu - Govindasvāmin commented on Baudhāyana.

Sec. 7 *Dharmasūtra of Āpastamba* :

... pp. 32-46

The Āpastambakalpasūtra of the Black Yajurveda divided into 30 praśnas, dharmasūtra constituting 28th and 29th praśnas thereof - Āpastamba is one of the five subdivisions of the Khāṇḍikēya school of Taittirīyasaṅkhā - Āpastambagrhya and dharma sūtras are composi-

tions of same author - some sūtras of the two are identical - Āp. grhya does not treat of some topics as they are dealt with in dharma sūtra - contents of Āp. dharmasūtra - form and structure of Āp. dharmasūtra - Āp. is more archaic and un-Pāṇinian than any other dharmasūtra - many unfamiliar words in Āp. - several verses quoted in Āp. - literature known to Āp. - Āp. mentions six āngas of Veda and ten writers on dharma by name - Śvetaketu and Āp. - Hārīta quoted frequently by Āp. - Āp. controverts several views - striking coincidences between Gautama and Āp. - Āp. quotes a verse from Purāṇa and speaks of the view of Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa - Āpastamba and Manu - Āpastamba presupposes many rules of the Mīmāṃsā and agrees closely with Jaimini's sūtras - age of Āp. Dh. S. - quoted by Śābara, Kumārila, Śaṅkarācārya, Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi - home and personal history of Āpastamba not known - Āp. is later than Gautama and probably Baudhāyana - his age between 600-300 B. C. - Āp. condemns *niyoga*, rejects secondary sons, does not admit *paiśaca* and *Prajāpatya* forms of marriage - divergence between the views of Āp. and Gautama and other sūtrakāras - Haradatta's is the only commentary extant on Āp. - Āpastamba smṛti in verse.

**Sec. 8. *Hiranyakeśidharmasūtra* :** ... pp. 46-50

Hiranyakeśidharmasūtra forms 26th and 27th *pralnas* of the Hiranyakeśikalpa-Hiranyakeśin's can be hardly called an independent work, as it borrows hundreds of sūtras word for word from Āp. - a few additions made to Āp. in Hiranyakeśi Dh. S. - Hiranyakeśin's readings are smoother and more classical than Āpastamba's - arrangement of sūtras also is somewhat different in the two - com. of Mahādeva called Ujjvalā on Hiranyakeśin is almost the same as Haradatta's on Āp. - Bühler thinks Mahādeva borrows from Haradatta - Mahādeva's com. in a few places contains more matter than Haradatta's and Mahādeva differs from Haradatta.

**Sec. 9. *Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra* :** ... pp. 50-60

Different editions of Vasiṣṭha contain different numbers of chapters - Kumārila says it was specially studied by R̥gvedins - explanation of this statement - nothing special in the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra to connect it with R̥gveda - contents of the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra - style of Vas. Dh. S. resembles Gautama's - many sūtras of Vas. identical with Gautama and Baudhāyana - form of Vasiṣṭha



dharmasūtra resembles Baudhāyana dharmasūtra - Medhātithi and Mitākṣarā quote from almost all chapters of extant Vasiṣṭha and so does Viśvarūpa - literature known to Vasiṣṭha - Vasiṣṭha prohibits learning language of Mlecchas - authors on dharmaśāstra named by Vasiṣṭha - Vasiṣṭha's references to the views of Manu are made with reference to a work of Manu almost identical with the present Manusmṛti and do not compel us to formulate the existence of a Mānavadharmasūtra - Bühler wrong in taking Vas. Dh. S. 4. 8 as a quotation from Mānavadharmasūtra - Only Vas. Dh. S. 12.16 and 19. 37 where Manu is quoted have no corresponding verses in the present Manusmṛti - Over forty verses are entirely common to Vas. and present Manusmṛti - conclusion that Vas. contains borrowings from the present Manusmṛti or its prototype in verse - Vas. Dh. S. 22 is same as Gautama 19 - Dr. Jolly's view that Vas. Dh. S. 28.10-15 and 18-22 are borrowed from Viṣṇudharmasūtra chap. 56 and 87 or its original the Kāthakadharmasūtra is wrong - home of Vas. to the north of Narmadā, according to Bühler - this is mere speculation - earliest reference to Vasiṣṭha as a writer on dharma is in Manu (8-140) - age of Vasiṣṭha - Vasiṣṭha's views are ancient, particularly about secondary sons, about Dattaka son, about *nīyoga* and remarriage - he mentions only six forms of marriage - but in other matters differs from Gaut. or Baudh. viz. on adoption, on documents - Vas. Dh. S. between 300-100 a. c. - whether Vas. 18. 4 (Rāmaka v. l. Romaka) contains a reference to the Romans - Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha, an early compilation - there is a Bṛhad Vasiṣṭha and a Jyotir Vasiṣṭha - Yajñāsvāmin commented upon Vas. Dh. S.

#### Sec. 10 Viṣṇudharmasūtra :

... pp. 60-70

Viṣṇu Dh. S. contains 100 chapters and yet sūtra not extensive - several chap. (40, 42, 76) contain only one sūtra and one verse - first chap. and last two are entirely in verse, the rest in mixed prose and verse - Viṣṇu Dh. S. closely connected with Kāthasākhā - Dr. Jolly says chap. 21, 67, 73 and 86 of Viṣṇu closely correspond with Kāthaka gṛhya - but Viṣṇu Dh. S. is not the work of the author of Kāthaka gṛhya - contents of Viṣṇu Dh. S. - Viṣṇu resembles Vas. Dh. S. - its peculiar feature that it professes to be revealed by God Viṣṇu - its style, easy and diffuse - work contains old



and new material - hundreds of sūtras are prose renderings of hundreds of verses occurring in our Manus - hypothesis of a common origin or borrowing by both from a floating mass of verses untenable - extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra borrows from Manus - Viṣṇu contains verses identical with the Bhagavadgītā and Yājñavalkya smṛti - Dr. Jolly's view that Yājñavalkya borrows his anatomical section from Viṣṇu not correct - Viṣṇu Dh. S. contains long list of tirthas, the word *Jaiva* for Jupiter - those wanting in Yājñavalkya - extant Viṣṇu Dh. S. later than Manusmṛti and Yājñavalkyasmṛti - Viśvarūpa does not quote a single sūtra of Viṣṇu by name, though he refers to Viṣṇu (ch. 97) for orders of saṃnyāsins - Mitākṣarā quotes hardly any verse from Viṣṇu - Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā quote Viṣṇu profusely - verses were added at a late date to original sūtra - literature known to Viṣṇu Dh. S. - Viṣṇu mentions the seven days of the week, recommends the practice of *satī*, speaks of *pustakas*, of many good and evil omens among which the sight of yellow-robed Buddhist ascetics is included - it prohibits speech with *Mlecchas* and journeys to *Mleccha* countries, it dilates on worship of *Vāsudeva* - though Viṣṇu agrees in some respects with *Kāthaka-grhya*, on some points it differs from it - date of older kernel of Viṣṇu may be 300 to 100 B.C. - additions made after 3rd century A.D. and before 7th century - some sūtras agree closely with *Nārada - Brhad Viṣṇu* and *Vṛddha Viṣṇu* and *Laghu Viṣṇu* - *Nandapaṇḍita's* com. on the Viṣṇu Dh. S. - probably *Bhāruci* also commented on it.

Sec. 11 *The dharmasūtra of Hārita :*

... pp. 70-75

*Baudhāyana*, *Āpastamba* and *Vasiṣṭha* quote *Hārita* as an authority - Mr. *Islampurkar* secured a ms. of *Hārita-dharmasūtra* at *Nasik* in 30 chapters - contents of that ms. - its relation to *Maitrāyaṇīyasamhitā* - it mentions the *Kāśmīrian* word "*Kaphella*" - quotations in commentaries and digests show that *Hārita* dealt exhaustively with the same topics that are found in other *dharmasūtras* - *Kumārila* mentions *Hārita* as *dharmasāstrakāra* but does not assign him to any particular *carana* as he does *Āpastamba* and others - notable doctrines of *Hārita* - mentions worship of *Ganeśa* - *Hārita's* verses on *vyavahāra* quoted in *nibandhas* are later than the sūtra - *Laghu Hārita* and *Vṛddha Hārita* - latter in verse is later than *Yājñavalkya*, *Nārada* and *Kātyāyana*.

Sec. 12 *The dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita* : ... pp. 75-79

From *Tantravārttika* it appears that dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita was studied by Vājasaneyins - *Mahābhārata* (Śānti 23) contains story of brothers Śaṅkha and Likhita - Various compilations ascribed to Śaṅkha alone or Likhita alone or to both - Restoration of Dharmasūtra in *Annals of Bhandarkar Institute* (vol. VII, VIII) - Verse Śaṅkhasmṛti stricter than prose Śaṅkha-Likhita - com. on dharmasūtra mentioned in *Kalpataru* and *Vivādaratnākara* - doctrines of dharmasūtra similar to those of other dharmasūtras - speaks of twelve secondary sons - allows *nīyoga* - speaks of several ordeals - defines Āryāvarta as between Sindhu - Sauvira and Kāmpilya - Literature known to Śaṅkha Likhita - probable age between 300-100 B. C.

Sec. 13 *Mānavadharmasūtra* ; *Did it exist ?* ... pp. 79-85

MaxMüller and Weber responsible for the theory that the extant *Manusmṛti* was a recast of an ancient *Mānavadharmasūtra* now lost - hardly any data for the sweeping generalisation of MaxMüller that all genuine dharmasāstras are nothing but more modern texts of earlier sūtra works on *kuladharmā* - one main plank of this theory that the continuous employment of the śloka metre was unknown in the sūtra period is now exploded - Bühler supports Max Müller's theory by some additional arguments - *Vasiṣṭha* IV. 5-8 on which Bühler relies not properly understood by him - *Vasiṣṭha* (19-37) quotes a *Mānava* śloka which is not in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre and not found in extant *Manu* and Bühler thinks it is taken from *Mānavadharmasūtra* - Bühler's reliance on a fragment of *Uśanas* which is corrupt is not worth consideration - Bühler relies on *Kāmandakiyanītisāra* (II. 3. and XI. 67) where *Mānavas* are said to hold that there are three vidyās for a king and that *Manu* said that king's council should consist of 12 ministers - These views not the same in extant *Manu* - Bühler's conclusion not correct - *Kāmandaka* is only paraphrasing *Kauṭiliya* - Bühler's generalisation about *Mānava* or *Mānavāḥ* without foundation - *Kumārila*, *Śaṅkara*, and *Viśvarūpa* all employ '*Mānava*' for *Manusmṛti* - Bühler relies on analogy of the complete set of *Āpastamba* and *Baudhāyana* sūtras for holding that a *Mānavadharmasūtra* existed - Proper explanation of *Vas. Dh. S. IV. 5-8* - Bühler not right in saying that *Vas. Dh. S. 11. 23, 12. 16, 23. 43* either contradict *Manu* or find no counterpart

therein - analogy of Āpastamba sūtras of no use - excepting the three carāṇas of the Black Yajurveda, no carāṇa of any Veda has a dharmasūtra attributed to the founder of that carāṇa - an explanation suggested - existing materials not sufficient to establish theory that a Mānavadharmasūtra once existed.

Sec. 14 *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya* :

... pp. 85-104

First translated by Dr. Shāma Śāstri and text published in 1909 - other editions - numerous works and articles inspired by the publication of Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra - Kauṭilya is oldest extant work on Arthaśāstra - scope of arthaśāstra and relation to dharmasāstra - arthaśāstra an upaveda of Atharvaveda - purpose of this śāstra - rule in case of conflict between Dharmasāstra and Arthaśāstra - Cāṇakya, Kauṭilya and Viṣṇugupta are names of the same person - glowing tribute paid to Cāṇakya or Viṣṇugupta by Kāmaṇḍakīyanitisāra, Tantrākhyāyikā, Daṇḍin - Bāṇa and Pañcatantra on Kauṭilya as author of Arthaśāstra - Brhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya contained his story - Mudrārākṣasa connects his name with Kutila - controversy as to whether Kauṭilya can be the work of a busy minister of Candragupta Maurya - Jolly, Winternitz and Keith hold that extant work is not by the minister of Candragupta - Megasthenes' silence about Cāṇakya explained - whether the Kauṭilya is the product of a school or of an individual author - Kauṭilya's views cited about 70 times in the work in the third person - explanation of this - Dr. Jolly wrong in his explanation of *apadeśa* ( in XV. 1 ) - Keith thinks that an author would not parade an uncomplimentary epithet like Kauṭilya ( derived from kuṭila ) - Is the name Kauṭilya or Kauṭalya - works on gotra and pravara give various forms such as Kauṭali, Kauṭilya and Kauṭili - form, style and contents of the Kauṭilya - a few verses interspersed in the work, generally at the end - in all 340 verses excluding *mantras* - some verses are certainly quotations - work abounds in numerous technical and rare words - deviations from Paṇini - summary of contents - section on judicial administration interesting - greatest correspondence between Kauṭilya and Yājñavalkya - some striking examples - it is Yājñavalkya that borrows - reasons - Yājñavalkya represents a far too advanced stage

of juristic principles than Kauṭilya - close agreement between Manusmṛti and Kauṭilya also - but they differ on *niyoga*, as to nomenclature of vyavahārapadas, about heirship of mother and paternal grandmother, on remarriage of widows, divorce, gambling - Kauṭilya long anterior to the extant Manusmṛti - Kauṭilya's five references to Mānavas explained - references to Svāyambhuva and Prācetasas Manu contained in the Mahābhārata suggest that there were two works in verse on dharma and politics attributed to these or perhaps one work containing both, subsequently recast as the extant Manusmṛti - only two views ascribed to Mānavas in Kauṭilya not found in extant Manusmṛti - in the dharmasūtra section the only other authors or schools cited are Bārhaspatyas and Aśvanasas - none of the dharmasūtras of Gautama and others are anywhere quoted by name - views cited on the question as to whom a child belongs (to the begetter or to him on whose wife it is begotten) can be traced to Baudhāyana, Gautama and Vasiṣṭha - views of Ācāryas cited in the Kauṭilya - Kauṭilya later than Gautama and Āpastamba but earlier than extant Manusmṛti - date of Kauṭilya - it is certainly not later than 2nd century A. D. and not earlier than 325 B. C. - schools named by Kauṭilya and also individual authors - views of Ācāryas are quoted over fifty times and Kauṭilya differs in each case - meaning of 'ācāryas' - literature known to Kauṭilya - Sanskrit official language and the work mentions guṇas of composition - Kauṭilya agrees with Kāmasūtra in several respects - Dr. Jolly and Prof. Keith opine that both works composed about same time - points of difference between the two works - countries and peoples mentioned by Kauṭilya - silks from Cīna and blankets from Nepal - corporations of Licchavis, Vṛjikas and others mentioned - meaning of 'rājāśabdopajīvināḥ' (in XI-I) - best breeds of horses - Mlecchas sold or pledged children - references to Buddhists and Ājīvakas - weights to be made from stones of Magadha and Mekala - doubtful whether Kauṭilya knew extant text of Mahābhārata - most of the stories cited as illustrations by Kauṭilya occur in the Mahābhārata, but some divergence exists in the case of Janamejaya, Māṇḍavya - Kauṭilya's knowledge of drugs and of rasa (mercury) - references to shrines of Śiva, Skanda &c. - traditional date of 300 B. C. more likely to be correct than 3rd cen-

tury A. D. approved of by Dr. Jolly and Winternitz - two commentaries on Kautiliya, *Nayacandrikā* of Madhavayajvan and *Pratipada-pañcika* of Bhāṭṭarvamin - sutras attributed to Caṇakya - several niti collections in verse ascribed to Caṇakya are later than Kautiliya.

Sec. 15 *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra* : ... pp. 105-107

*Vaikhānasa* is one of the six sūtra carāṇas of the black Yajurveda mentioned by Mahādeva in his *Vaijayantī* on *Satyāśadha śrautasūtra* - *Vaikhānasa* occurs in *Gautama*, *Baudhāyana*, *Vasiṣṭha* (9. 10) and *Manu* (6. 21) - *Vaikhānasadharmaprasna* divided into three *prāśnas* - contents of the work - its age later than *Gautama* and *Baudhāyana* - names more mixed castes than even some of the verse *smṛtis* - devotion to *Nārāyaṇa* looms very large in the work - Dr. Caland's view that *Manusmṛti* borrows from *Vaikhānasagṛhya* not correct.

Sec. 16 *Atri* : ... pp. 107-110

*Atri* named in *Manu* (III. 16) - *Ātreya dharmasāstra* in nine *adhyāyas* - summary of contents - form of *Atridharmasāstra* - several works styled *Atri* - *smṛti* - summary of *Atrisamhitā* printed by *Jivananda* - *Atri* quoted as an authority on adoption - *Laghu Atri* and *Vṛddhātreyasmṛti* - *Mahābhārata* (Anuśāsana 65. 1) quotes a verse of *Atri*.

Sec. 17 *Uśanas* : ... pp. 110-116

*Uśanas* wrote on politics, as *Kautiliya* shows - *Mahābhārata* (Śānti 56. 29-30) refers to work of *Uśanas* on politics - *Nītiprakāśikā* on *Śukra* as arranger of *rājaśāstra* - An *Aśanasa dharmasāstra* in verse - contents - peculiar views of *Uśanas* about offspring of inter-caste marriages - several verses common to *Uśanas* and *Manu* - names the views of numerous writers on *dharma* - *Haradatta* and *Smṛticandrikā* knew a work of *Uśanas* dealing with all branches of *dharma* - *Uśanas smṛti* in verse - verses of *Uśanas* on *vyavahāra* - *Śukranītisāra* edited by *Oppert*.

Sec. 18 *Kaṇva and Kāṇva* : ... pp. 116-117

Āp. Dh. S. (I. 6. 19) shows that *Kaṇva* and *Kāṇva* were two distinct authors - verses of *Kaṇva* quoted in *Smṛticandrikā*.

- Sec. 19 *Kaśyapa and Kaśyapa* : ... pp. 117-118

Baudhāyana ( Dh. S. I, 11.20 ) cites a verse in which Kaśyapa's view is contained - there was a dharmasūtra of Kaśyapa - a Kaśyapa smṛti in prose contained in Deccan College Mss. - contents thereof-Saṃticandrikā includes Kaśyapa among 18 upasmṛtis.

- Sec. 20 *Gārgya* : ... p. 119

A sūtra work of Gārgya on dharma existed - Gārgya and Vṛddha Gārgya - a Gārgisatīhita on astronomy and astrology - Jyotiṛ Gārgya and Brhad Gārgya.

- Sec. 21 *Cyavana* : ... p. 119

Seems to have written a sūtra work on dharma.

- Sec. 22 *Jātukarṇya* : ... pp. 119-120

A verse of Vṛddha Yājñavalkya names Jātukarṇya as a dharmasūtrakāra - quotations in verse in Mitākṣarā and later works.

- Sec. 23 *Devala* : ... p. 120

A dharmasūtra of Devala existed once - Mitākṣarā and other works also contain quotations in verse on ācāra, vyavahāra, śrāddha - this latter a later compilation - Devalasmṛti in 90 verses on purifications is also a late work - jurist Devala flourished about the same time as Brhaspati and Kātyāyana.

- Sec. 24 *Paithinasi* : ... pp. 121-122

An ancient sūtrakāra, as Viśvarūpa quotes his sūtras - Dr. Jolly thinks he belongs to Atharvaveda - Paithinasi on *ṣatt*, inheritance, on absence of untouchability under certain circumstances.

- Sec. 25 *Budha* : ... p. 123

A sūtrakāra cited by Hemādri, Aparārka, Kalpataru and Jīmatavāhana - a brief compilation and not very early in age.

- Sec. 26 *Brhaspati* : ... pp. 123-126

An ancient teacher of arthasāstra mentioned in Kauṭīliya - Mahābhārata ( Śānti 59. 80-85 ) credits him with compression of vast work of Brahṃa on *trivarga* and mentions several of his views - Kāmasūtra speaks of Brhaspati as writer on *artha* - peculiar views of

Brhaspati according to Kauṭīliya - Brhaspati also wrote a prose work on vyavahāra and prāyaścitta - probably the authors of the two are different - 700 verses on vyavahāra ascribed to Brhaspati are quoted in the Mitākṣarā - this is an independent work composed between 300-500 A. D. - smaller compilations in verse ascribed to Brhaspati - Barhaspatya Arthaśāstra edited by Dr. Thomas is a late work.

Sec. 27 *Bhāradvāja and Bhāradvāja* : ... pp. 126-128

A śrautasūtra and grhya of Bhāradvāja exist - Viśvarūpa's work establishes existence of a sūtra work on dharma of Bhāradvāja - there was smṛti in verse also attributed to Bhāradvāja - Kauṭīliya shows that Bhāradvāja was an ancient author on politics - some views of Bhāradvāja - Mahābhārata on Bhāradvāja - verses on vyavahāra attributed to Bhāradvāja - this probably different from work on politics.

Sec. 28 *Śatātapa* : ... pp. 128-129

A sūtra work of Śatātapa on dharma dealing with prāyaścitta, śrāddha and ācāra must have existed - verses of Śatātapa quoted in Mitākṣarā and other later works - this is probably different from smṛti work - several verse compilations ascribed to Śatātapa - Vṛddha Śatātapa and Bṛhat Śatātapa.

Sec. 29 *Sumantu* : ... pp. 129-131

A sūtra work on ācāra and prāyaścitta ascribed to Sumantu existed - Yājñavalkya and Parāśara do not enumerate Sumantu among expounders of dharma - Sumantu mentioned in Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata - verses from Sumantu on dharma are cited by Aparārka - this is a different work - numerous verses on vyavahāra quoted from Sumantu in Sarasvativilāsa.

Sec. 30 *The Smṛtis* : ... pp. 131-135

Two senses of the word smṛti, viz. all orthodox ancient non-Vedic works (such as Pāṇini's grammar, Śrauta sūtras, Mahābhārata Manu, &c.) and (a narrower sense) dharmasāstra - smṛti, a source of dharma according to Gautama and others - number of smṛtis went on increasing - Yājñavalkya enumerates twenty writers of smṛtis, Parāśara 19 - Tantravārtika speaks of 18 dharmasamhitās - Catur-



viññatimata gives views of 24 writers - a *smṛti* called *Ṣaṭ - triñśan-mata* - *Paññinasi* enumerates 36 and so does *Aparārka* - *Vṛddha Gautama* enumerates 57 - *Vīramitrodaya* enumerates 18 *smṛtis*, 18 *upasmṛtis* and 21 more - total number of *smṛtis* about 100 - these are products of widely separated ages - some entirely in prose, some entirely in verse, some are mixed - chronology of *smṛtis* presents perplexing problems - two or three *smṛtis* go under the same name, e. g. *Hārita*, *Atri*, *Śātātapa* - sectarian zealots fabricate certain *smṛtis* - the prefixes *laghu*, *brhat* and *vṛddha* applied to *smṛtis* - well-known verses are ascribed to different authors, as authors quote from memory.

Sec. 31 *The Manusmṛti* :

... pp. 135-158

Numerous editions - *Manu* as the father of mankind in the *R̥gveda* and other *Vedas* - *Manu* and the deluge in *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* - *Manu* in the *Nirukta* - *Manu* quoted as law-giver in *Gautama*, *Apastamba* and *Mahābhārata* - introduction to *Nārada-smṛti* and *Manu* - how the *Manusmṛti* is narrated - four versions of *Svāyambhuva śāstra* according to *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* - almost impossible to say who composed extant *Manusmṛti* - *Bühler's* theory that our *Manu* is a recast of *Mānavadharmasūtra* shown above to be unsustainable - the *Mānavagṛhya* differs from *Manusmṛti* in several particulars - *Vināyakaśānti* of *Mānavagṛhya* and tests for selecting a bride not contained in our *Manu* - *Mahābhārata* distinguishes between *Svāyambhuva Manu* and *Prācetas Manu*, former promulgating *dharma-śāstra* - these two works combined in the present *Manu* - extant *Manu* has 12 chapters and 2694 verses - its style - contents of *Manu-smṛti* - extent of literature known to *Manusmṛti* - the author of the *Manusmṛti* is not the first legislator - age of *Manusmṛti* - external evidence - *Medhātithi's* is first extant commentary - *Viśvarūpa* quotes 200 verses - *Śaṅkara*, *Kumārila* and *Śabara* refer to *Manu* - *Bṛhaspati* had the present text of *Manu* before him - *Aśvaghoṣa* in his *Vajrasūci* quotes several verses from '*Mānavadharmasūtra*' some of which are found in our *Manu* - *Rāmāyaṇa* ( *Kiṣkindhā* 18. 30-32 ) contains *Manu* VIII. 318 and 316 - *Manu* attained present form long before 2nd century A. D. - there are earlier and later strata in *Manu* - contradictory statements as to *Brāhmaṇa* marrying a *śūdra* woman, about appropriate forms of marriage, about *niyoga*, about H. D. D.



flesh-eating - Bühler's conclusion is that cosmological and philosophical portions in 1st and 12th books, rules about mixed castes and duties of castes in 10th book are later additions - all additions made before 3rd century A. D. - Manusmṛti has not suffered several recasts - quotations cited as *Vṛddha Manu* and *Bṛhan-Manu* are later than Manusmṛti - extant *Manu* older than *Yājñavalkya* - *Manu* mentions *Yavanas*, *Kambojas*, *Śakas*, *Pahlavas* and *Cinas* - extant Manusmṛti composed between 2nd century B. C. and 2nd century A. D. - relation of *Mahābhārata* and *Manu* - conflict of views between *Mandlik*, *Hopkins* and *Bühler* - *Hopkins* holds that there was a mass of floating verses ascribed to mythical *Manu* on which both Manusmṛti and *Mahābhārata* drew - *Bühler* says that the floating mass of verses was not all attributed to *Manu* - *Manu* mentions stories and names that occur in the *Mahābhārata* but these names go into Vedic antiquities - *Manu* never names the *Mahābhārata*, while the latter often refers to 'rājadharmas or śāstra of *Manu*' or to 'what *Manu* said' - Both *Hopkins* and *Bühler* hold that the *Anuśāsanaparva* and *Śāntiparva* knew a Manusmṛti, but earlier books, whenever they speak of *Manu*, refer to floating mass of popular verses - this conclusion not correct - final conclusion, viz., long before 4th century B. C. there was a *dharmaśāstra* in verse attributed to *Svayambhuva Manu*, there was another work on *rājadharma* attributed to *Prācētesa Manu*, that probably there was one work, then between 300 B. C. and 200 A. D. Manusmṛti was recast - extant *Mahābhārata* later than extant Manusmṛti - influence of *Manu* spread to *Cambodia* and other countries beyond *India* - *Manu* had several commentators, *Medhātithi*, *Govindarāja*, *Kulluka*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Raghavananda*, *Nandana* and *Rāmacandra* - *Asahāya* commented on *Manu* - *Udayakara* is another commentator and so is *Dharaṇidhara* - *Nārāyaṇa* flourished between 1100-1300 A. D. - *Raghavananda* later than 1400 A. D. - *Vṛddha Manu* and *Bṛhan-Manu* - explanation as to how these originated.

Sec. 32 *The two Epics :*

... pp. 158-160

*Rāmāyaṇa* is relied upon as a source of *dharma* though less frequently than the *Mahābhārata* - *Ayodhyakāṇḍa* and *Aranyakāṇḍa* contain disquisitions on politics - age of the epics a difficult problem - more appropriate for a separate treatise - table indicating where *dharmaśāstra* topics occur in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Sec. 33 *The Purāṇas* :

... pp.160-167

Purāṇas as a class of literature mentioned in Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, Chāndogya Upaniṣad, Gautama Dh. S., Mahābhāṣya - extant purāṇas are recasts made of older material - some of the extant Purāṇas like Vāyu earlier than 6th century A. D. - Names of principal 18 Purāṇas - 18 Upapurāṇas - Matsyapurāṇa contains much dharmaśāstra material - Agnipurāṇa contains disquisition on rajadharma and chapters 253-258 contain almost the whole of the vyavahāra section of Yājñavalkya - Garuḍapurāṇa borrows about 400 verses from ācāra and prāyaścitta sections of Yājñavalkya - chronology of Purāṇas passed over - Divergence as to the names of the principal 18 purāṇas and as to their extent - Purāṇas very valuable for study of social and religious questions as to mediæval and modern India - Padmapurāṇa divides 18 Purāṇas into three groups of sāttvika, rājasa, tāmasa and divides eighteen smṛtis also in the same way - table showing which dharmaśāstra topics are dealt with in which purāṇa.

Sec. 34 *The Yājñavalkya-smṛti* :

... pp. 168-190

Yājñavalkya, a name most illustrious among Vedic sages - stories about strained relations between Vaiśampāyana and Yājñavalkya - Yājñavalkya and Janaka in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa - Yājñavalkya, a great philosopher in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka - Yājñavalkya smṛti claims that the Āraṇyaka and Yogaśāstra were composed by the author of the smṛti - slight variation in the number of verses contained in Yājñavalkya-smṛti according to Viśvarūpa, Mitākṣarā and Aparārka - arrangement of verses different in Viśvarūpa and Mitākṣarā, particularly in the prāyaścittakāṇḍa - readings of the two commentators also differ - Agnipurāṇa affords excellent check for consideration of text of Yājñavalkya - Readings of Agnipurāṇa compared with those of Viśvarūpa and the Mitākṣarā - conclusion is that the Agnipurāṇa represents a text midway between Viśvarūpa and that of the Mitākṣarā - So Agnipurāṇa represents a text of Yājñavalkya current about 900 A. D. - total number of verses on vyavahāra in the Agnipurāṇa is 315, out of which the first 31 are not taken from Yājñavalkya - almost all of these 31 taken from Nārada - Garuḍapurāṇa ( chap. 93 ) expressly says that the dharma promulgated by Yājñavalkya was imparted therein - Garuḍa (chap. 93-106

contains dharmasūtra material taken from ācāra and prāyaścitta sections of Yājñavalkya - Garuḍa (93-102) deals with ācāra and 102-106 with prāyaścitta - Garuḍapurāṇa omits rājadharma section of Yājñavalkya - only a few verses of Yāj. are repeated word for word, while a summary only is given of several verses - comparison of the text of the Garuḍapurāṇa with Viśvarūpa's text and that of the Mitākṣarā - Garuḍapurāṇa represents text intermediate between Viśvarūpa and Mitākṣarā - are there different strata in Yājñavalkya? text mainly the same from 700 A. D. and little evidence to show that the text of Yājñavalkya as we have it contains several strata - comparison of Yājñavalkyasmṛti with Manusmṛti - close agreement in phraseology between the two - Yājñavalkya usually tries to compress Manu's dicta - Yāj. adds Vināyakaśānti and Grahaśānti and ordeals, while Manu omits first two and cursorily refers to two ordeals - Yāj. silent on origin of world which we have in Manu - style of Yājñavalkya - contents of smṛti - literature known to Yājñavalkyasmṛti - enumerates 19 authors on dharma - close agreement between Viṣṇu Dh. S. and Yājñavalkya and between Kauṭilya and Yāj. - Manu and Yāj. differ on several points and Yāj. represents a more advanced state of thought than Manu - Manu allows brāhmaṇa to marry śūdra girl, Yāj. does not - Manu condemns niyoga, Yāj. does not - same case with gambling - Yāj. takes Vināyakaśānti from Mānavagr̥hya - Yājñavalkyasmṛti in intimate relation to white Yajurveda and literature appurtenant to it - Yājñavalkya closely agrees with Pāraskaragr̥hya - Dr. Jolly's theory that Yājñavalkya's work goes back to a dharmasūtra of White Yajurveda is without foundation - date of Yājñavalkyasmṛti - Viśvarūpa separated from the smṛti by several centuries - probable date of Yājñavalkya between 100 B. C. and 300 A. D. - Laṅkāvatārasūtra (gāthās 814-816) refers to Yājñavalkyasmṛti - Dr. Jolly thinks that Yāj. shows acquaintance with Greek astrology - Dr. Jacobi's theory that naming of week days after planets first introduced by Greeks and borrowed by Indians - these theories untenable - Yāj. does not mention week days, but only the nine planets (in I. 296) - Yāj. does not mention the zodiacal signs - he arranges the nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharanī (I. 268) as the Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa does - 'susthe indau' in Yāj. explained by Viśvarūpa without reference to zodiacal signs - from Vedic times nakṣatras divided into auspicious and inauspicious - Yājñavalkya's reference to nānakas - Yāj. regards sight of yellow-

robed people as an evil omen - Dr. Jolly's date of 400 A. D. for Yājñavalkya is far too late - there is a Vṛddha-Yāj., a Yoga-Yāj., and a Bṛhad-Yāj. - Yoga-Yājñavalkya existed much earlier than 800 A. D. as Vācaspati-miśra quotes a half verse from Yoga-Yāj. and Aparārka quotes profusely from him - mss. of Yoga-Yājñavalkya in Deccan College collection in 12 chapters and 495 verses and of Bṛhad-Yogi-Yājñavalkya in 12 chapters and 920 verses - Yoga-Yājñavalkya and Bṛhad-Yogi-Yājñavalkya of the mss. are entirely different works - several commentaries on Yājñavalkya, viz. of Viśvarūpa, Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka and Śulapaṇi.

Sec. 35 *Parāśarasmr̥ti* :

... 190-196

Yāj. mentions Parāśara, but the extant Parāśarasmr̥ti is probably a recast of an older smṛti - Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 107) gives a summary of 39 verses of Parāśarasmr̥ti - From Kautilya it appears there was a work of Parāśara on politics - extant Parāśara in 12 chapters and 592 verses deals with ācāra and prāyaścitta alone - Parāśara, an ancient name - Parāśara mentions 19 smṛti writers - contents of the smṛti - Parāśara has peculiar views - authors cited by Parāśara - views of Manu frequently cited - several identical verses in Manu and Parāśara - age of Parāśarasmr̥ti between 100-500 A. D. - a Bṛhat-Parāśara saṁhitā in 12 chapters and 3000 verses - contents thereof - it is a late work - Vṛddha Parāśara quoted by Aparārka.

Sec. 36 *The Nāradasmr̥ti* :

... pp. 196-207

Two versions of Nārada on vyavahāra, a smaller and a larger one - com. of Asahāya as revised by Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa is contained in Dr. Jolly's edition - Nārada not mentioned by Yāj. or Parāśara in list of expounders of dharma - three introductory chapters on judicial procedure and on sabhā, then 18 *vyavaharapadas*, then an appendix on theft from Nepal ms. - some difference in the names of titles between Nārada and Manu - printed Nārada contains 1028 verses - about 700 verses of Nārada quoted in digests - Viśvarūpa's and Medhātithi's quotations from Nārada agree with printed Nārada - Agnipurāṇa chap. 253 contains thirty verses of Nāradasmr̥ti defining the eighteen titles from *ṛgveda* to *prakīrṇaka* in the same order - Nārada's verses on ācāra, śrāddha and prāyaścitta quoted in Smṛti candrikā, Hemādri - probably this is a different Nārada - form, style and metre of Nārada - Literature known to Nārada - 50 verses are

identical in Manu and Nārada - many more verses of Nārada closely correspond to Manu's - Nārada based upon Manu, almost the same as the extant one - Some verses of Mahābhārata are the same as Nārada's - some verses of Kauṭilya and Nārada agree - points in which Manu and Nārada differ - many subdivisions of topics in Nārada - some topics peculiar to Nārada, viz. 14 kinds of impotent persons, three punarbhūts and four svairiṇīs - Nārada somewhat later than Yaj. - Nārada propounds several juristic and political principles, fixes the period of minority at 16 - Nārada earlier than 8th century at the latest - Bāṇa's reference to Nāradiya explained - Nārada wrote a work on politics also - one half verse common to Vikramorvaśīya and Nārada - 'dināra' occurs in Nārada - Dr. Jolly says Nārada is later than 300 A. D. - Jolly's assumption wrong - dināras may have been introduced into India about beginning of Christian era - Nārada flourished between 100-300 A. D. - home of Nārada cannot be ascertained - Dr. Jolly's theory that he came from Nepal is pure guess-work - Jyotir-Nārada, Brhan-Nārada, Laghu-Nārada - Mahābhārata quotes Nārada's view on flesh-eating, on utpātas.

#### Sec. 37 Brhaspati:

... 207-213

The complete smṛti of Brhaspati on vyavahāra not yet discovered - Brhaspati closely follows Manu, pointedly refers to Manu's text and explains and defines the laconic terms of Manu - Brhaspati treats of nine ordeals - order in which topics of vyavahāra were dealt with in Brhaspati - Brhaspati first to clearly distinguish between civil and criminal justice-elaborate rules of procedure - close agreement between Nārada and Brhaspati on many points - Brhaspati agrees closely with Manu, but differs from him as to partibility of clothes and as to maximum interest on corn, fruit, wood and beasts of burden - age of Brhaspati - later than Manu and Yaj. - Brhaspati uses the words nāṇaka and dināra - probably of same age as Nārada - Kātyāyana who is regarded as an ancient sage by Viśvarūpa about 825 A. D. frequently refers to the views of Brhaspati - Dr. Jolly wrong in assigning Brhaspati to 6 or 7th century - Brhaspati flourished between 200-400 A. D. - home of Brhaspati cannot be determined - verses of Brhaspati on ācāra, śrāddha, āsauca and saṁskāra in Mitākṣarā, Smṛticandrikā and other works - a Vṛddha Brhaspati and a Jyotir-Brhaspati.

Sec. 38 *Kātyāyana* :

... pp. 213-221

Work of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra not yet recovered – account given here based on quotations – Nārada and Brhaspati are models of Kātyāyana – on several points he presupposes Nārada – Nārada very brief on stridhana, while Kātyāyana's treatment is classical – Kātyāyana first to give definitions of some kinds of stridhana – Kātyāyana often refers to Brhaspati's views – About 900 verses of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra quoted in digests – he refers to Bṛghu 20 times – only a few of these are found in Manu – Many of the views attributed in Kātyāyana to Manu are not found in extant Manusmṛti – some of the views ascribed to Mānavas by Kātyāyana differed from the views of the extant Manusmṛti – some verses are ascribed to Kātyāyana and Manu, Yājñavalkya and Brhaspati in the digests – Kātyāyana is in advance of Nārada and Brhaspati in the matter of definitions and as to rules on stridhana – Kātyāyana probably first to distinguish between *jayapatra* and *patcatkara* – date of Kātyāyana – later than Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Brhaspati – flourished between 400-600 A. D. – Medhātithi (on Manu 7. 1) quotes a Kātyāyana sūtra in prose – Brhat Kātyāyana and Vṛddha Kātyāyana – Hemādri speaks of Upa-Kātyāyana – the Karmaṇḍapī of Kātyāyana or Gobhila-smṛti in 500 verses – contents thereof – authors named by Karmaṇḍapī – some verses of it identical with Manu, Yājñavalkya and Mahābhārata – Karmaṇḍapī profusely quoted in Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā and to a lesser degree by Mitākṣarā – some quotations ascribed to Kātyāyana on topics other than vyavahāra are not found in the Karmaṇḍapī – Kātyāyana composed some large work of which Karmaṇḍapī is part or abridgment – no sufficient data to identify jurist Kātyāyana and the author of the Karmaṇḍapī.

Sec. 39 *Āṅgiras* :

... pp. 221-223

Quoted frequently on all topics except vyavahāra by writers from Viśvarūpa-Smṛticandrikā quotes some prose passages from Āṅgiras – several compilations on prāyaścitta attributed to Āṅgiras – Brhad-Āṅgiras and Madhyamāṅgiras.

Sec. 40 *R̥gveda* :

... p. 223

Frequently quoted by Mitākṣarā, Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā on ācāra, aśauca and śrāddha – one verse on partition – a prose quotation in Smṛticandrikā.

Sec. 41 *Karṇājini* : ... p. 223

Sec. 42 *Caturvīṃśatimata* : ... p. 223-225

Embodies in 525 verses the opinions of 24 sages - contents - quoted by Mitakṣarā and Aparārka, but not by Viśvarūpa and Medhatithi - probably compiled about 8th or 9th century A. D. - Bhaṭṭoji commented upon it.

Sec. 43 *Dakṣa* : ... pp. 225-226

Mentioned by Yaj. - Viśvarūpa quotes him several times - Aparārka quotes a prose passage - contents of printed Dakṣasmṛti in 220 verses.

Sec. 44 *Pitāmaha* : ... pp. 226-227

Quotations from Pitāmaha occur mostly on vyavahāra, particularly ordeals - he treats of nine ordeals - 50 *chālas* enumerated by Pitāmaha in which king took action without a complaint - views peculiar to Pitāmaha, viz. 18 lowest castes, eight constituents of hall of justice, &c. - mentions Bṛhaspati - flourished between 400-700 A. D.

Sec. 45 *Pulastya* : ... p. 228

An expounder of dharma named in a verse of Vṛddha Yajñavalkya - Viśvarūpa, Mitakṣarā, Aparārka cite many verses on ahnika and śrāddha - Danaratnākara cites a prose passage of Pulastya - composed between 4th and 7th century A. D.

Sec. 46 *Pracetasa* : ... p. 229

A dharmasāstra writer mentioned by Parāśara, though not by Yaj. - prose and verse quotations cited by Mitakṣarā and Aparārka - a few prose quotations in Haradatta on Gautama and Smṛticandrika - Vṛddha Pracetasa and Bṛhat Pracetasa.

Sec. 47 *Prajāpati* : ... pp. 229-230

Prajāpati cited as authority by Baudhāyana Dh. S. ( II. 4. 15 ) and Vasiṣṭha ( III. 47 &c. ) - they mean probably Manu - a compilation in 198 verses ascribed to Prajāpati - Mit. and Aparārka and others quote Prajāpati on āśauca, prāyaścitta, śrāddha, ordeals and vyavahāra.



Sec. 48 *Marici* : ... pp. 230-231

Quoted on ahnikā, āśauca, śrāddha and vyavahāra by Mitākṣarā, Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā - recommends writing as essential for sale, mortgage, gift and partition of immovables.

Sec. 49 *Yama* : ... pp. 231-235

Yama quoted in Vas. Dh. S. ( 18. 13-15 and 19. 48 ) - various printed compilations in verse ascribed to Yama — Brhad Yama in 5 chapters and 182 verses— Viśvarūpa and others quote about a hundred verses of Yama on all topics including vyavahāra—some of these found in printed text - a few prose passages of Yama quoted by Aparārka - Anuśāsanaparva 10.4. 72-74 quotes gāthās of Yama - some views of Yama on vyavahāra set out - Brhad Yama, Laghu Yama and Svalpa Yama.

Sec. 50 *Laugakṣi* : ... pp. 235-236

Mitākṣarā quotes verses on āśauca and prāyaścitta, while Aparārka quotes prose and verse passages on saṁskāras, vaiśvadeva &c.

Sec. 51 *Vilvāmītra* : ... p. 236

Named by Vṛddha Yājñavalkya - verses quoted on all topics except vyavahāra.

Sec. 52 *Vyāsa* : ... pp. 236-238

Printed compilation ascribed to Vyāsa in 250 verses - contents - about two hundred verses of Vyāsa on vyavahāra cited in Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā and other works - his doctrines closely agree with those of Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana - some of his views on vyavahāra set out - flourished between 200-500 A. D. - Aparārka cites many verses from Vyāsa on saṁskāras, śrāddha &c. - probably Vyāsa the jurist is identical with the latter - Gadya-Vyāsa, Vṛddha-Vyāsa and Brhad-Vyāsa, Mahāvyaśa and Laghu Vyāsa.

Sec. 53 *Śaṭ-triṁśan-mata* : ... pp. 238-239

This was a compilation like Caturviṁśati-mata - quotations from it cited in Kalpataru, Mitākṣarā, Smṛticandrikā and Aparārka - Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi do not mention it - date between 700-900 A. D. - no verse quoted from this on vyavahāra.



Sec. 54 *Samgraha or Smṛtisamgraha* : ... pp. 239-242

Quoted by Mitākṣarā, Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā on several topics of dharma—quotations on vyavahāra are many and important for history of Hindu Law - views of Samgrahakāra and Dhāreśvara coincide in many respects and were criticized by Mitākṣarā - date of Samgraha between 8th and 10th centuries.

Sec. 55 *Saṁvarta* : ... pp. 242-244

Mentioned as dharmaśāstrakāra by Yāj. - cited on all topics of dharma by Viśvarūpa, Medhatithi, Mitākṣarā - Aparārka quotes about 200 verses - some of his views on vyavahāra - contents of printed Saṁvarta in 230 verses - Bṛhat Saṁvarta and Svalpa Saṁvarta.

Sec. 56 *Hārta* : ... p. 244

Verses from Hārta on vyavahāra deserve special treatment - some of his views set out, e.g. definition of vyavahāra, four aspects of vyavahāra, importance of writing, defects of plaint and reply, protection of long possession, when title by itself is decisive against long possession, five kinds of sureties, treatment of erring wives - his date between 400-700 A. D.

Sec. 57 *Commentaries and Nibandhas* : ... pp. 246-247

Dharmaśāstra literature falls into three periods, the first from 600 B. C. to 100 A. D. being the period of the dharmaśāstras and of the Manusmṛti, the 2nd from 100 A. D. to 800 A. D. of Yājñavalkya and other smṛtis and third from 700 to 1800 of commentators and authors of digests - first part of this last period contains commentaries - digests written from 11th century - no hard and fast line between commentaries and digests - these to be treated of in chronological order as far as possible.

Sec. 58 *Asaṁhṛta* : ... pp. 247-251

Portion of his bhāṣya on Nārada ( up to verse 21 of abhyupetyāśuśreṣa ) published by Dr. Jolly - Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa revised it - exact relationship of Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa's revision to original not clear, but he took great liberties - Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa was encouraged by

Keśavabhaṭṭa - Viśvarūpa on Yāj. (III. 263-264) mentions Asahāya by name and quotes latter's explanation of Gautama 22. 13. - Hāralata of Aniruddha speaks of bhāṣya of Asahāya on Gautama - from a passage of Sarasvativilāsa it appears that Asahāya commented on Manu also - Medhātithi on Manu 8. 156 quotes Asahāya - Mitākṣarā mentions the views of Asahāya - date of Asahāya between 600-750 A. D. - a few views of Asahāya set out, viz. definition of dāya, succession to Śulka of a woman, succession to a childless brāhmaṇa.

Sec. 59 *Bhartr̥yājña* : ... pp. 251-252

An ancient Bhāṣyakāra mentioned by Medhātithi (on Manu 8. 3) - his views cited by Trikaṇḍamaṇḍana - he wrote bhāṣya on Kātyāyana śrautasūtra and Pāraskara grhyasūtra - probably he commented on Gautamadharmasūtra - flourished about 800 A. D.

Sec. 60 *Viśvarūpa* : ... pp. 252-264

His commentary called Bālakriḍā on Yāj. published at Trivandrum - Mitākṣarā refers to it in introductory verses and on Yāj. (I. 80 and III. 24) - printed com. of Viśvarūpa on vyavāhāra portion of Yāj. is very meagre - literature referred to or quoted by Viśvarūpa - most of the quotations from Svāyambhuva found in extant Manu, but not so those ascribed to Bṛghu - quotes prose passages of Bṛhaspati on vyavahāra - quotes a verse of Viśālākṣa on politics and refers to arthaśāstras of Bṛhaspati and Uśanas - Kauṭilya not named, yet Viśvarūpa seems to have had his work before him - Viśvarūpa's work saturated with doctrines of Pūrvamīmāṃsā - quotes Śabara and Śloka-vārtika - quotes his own kārīkās on Yāj. I. 7. and other places - his philosophical views identical with Śaṅkarācārya's - Dr. Jolly's view that citations of Viśvarūpa in the Smṛticandrikā on certain points not traced in the printed Bālakriḍā examined and shown to be incorrect - some citations of Viśvarūpa's views in Gr̥hastharatnākara and Hemādri not found in printed text of Viśvarūpa - points in which Viśvarūpa and Mitākṣarā differ set out - Viśvarūpa must have flourished between 750 and 1000 A. D. - If Viśvarūpa identical with Sureśvara, pupil of Śaṅkara, then he flourished between 800-850 - reasons for identity set out - Maṇḍana and

Sureśvara not identical – Bhavabhūti and Umbeka identical, but not same as Sureśvara – a digest called *Viśvarūpanibandha* by another *Viśvarūpa* – a *Viśvarūpasamuccaya* mentioned by Raghunandana.

Sec. 61 *Bhāruci* : ... pp. 264-266

His views quoted by *Mitākṣarā* on Yāj. I. 81 and II. 124 – a *Bhāruci* mentioned as an ancient teacher of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* system by *Rāmānujācārya* in his *Vedārthasaṅgraha* – *Bhāruci* the philosopher is probably identical with *Bhāruci* the jurist – from notices in the *Sarasvatīvilāsa* *Bhāruci* seems to have commented on the *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* – *Bhāruci* and *Mitākṣarā* disagreed on numerous points.

Sec. 62 *Śrīkara* : ... pp. 266-268

Views of *Śrīkara* set out – first writer to propound the view that spiritual benefit was the criterion for judging of superior rights to succession – probably a *Maithilā* – difficult to say whether he wrote a commentary or an independent digest – flourished between 800-1050 A. D.

Sec. *Medhātithi* : ... pp. 266-275

Wrote an extensive commentary on *Manu* – printed *bhāṣya* corrupt in 8th, 9th and 12th chapters – reference to king *Madana* having restored *Medhātithi's* *bhāṣya* explained – Dr. Jolly says *Medhātithi* was a southerner – this is wrong – He was a northerner and probably a *Kashmirian* – literature known to *Medhātithi* – *smṛtis* quoted by him – mentions *Asahāya*, *Bhartr̥yājña*, *Yajvan*, *Upādhyāya*, *R̥ju*, *Viṣṇusvāmin* – *Medhātithi* saturated with *Purva-mīmāṃsā* – his reference to *Śārīraka* explained – *Medhātithi* and *Śaṅkarācārya* – peculiar views of *Medhātithi* set out – wrote *Smṛti-viveka* from which he quotes verses in his *Manubhāṣya* – date of *Medhātithi* – flourished between 825-900 A. D.

Sec. 64 *Dhāreśvara Bhojadeva* : ... pp. 275-279

*Mitākṣarā* (on Yāj. II. 135 and III 24) mentions views of *Dhāreśvara* – *Dhāreśvara* is to be identified with king *Bhojadeva* of *Dhārā* – works on numerous branches of knowledge attributed to *Bhoja* of *Dhārā* such as on *Poetics*, *Rājamrgaṅka* (on astronomy), a com. on *Yogasūtras* – *Śuddhikaumudī* of *Govindānanda* mentions

Rajamārtanḍa of Bhoja on śrāddha - Mitākṣarā and Dhāreśvara disagree on several points, e. g. on the question whether ownership was known from śāstra alone, on the meaning of 'duhitarah' in Yāj. - on other points the two agree - Bhūpālapaddhati or simply Bhūpāla or rāja refers to a work of Bhojadeva - Bhujabalabhima of Bhojarāja quoted in Tithitattva and Āhnikatattva of Raghunandana as distinct from the Rajamārtanḍa - Bhoja reigned from 1000 to 1055 A. D. - Dharmapradīpa of Bhoja is the work of another Bhoja, who was son of Bhāramalla and king of Aśapura - it was written between 1400-1600 A. D.

Sec. 65 *Devasvāmin* : ... pp. 279-281

Said by Smṛticandrikā to have composed a digest of smṛtis - Nārāyaṇa, commentator of Āśvalāyanagr̥hya, relies on bhāṣya of Devasvāmin - he composed a digest on ācāra, vyavahāra and āśauca - Smṛticandrikā quotes his views on the meaning of Yautaka, on the meaning of duhitarah in Yāj., on Manu 9. 141 - A Devasvāmin commented on Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtras and on the Saṃkarsakāṇḍa - difficult to say whether he is identical with the writer on dharmaśāstra - Devasvāmin flourished about 1000-1050 A. D.

Sec. 66 *Jitendriya* : ... 281-283

He is frequently quoted by Jīmūtavāhana in his three works - Jitendriya held that the wives of a person whether separated or joint succeeded to their deceased husband - no early writer other than Jīmūtavāhana cites him - flourished between 1000-1050 A. D.

Sec. 67 *Bālaka* : ... pp. 283-284

Mentioned by Jīmūtavāhana, Śulapaṇi, Raghunandana - several views of Bālaka set out - flourished before 1100 A. D.

Sec. 68 *Bālarūpa* : ... pp. 284-286

The opinions of Bālarūpa are cited in the Smṛtisāra and Vivādacandra - also in the Vivādacintāmaṇi - he wrote at least on vyavahāra and Kāla - Bālaka and Bālarūpa are probably identical - Bālarūpa is certainly earlier than 1250 A. D. - Vivādacandra once speaks of 'author of Bālarūpa', suggesting thereby that Bālarūpa was a work.

Sec. 69 *Yogloka* : ... pp. 286-287

Known only from works of Jimūtavāhana and Raghunandana - Jimūtavāhana only rarely agrees with him and generally criticizes him and taunts him with being a logician merely - Brhad Yogloka and Svalpa Yogloka - Yogloka wrote at least on vyavahāra and Kāla - flourished between 950-1050.

Sec. 70 *Vijñāneśvara* : ... pp. 287-293

The unique position of the Mitākṣarā on account of being esteemed as of paramount authority by British Indian courts - the several names of the Mitākṣarā - quotes a host of smṛti writers and six predecessors as authors of commentaries and digests - personal history of Vijñāneśvara - profound student of pūrvamīmāṃsā - date of Vijñāneśvara - between 1070-1100 - out of many commentators of the Mitākṣarā three famous - peculiar doctrines of the Mitākṣarā - seems to have been author of Āśaucadaśaka also - several commentaries on Āśaucadaśaka by Harihara, Raghunātha and Bhaṭṭoji - Vijñāneśvara not the author of Trimsat-śloki - Nārāyaṇa, a pupil of Vijñāneśvara, wrote Vyavahāra-śiromaṇi.

Sec. 71 *Kāmadhenu* : ... pp. 293-296

An ancient digest not yet discovered - quoted by Kalpataru, Hāralatā, and other works - Gopāla, the author of Kāmadhenu - Aufrecht's view that Śambhu is the author of Kāmadhenu wrong - Śambhu is a nibandhakāra on dharma cited by Smṛticandrikā and Hemādri - Mr. Jayasval wrongly ascribes Kāmadhenu to Bhoja - probable date of Kāmadhenu between 1000-1100 A. D.

Sec. 72 *Halāyudha* : ... pp. 296-301

A jurist quoted by Kalpataru, Smṛtisāra and other works - he flourished between 1000-1100 A. D. - he was probably a Maithila or a Bengal writer - Halāyudha, author of Abhidhānatnamāla, Kavirahasya and Mṛtasañjivani (com. on chandah-sūtra), is different - he hailed from the Deccan and flourished between 940-995 A. D. - another Halāyudha, author of Brāhmaṇasarvasva - personal history of this Halāyudha - judge of Lakṣmaṇasena, king of Bengal - Halāyudha's literary activity between 1175-1200 A. D. - another Halāyudha, author of Prakāśa, commentary on the śrāddhakalpasūtra of Kātyāyana - he flourished between 1150 and 1500 A. D.

- Sec. 73 *Bhavadevabhāṭṭa* : ... pp. 301-306

Author of *Vyavahāratilaka* - also of *Karmānuṣṭhānapāddhati* or *Daśakarmapāddhati* - contents of latter - another work is *Prayasācittanirūpaṇa* - light on personal history of Bhavadeva in inscription at Bhuvaneśvara - he was a great builder of temples and tanks - flourished between 1050-1150 A. D. - Bhavadeva and *Pradīpa* - other authors on *dharmaśāstra* named Bhavadeva.

- Sec. 74 *Prakāśa* : ... pp. 306-308

An ancient work on *vyavahāra*, *dāna*, *śraddha* &c. - whether an independent digest is doubtful - was probably a commentary on *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* composed between 1000-1100 A. D. - *Mahārṇava-prakāśa*, *Smṛtimahārṇava* or *Mahārṇava* quoted by Hemādri are all names for the same work - probably *Prakāśa* and *Smṛtimahārṇava-prakāśa* are identical.

- Sec. 75 *Pārijāta* : ... pp. 308-309

Several works on *dharma* end in *Pārijāta* - an ancient work called *Pārijāta* quoted by *Kalpataru* - it dealt with at least *vyavahāra*, *dāna* - composed between 1000-1125 A. D.

- Sec. 76 *Govindarāja* : ... pp. 309-315

Wrote com. on *Manusmṛiti* and a work called *Smṛtimañjarī* - personal history of Govindarāja - he is not to be identified with king Govindacandra of Benares - Kullūka frequently criticizes Govindarāja - contents of *Smṛtimañjarī* - date of Govindarāja between 1050-1140 A. D.

- Sec. 77 *The Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara* : ... pp. 315-318

An extensive work which exercised great influence over early Mithilā and Bengal writers - personal history of Lakṣmīdhara - work divided into fourteen *kāṇḍas* - their arrangement - contents of *vyavahāra*, *rājadharmā* and *dāna* *kāṇḍas* - date of *Kalpataru* between 1100-1150 A. D. - *Caṇḍeśvara* borrowed extensively from *Kalpataru*.

- Sec. 78 *Jimātavahana* : ... pp. 318-327

He is first of the three great Bengal writers on *dharmaśāstra* - only three works known, *Kalaviveka*, *Vyavahāramātrkā* and *Daya-*

bhāga - these three parts of a projected digest called Dharmaratna - object and contents of Kālaviveka - works quoted in Kālaviveka - profound study of Pūrvamīmāṃsā displayed therein - contents of Vyavahāra-mātrka - works quoted in it - Dāyabhāga most famous of his works and of paramount authority in Bengal on Hindu Law - contents of Dāyabhāga - doctrines peculiar to Dāyabhāga - authors and works named in the Dāyabhāga - personal history of Jimūtavāhana - his date - divergent views - literary activity lies between 1090-1130 A. D. - Did Jimūtavāhana know the Mitākṣarā ?

Sec. 79 *Aparārka* : ... pp. 328-334

Wrote a voluminous commentary on Yājñavalkyasmṛti - authors and works quoted by Aparārka - studiously avoids naming his predecessors who were writers of digests - peculiar views of Aparārka - evidence to show that Aparārka knew the Mitākṣarā - date of Aparārka - Smṛticāndrikā criticizes Aparārka - Aparārka was a Śilāhara prince - inscriptions of Śilāharas - commentary written about 1125 A. D.

Sec. 80 *Pradīpa* : ... pp. 334-335

An independent work on vyavahāra, śraddha, śuddhi and other topics - between 1100-1150 A. D.

Sec. 81 *Smṛtyarthasāra of Śrīdhara* : ... pp. 335-337

Contents of - personal history of Śrīdhara - authors and works relied on as authorities - Śrīdhara probably composed another larger work - date between 1150-1200 A. D.

Sec. 82 *Aniruddha* : ... pp. 337-340

An early and eminent Bengal writer - wrote Hāralatā and Pitṛdayitā alias Karmopadeśinipaddhati - contents of Hāralatā and of Pitṛdayitā - authors and works named in them - personal history of Aniruddha - flourished in 3rd quarter of 12th century.

Sec. 83 *Ballālasena* : ... pp. 340-341

Compiled at least four works, Ācārasāgara, Adbhutasāgara, Dānasāgara, Pratiṣṭhāsāgara - subjects dealt with in Dānasāgara - Adbhutasāgara left incomplete and finished by his son Lakṣmaṇasena - Dānasāgara valuable for checking the text of the *Purāṇas* -



literary activity in 3rd quarter of 12th century, as *Danasagara* was composed in śaka 1091 - *Aniruddha* was *guru* of *Ballālasena*.

Sec. 84 *Harihara* : ... pp. 341-343

A writer on *vyavahāra* - he flourished before 1300 A. D. - *Harihara* composed commentary on *Paraskaragṛhyasūtra* - this *Harihara* flourished between 1150 and 1250 A. D. - whether he was pupil of *Vijñāneśvara* - a *Harihara* comments on *Āsaucadaśaka* - jurist *Harihara* probably identical with *bhāṣyakāra* of *Paraskara* - several *Hariharas* known.

Sec. 85 *Smṛticandrikā of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa* : ... pp. 343-347

An extensive digest - printed text deals with *śaṁskāra*, *ācāra*, *vyavahāra*, *śrāddha* and *āsauca* - he wrote on *prāyaścitta* also - name variously written - profusely quotes *Smṛtikāras*, 600 verses of *Katyāyana* alone on *vyavahāra* being quoted - authors and works named - author a southerner - contents - points in which *Mitākṣarā* and *Smṛticandrikā* differ - date between 1150 and 1225 A. D. - several works named *Smṛticandrikā*.

Sec. 86 *Haradatta* : ... pp. 347-353

His fame high as a commentator - his *Anākūla* on *Āpastambagṛhya*, *Anāvila* on *Āśvalāyanagṛhya*, *Mitākṣarā* on *Gautamadharmasūtra*, *Ujjvalā* on *Āpastambadharmasūtra* and a com. on the *Āpastambamantrapāṭha* - explains grammatical peculiarities at great length - he was a southerner - a great devotee of *Śiva* - tradition says *Rudradatta* and *Haradatta* are identical - *Haradatta* on widow's right of succession - interesting information from *Haradatta* - date, a difficult problem - between 1100-1300 A. D. - *Haradatta*, commentator of *dharmaśāstra* works, is identical with *Haradatta*, author of *Padamañjari* - *Haradattācārya* mentioned in *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa* and *Śivarahasya* is probably the *Haradattācārya* cited in *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* - *Hariharatārātamyā* and *Caturvedatātparyasamgraha* are works ascribed to *Haradatta*.

Sec. 87 *Hemādri* : ... pp. 354-359

He and *Mādhava* the two outstanding *dakṣiṇāṭya* writers on *dharmaśāstra* - his *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* is a huge work of an ency-  
M. D. F.



cloptædic character - projected to contain five sections - printed parts comprise vrata, dāna, śrāddha and kāla - Hemādri a profound student of Pūrvamīmāṃsā - predecessors named by him - personal history of Hemādri - his connection with Yādavas of Devagiri - genealogy of the Yādavas - Caturvargacintāmaṇi composed about 1270 A. D. - com. on Śaunaka's Praṇavakalpa and a śrāddhakalpa according to Kātyāyana are attributed to him - Vopadeva, a friend and a protegee of Hemādri - references to Hemādri's work in grants.

Sec. 88 *Kullukabhaṭṭa* : ... pp. 359-363

A famous commentator of Manusmṛti - he drew largely upon Medhātithi's bhāṣya and Govindarāja - Sir William Jones on Kullūka - authors and works quoted by him - personal history - he wrote Smṛtivilēka, of which Āśaucasāgara, Śrāddhasāgara and Vivādasāgara were parts - contents of Śrāddhasāgara - this is full of Pūrvamīmāṃsā discussions - date of Kullūka uncertain - flourished between 1150-1300 A. D.

Sec. 89 *Śrīdatta Upadhyāya* : ... pp. 363-365

One of the earliest *nibandhakaras* on dharmasāstra from Mithilā - contents of Ācārādarsa and authors quoted therein - his Candogāhnikā - his Pitrabhakti - authors quoted in it - his, Śrāddhakalpa - his Samayapradīpa - contents of the work - flourished between 1200-1300 A. D., probably about 1275-1300 A. D. - another Śrīdattamiśra, a Maithilā writer, who flourished towards end of 14th century.

Sec. 90 *Caṇḍeśvara* : ... pp. 366-372

Most prominent among Maithilā *nibandhakaras* - compiled extensive digest called Smṛtiratnākara in seven sections on dāna, kṛtya vyavahāra, śuddhi, pūjā, vivāda and grhasṭha - contents of Kṛtyaratnākara, Grhasṭharatnākara, Dānaratnākara, Vivādaratnākara and other ratnākaras - he also compiled Kṛtyacintāmaṇi, the Rājanītiratnākara, Dānavākyāvali and Śivavākyāvali - contents of Rājanītiratnākara - he drew principally upon five viz. Kāmadhenu, Kalpataru, Pārijāta, Prakāśa and Halāyudha - authors and works quoted - personal history of Caṇḍeśvara - genealogy - he was minister of Harisimhadeva of Mithilā and later of Bhavēśa and weighed himself against gold in 1314 A. D. - literary activity between 1314-1370 A. D.

Sec. 91 *Harinātha* : ... pp. 372-374

Author of a digest called *Smṛtisāra* - names numerous authorities - contents - flourished in first half of 14th century - several works styled *Smṛtisāra*.

Sec. 92 *Mādhavācārya* : ... pp. 374-381

The most eminent of dakṣināya writers on dharmaśāstra - two works on dharmaśāstra deserve special notice, viz. *Parāśara Mādhaviya* and *Kālanirṇaya* - authors and works quoted in them - contents of *Kālanirṇaya* - family and personal history of *Mādhavācārya* - his brother *Sāyana* - *Mādhava* founded Vijayanagar in 1335 A. D. - pedigree of Vijayanagar kings - the two works were composed between 1340-1360 A. D. - literary activity of *Mādhava Vidyāranya* between 1330-1385 A. D. - *Mādhava Vidyāranya* different from *Mādhava mantrin* who was governor of Banavase and Goa - several commentaries of *Kālanirṇaya*.

Sec. 93 *Madanapāla and Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa* : ... 381-389

Four works attributed to *Madanapāla*, a great patron of learning like *Bhoja*, viz. *Madanapārijāta*, *Smṛtimahārṇava* or *Madanamahārṇava*, *Tithinirṇayasāra* and *Smṛtikaumudī* - *Madanapārijāta* really composed by *Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa* - contents of *Madanapārijāta* - *Mahārṇava* ascribed to *Māndhātā*, a son of *Madanapāla* - principal topics of the work - *Tithinirṇayasāra* - *Smṛtikaumudī* deals with dharmas of *Sādras* - contents - all the above four works probably composed by *Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa* - *Subodhinī*, com. on *Mitākṣarā* by *Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa* is a leading authority in Benares school of Hindu Law - pedigree of *Madanapāla* - other works on astronomy and medicine attributed to *Madanapāla* - date of *Madanapāla*, between 1300-1400 A. D. - *Madanavinodanighaṇṭu* composed in 1431 of Vikrama era i. e. 1375 A. D.

Sec. 94 *Madanaratna* : ... pp. 389-393

An extensive digest on dharmaśāstra, variously styled - seven *uddiyotas* of it on *samaya*, *ācāra*, *vyavahāra*, *prayaścitta*, *dāna*, *śuddhi*, *śanti* - contents of *uddiyotas* on *samaya*, *dāna*, and *śanti* - work composed under *Madanasīṅhadeva*, son of *Śaktisīṅhadeva* - pedigree of the family - *Madanasīṅha* called together four learned men,

Ratnākara, Gopinātha, Viśvanātha and Gaṅgādhara, and entrusted composition of work to them - date of Madanaratna between 1350-1500, probably about 1425-50.

Sec. 95 *Śalapani* : ... pp. 393-396

His authority in Bengal is next only to Jīmūtavāhana's - *Dīpa-kalika*, commentary on Yājñavalkya, his earliest work - holds archaic views on inheritance - his *Smṛtiviveka*, of which fourteen parts ending in 'viveka' are known - *Durgotsavaviveka* is amongst his latest works - *Śrāddhaviveka* is his most famous work - authors and works named by him - personal history little known - exact age uncertain - flourished between 1375-1460 A. D.

Sec. 96 *Rudradhara* : ... pp. 396-398

A Maithila writer - wrote *Śrāddhaviveka*, *Śuddhiviveka*, *Vratapaddhati* and *Varṣakṛtya*, the first being the most famous of his works - flourished between 1425-1460 A. D.

Sec. 97 *Misaramiśra* : ... pp. 398-399

Wrote *Vivādacandra* - contents - work composed under orders of queen Lachīmādevī, wife of prince Candrasīmha of Mithilā - flourished about 1450 A. D.

Sec. 98 *Vacaspatimiśra* : ... pp. 399-405

The foremost nibandhakāra of Mithilā - his *Vivādacintāmaṇi* of paramount authority on matters of Hindu Law in Mithilā - a voluminous writer - several works of his styled *Cintāmaṇi* on *ācāra*, *āhnikā*, *kṛtya*, *tīrtha*, *dvaita*, *nīti*, *vivāda*, *vyavahāra*, *śuddhi*, *śūdrācāra*, *śrāddha* - works named by him - a group of his works ends in 'nirṇaya' viz. *Tithinirṇaya*, *Dvaitanirṇaya*, *Mahādānanirṇaya*, *Vivādanirṇaya*, *Śuddhinirṇaya*, - he also contemplated writing seven works styled *Mahārṇava* on *kṛtya*, *ācāra*, *vivāda*, *vyavahāra*, *dāna*, *śuddhi* and *pitṛyajña* - other works of his- *Śrāddhakalpa* or *Pitṛbhaktitarāṅgiṇī* his last work - personal history of *Vacaspati* - connected with king Bhairava and his son Rāmabhadra - genealogy of Kameśvara kings - *Vacaspati* flourished between 1425-1480 A. D. - philosopher *Vacaspati* different.

Sec. 99 *Nṛsiṃhaprasāda* : ... pp. 406-410

An encyclopaedic work - divided into 12 sections called 'sāra' - the author's name variously given as *Dalapati* or *Dalādhiśa* - personal

history - writers and works named - contents of the work - flourished between 1400-1510 A. D., probably about 1490 to 1510.

Sec. 100 *Pratāparudradeva* : ... 410-414

He was king of the Gajapati dynasty in Orissa and composed *Sarasvativilāsa* - pedigree and history of family - purpose and contents of *Sarasvativilāsa* - works quoted - composed between 1497-1539 A. D. - Foulke's theory about date not acceptable - the *Pratāpamārtanḍa* or *Praudhapratāpamārtanḍa* of *Pratāparudradeva*.

Sec. 101 *Govindānanda* : ... pp. 414-415

Author of *Dānakaumudī*, *Śuddhikaumudī*, *Śrāddhakaumudī* and *Varṣakriyākaumudī* and a com. called *Arthakaumudī* on the *Śuddhidīpikā* of *Śrinivāsa* and a com. *Tattvārthakaumudī* on the *Prāyaścittaviveka* of *Śaṅkara* - literary activity between 1500-1540 A. D.

Sec. 102 *Raghunānanda* : ... pp. 416-419

Last great writer of Bengal on dharmaśāstra - wrote an *encyclopaedia* called *Smṛtitattva* in 28 sections - names over 300 authors and works - 28 tattvas enumerated - other works besides these 28 - wrote also com. on *Dāyabhāga* - personal history - authors and works quoted - flourished between 1500-1575.

Sec. 103 *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa* : ... pp. 419-421

The most famous member of the *Bhaṭṭa* family of Benares - personal history - born in 1513 A. D. - among his works are *Antyeṣṭipaddhati*, *Tristhalisetu*, *Prayogaratna*, and com. on verses of *Kālamādhava* - literary activity between 1540-1570 A. D. - *Nārāyaṇa* author of *Dharmapravṛtti* different.

Sec. 104 *Toḍarānanda* : ... pp. 421-423

An *encyclopaedia* on dharma, several parts of which were called *Saṅkhyā* - authors and works quoted - personal history of *Toḍarānanda* - he died in 1589.

Sec. 105 *Nandapaṇḍita* : ... pp. 423-432

A voluminous writer on dharmaśāstra - author of com. on *Parāśarasmṛiti* and on the *Mitākṣarā* of *Vijñāneśvara* - his *Śrāddha*-

kalpalatā - his Śuddhicandrikā, a com. on the Śaḍaśīti - his work styled Smṛtisindhu and a summary of it styled Tattvamuktāvalī - his Vaijyanti, a com. on Viṣṇudharmasūtra - his agreements and disagreements with Mitākṣarā - Dattaka-mimāṃsā, his most famous work - it is regarded by British Indian courts and Privy Council as standard work on adoption - his views set out - personal history - he had various patrons - his thirteen works - Vaijyanti composed in 1623 A. D.

Sec. 104 *Kamalākaraḥṭṭa* : ... pp. 432-437

Grandson of Nārāyaṇaḥṭṭa - personal history - composed more than 22 works on several śāstras - about a dozen works on dharmaśāstra, the Nirṇayasindhu, Śūdrakamalākara and Vivādatāṇḍava being most famous - he meant all the works on dharmaśāstra to be parts of a digest called Dharmatattva - contents of Pūrtakamalākara, Śāntiratna, Vivādatāṇḍava, Śūdrakamalākara and Nirṇayasindhu - the last, one of his earliest works composed in 1612 A. D. and so his literary activity lies between 1610-1650 A. D.

Sec. 107 *Nilakaṇṭhaḥṭṭa* : ... pp. 438-440

Grandson of Nārāyaṇaḥṭṭa and son of Śaṅkaraḥṭṭa - personal history - his work Bhagavantaḥṭṭa divided into twelve mayūkhās composed in honour of Bhagavantaḥṭṭa, Bundella chieftain - also wrote Vyavaharataṭṭva - estimate of his qualities as a writer - his Vyavahāramayūkha is of paramount authority on Hindu Law in Gujerat, Bombay Island and North Konkan - his literary activity - flourished between 1610-1650 - divergence of views between the cousins Kamalākara and Nilakaṇṭha..

Sec. 108 *The Vīramitrodaya of Mītramiśra* : ... pp. 440-446

Vīramitrodaya, a vast digest composed by Mītramiśra on all topics of dharmaśāstra - sections called prakāśas - contents of the printed prakāśas on Lakṣaṇa, āhnikā, vyavahāra, tīrtha, pūjā, saṁskāra, rājanīti - highly controversial work - generally follows Vijñāneśvara, but at times severely criticizes him - a work of high authority in Benares school of modern Hindu Law - Mītramiśra also wrote a commentary on Yājñavalkyasmṛiti - personal history - account

and pedigree of his patron Virasirṭha - meaning of title 'Vīramitrodaya' - his literary activity lay in the first half of the 17th century.

Sec. 109 *Anantadeva* : ... pp. 447-453

Composed a vast digest called *Smṛtikaustubha* on *saṁskāra*, *acāra*, *rājadharmā*, *dāna*, *utsarga*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *tithi* and *saṁvatsara* - *Saṁskārakaustubha* is most popular work - contents of *Saṁskārakaustubha* - portion of it on adoption called *Dattakadidhiti* - summary of important views on adoption - contents of *Abdādīdhiti* and *Rājadharmakaustubha* - pedigree of his patron's family - *Anantadeva* wrote at command of *Baz Bahadurcandra* - *Anantadeva* was great-grand-son of *Ekanātha*, a great Marathi poet and saint - his younger brother *Jivadeva* - literary activity between 1645-1695.

Sec. 110 *Nagojibhaṭṭa* : ... pp. 453-456

His learning of an encyclopaedic character - wrote standard works on grammar, *dharmaśāstra*, *yoga*, &c. - total number of works about 30 - wrote about ten works on *dharmaśāstra* - personal history - his patron *Rāma* of the *Bisen* family - pedigrees of *Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita* and *Nagoji's* connection with *Bhaṭṭoji* - literary activity between 1700-1750 A. D.

Sec. 111 *Bālakṛṣṇa* or *Bālabhaṭṭa* : ... pp. 456-462

*Lakṣmīvyākhyāna* or *Bālabhaṭṭa* is a com. on the *Mitākṣara* of *Vijñāneśvara* - *Bālabhaṭṭa* favours latitudinarian views about the rights of women - estimate of *Bālabhaṭṭa* according to judicial decisions - author of *Bālabhaṭṭa* somewhat of an enigma - introductory verses about the authoress *Lakṣmīdevī* - real author *Bālakṛṣṇa*, son of *Vaidyanātha Pāyagunḍa*, who was a pupil of *Nagojibhaṭṭa* - *Bālakṛṣṇa* also wrote *Upakṛtitattva*, *Dharmaśāstrasaṁgraha* - *Vaidyanātha*, the commentator of *Alaṅkāra* works, different from *Vaidyanātha*, *Pāyagunḍa*, the father of *Bālabhaṭṭa* - flourished between 1730-1820 A. D.

Sec. 110 *Kaṭṭnātha Upādhyāya* : ... pp. 463-465

Composed extensive work called *Dharmasindhusāra* - leading work in Deccan now on religious matters - subjects of the work -

personal history - his other works - Dharmasindhu composed in 1790-91 A. D.

Sec. 113 *Jagannātha Tarkapañcāna* : ... pp. 465-466

Among digests compiled under the British the Vivadabhaṅ-gāṇava of Jagannātha is the most famous - Colebrooke translated it in 1796 - topics treated of in it - Jagannātha died in 1806.

Sec. 114 *Conclusion* : ... pp. 466-467

Motives actuating writers on dharmasāstra - their contribution to culture - their defects - their admirable and useful work.



## HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA.

### 1. Meaning of Dharma.

*Dharma* is one of those Sanskrit words that defy all attempts at an exact rendering in English or any other tongue. That word has passed through several vicissitudes. In the hymns of the R̥gveda the word appears to be used either as an adjective or a noun (in the form *dharman*, generally neuter) and occurs at least fifty-six times therein. It is very difficult to say what the exact meaning of the word *dharma* was in the most ancient period of the vedic language. The word is clearly derived from root *dhṛ* (to uphold, to support, to nourish). In a few passages, the word appears to be used in the sense of 'upholder or supporter or sustainer' as in R̥g. I. 187.1<sup>1</sup> and X. 92.2<sup>2</sup>. In these two passages and in R̥g. X. 21.3<sup>3</sup> the word *dharma* is clearly masculine. In all other cases, the word is either obviously in the neuter or presents a form which may be either masculine or neuter. In most cases the meaning of *dharman* is 'religious ordinances or rites' as in R̥g. I. 22. 18, V. 26. 6, VIII. 43. 24, IX. 64. 1 &c. The refrain 'tāni dharmāṇi prathamānyasān' occurs in R̥g. I. 164. 43 and 50, X. 90. 16. Similarly we have the words 'prathamā dharmā' (the primeval or first ordinances) in R̥g. III. 17. 1. and X. 56. 3 and the words 'sanatā dharmāṇi (ancient ordinances) occur in R̥g. III. 3. 1. In some passages this sense of 'religious rites' would not suit the context, e. g. in IV. 53. 3<sup>4</sup>, V. 63. 7<sup>5</sup>, VI. 70. 1<sup>6</sup>, VII. 89. 5<sup>7</sup>. In these passages the meaning seems to be 'fixed principles or rules of conduct'. In the Vājasaneyasaṁhita the above senses of the word *dharman* are found and in II. 3 and V. 27 we have the words 'dhruveṇa dharmāṇa'. In the same Saṁhita

1 वितुं नु स्तोत्रं मुहो धर्माणं नर्विधीम् । This occurs in शुक्लयजुर्वेद 34.7.

2 इममजस्यानुभवे अकृष्यत धर्मोर्णमग्निं विद्धस्य सार्धनम् ।

3 त्वे धर्माणे आसते जुहुमिः सिञ्चतीरिष ।

4 आपा रजोसि दिव्याग्निं पार्थिव्य श्लोकं देवः हृणते स्वाय धर्मजे ।

5 धर्मणा मित्रावरुणा पिपञ्चिता मता रक्षेधे असुरस्य मावया ।

6 यावापृथिवी वरुणस्य धर्मणा विष्कभिते अनरे भूरितता ।

7 अर्चिन्ती यस्तु धर्मो वुर्योपम मा नुस्तस्मादेनसो देव रीरिषः ।



the form 'dharmah' (from *dharma*) becomes frequent, e. g. X. 29, XX. 9. The Atharvaveda contains many of those verses of the R̥gveda in which the word *dharmān* occurs, e. g. VI. 51. 3 ( *acittya chet tava dharmā yuyopima* ), VII. 5. 1 ( *Yajñena yajñamayajanta* ) VII. 27. 5 ( *trīṇi padā vicakrame* ). In XI. 9. 17 the word 'dharmah' seems to be used in the sense of 'merit acquired by the performance of religious rites'. In the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, the word *dharmā* seems to be used in an abstract sense<sup>9</sup>, viz. 'the whole body of religious duties'. In the Chāndogya-upaniṣad<sup>10</sup> ( 2. 23 ) there is an important passage bearing on the meaning of the word *dharmā* 'there are three branches of *dharmā*, one is (constituted by) sacrifice, study and charity ( i. e. the stage of house-holder ); the second ( is constituted by ) austerities ( i. e. the stage of being a hermit ); the third is the *brahmacārīn* dwelling in the house of his teacher and making himself stay with the family of his teacher till the last ; all these attain to the worlds of meritorious men ; one who abides firmly in *brahman* attains immortality.' It will be seen that in this passage the word '*dharmā*' stands for the peculiar duties of the *āśramas*. The foregoing brief discussion establishes how the word *dharmā* passed through several transitions of meaning and how ultimately its most prominent significance came to be 'the privileges, duties and obligations of a man, his standard of conduct as a member of the Āryan community, as a member of one of the castes, as a person in a particular stage of life.' It is in this sense that the word seems to be used in the well-known exhortation to the pupil contained in the Taittirīya-upaniṣad ( I. 11 ) 'speak the truth, practise ( your own ) *dharmā* &c.' It is in the same sense that the Bhagavadgītā uses the word *dharmā* in the oft-quoted verse 'svadharmaṁ nidhanam śreyah.' The word is employed in this sense in the *dharmalāstra* literature. The Manusmṛti ( 1. 2 ) tells us that the

<sup>8</sup> कर्तुं सत्यं तपो रत्नं अमो घर्मश्च कर्म च । भुतं भविष्यदुच्छिष्टे वयिं लक्ष्मीर्बले चले ॥

<sup>9</sup> धर्मस्य गोप्ताजनीति तमभ्युक्तमेवैविदिभिषेह्यन्नेतयार्चामिममप्येव । ऐ. ब्रा. VII. 17; vide also a similar passage at A. Br. VIII. 13. The form *dharmān* occurs in the Upaniṣads and in classical Sanskrit in Bahuvrīhi compounds, e.g. अनुच्छिष्टिधर्मा in the बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, and the sūtra धर्माद्भिच् केवलम् (पा. V. 4. 124).

<sup>10</sup> ययो धर्मस्कन्धा यज्ञोभ्ययनं दानमिति प्रथमस्तत्र एवेति द्वितीयो ब्रह्मचार्यार्चार्चकुलवासी तृतीयोत्पन्तमाभानमाचार्यकुलेवसादयन् सर्व एते पुण्यलोका भवन्ति ब्रह्मसंस्थोमृतत्वमेति ।

Vide वेदान्तसूत्र III. 4. 18-20 for a discussion of this passage.

sages requested Manu to impart instruction in the *dharma*s of all the *varṇas*. The Yājñyavalkya-smṛiti (I. 1) employs it in the same sense. In the Tantra-Vārtika<sup>11</sup> also we are told that all the *dharma*-sūtras are concerned with imparting instruction in the *dharma*s of *varṇas* and *āśramas*. Medhātithi commenting on Manu says that the expounders of *smṛtis* dilate upon *dharma* as five-fold, e. g. *varṇadharma*, *āśrama-dharma*, *varṇāśrama-dharma*, *naimittikadharma* (such as *prāyaścitta*) and *guṇadharma* (the duty of a crowned king, whether Kṣatriya or not, to protect)<sup>12</sup>. It is in this sense that the word *dharma* will be taken in this work. Numerous topics are comprehended under the title *dharmaśāstra*, but in this work prominence will be given to works on *ācāra* and *vyaavahāra* (law and administration of justice).

It would be interesting to recall a few other definitions of *dharma*. Jaimini<sup>13</sup> defines *dharma* as 'a desirable goal or result that is indicated by injunctive (Vedic) passages.' The word *dharma* would mean such rites as are conducive to happiness and are enjoined by Vedic passages. The Vaiśeṣikasūtra<sup>14</sup> defines *dharma* as 'that from which results happiness and final beatitude.' There are several other more or less one-sided definitions of *dharma* such as 'ahiṃsā paramo dharmah' (Anuśāsanaparva 115. 1.), 'anṛśaṃsyam paro dharmah' (Vanaparva 373. 76), 'ācārah paramo dharmah' (Manu I. 108). Hārta defined *dharma* as 'śrutipramāṇaka'<sup>15</sup> (based on revelation). In the Buddhist sacred books the word *dharma* has several senses. It often means the whole teaching of Buddha (S. B. E. Vol. X. p. XXXIII). Another meaning of *dharma* peculiar to the Buddhist system is 'an element of existence, i. e. of matter, mind and forces'<sup>16</sup>.

The present work will deal with the sources of *dharma*, their contents, their chronology and other kindred matters. As the

11 'सर्वधर्मसूत्राणां वर्णश्रमधर्मोपदेशित्वात्' p. 237.

12 इन्द्र on गो. ध. सू. 19. 1 and गोविन्दराज on मनु 2.25 give the same fivefold classification.

13 बोधनालस्तोत्रोर्ध्वं धर्मः । पृ. मी. सू. I. 1. 2.

14 अधातो धर्मो व्याख्यास्यामः । यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः । वैशेषिकसूत्र.

15 अधातो धर्मो व्याख्यास्यामः । श्रुतिप्रमाणको धर्मः । श्रुतिश्च द्विविधा । ईदंकी तान्त्रिकी च । quoted by कृष्णक on मनु. 2. 1.

16 Vide Dr. Stcherbatsky's monograph on 'the central conception of Buddhism' (1923) p. 73.

material is vast and the number of works is extremely large, only a few selected works and some important authors will be taken up for detailed treatment. More space will be devoted to comparatively early works.

## 2. Sources of Dharma.

The Gautamadharmasūtra<sup>17</sup> says 'the Veda is the source of *dharma* and the tradition and practice of those that know it (the Veda).' So Āpastamba<sup>18</sup> says 'the authority (for the *dharma*s) is the consensus of those that know *dharma* and the Vedas.' Vide also the Vasīṣṭhadharma-sūtra<sup>19</sup> (I. 4-6). The Manusmṛti<sup>20</sup> lays down five different sources of *dharma* 'the whole Veda is (the foremost) source of *dharma* and (next) the tradition and the practice of those that know it (the Veda); and further the usages of virtuous men and self-satisfaction.' Yājñavalkya<sup>21</sup> declares the sources in a similar strain 'the Veda, traditional lore, the usages of good men, what is agreeable to one's self and desire born of due deliberation—this is traditionally recognised as the source of *dharma*.' These passages make it clear that the principal sources of *dharma* were conceived to be the Vedas, the Smṛtis, and customs. The Vedas do not contain positive precepts (*vidhis*) on matters of *dharma* in a connected form; but they contain incidental references to various topics that fall under the domain of *dharmaśāstra* as conceived in later times. Such information to be gathered from the Vedic Literature is not quite as meagre as is commonly supposed. In another place<sup>22</sup> I have brought together about fifty Vedic passages that shed a flood of light on marriage, the forms of marriage, the different kinds of sons, adoption of a son, partition, inheritance, *brāddha*, *strīdhana*. To take only a few examples. That brotherless maidens found it difficult to secure husbands is made clear by several Vedic passages.

<sup>17</sup> वेदो धर्ममूलम् । तद्विदो च स्मृतिशाले । गो. घ. सू. I. 1-2.

<sup>18</sup> धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणं वेदाश्च । आप. घ. सू. I. 1. 1. 2.

<sup>19</sup> श्रुतिस्मृतिविहितो धर्मः । तदलाभे शिष्टाचारः प्रमाणम् । शिष्टः पुनरकामात्मा ।

<sup>20</sup> वेदोक्तिलो धर्ममूलं स्मृतिशाले च तद्विदाम् । आचारश्चैव साधूनामात्मनस्सुहृदेव च ॥ मनु-स्मृति II. 6.

<sup>21</sup> श्रुतिः स्मृतिः सदाचारः स्वस्य च विषमात्मनः । सन्त्यक्तसङ्कल्पजः कामो धर्ममूलमिदं स्मृतम् ॥ याज्ञ. I. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Vide JBBRAS. vol. XXVI (1922), pp. 57-82.

'Like (a woman) growing old in her parents' house, I pray to thee as Bhaga from the seat common to all<sup>23</sup>'. Vide also Rgveda I 124. 7; IV. 5. 5 and Atharvaveda I. 17. 1 and Nirukta III. 4-5. These passages constitute the basis of the rules of the dharmasūtras and the Yājñavalkya-smṛti against marrying a brotherless maiden<sup>24</sup>. This bar against marrying a brotherless maiden seems to have been due to the fear that such a girl might be an appointed daughter (*putrikā*) and that a son born of such a girl would be affiliated to his mother's father. This custom of *putrikā* is an ancient one and is alluded to in the Rgveda, according to Yaska<sup>25</sup>. Rgveda X. 85 is a very interesting hymn as regards marriage; verses from it are used even to this day in the marriage ritual.<sup>26</sup> It shows that in the remote Vedic age the marriage rite resembled in essence the Brāhma form as described in the Dharmasūtras and Manu.<sup>27</sup> But the purchase of a bride (i. e. what is called *Āsura* marriage in later literature) was not unknown in the Vedic age. A passage of the Maitrāyaṇīyasamhitā (I. 10. 11) is referred to in the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra<sup>28</sup> in this connection, viz. 'she who being purchased by the husband'. The Gāndharva form is hinted at in the words<sup>29</sup> 'when a bride is fine-looking and well adorned, she seeks by herself her friend among men'. The importance of the *aurasa* son was felt even in the remote Vedic ages. 'Another (person) born of another's loins, though very pleasing, should not be taken, should not be even thought of (as to be taken in adoption)<sup>30</sup>'. The Taittirīya-samhitā (VI. 3. 10. 5) propounds the well-known theory of the three debts<sup>31</sup>. The story

23 अमाजूरिदे पित्रोः सचां सनी समलादा सदसखानिषे मगन् । कवेद II. 17. 7.

24 अरोमिणीं धानूमतीमसमानापंगेवजाम् । याज्ञ. I. 53; vide also मनु III. 11.

25 Vide Rgveda III. 31. 1. and Nirukta III. 4.

26 e. g. the verse गुञ्जामि ते सोमगुन्दाय ( कवेद X. 85. 36). Vide आप. ग. सू. II. 4. 14.

27 गो. ध. सू. IV. 4. बौ. ध. सू. I. 11. 2; आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 11. 17; मनु III. 27.

28 वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र I. 36-37; note आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 11 where the word 'purchase' is tried to be explained away and also प. मी. सू. VI. 1. 15. 'कथस्य धर्ममात्रत्वम्'.

29 भद्रा धुर्मवति यत्तुपेशाः स्वयं सा मित्रे कृते जने पितृ । कवेद X. 27. 12.

30 न हि यमाचारणः सुशेवो अन्योदयो मनसा मन्तवा उ । कवेद VII. 5. 8.

31 जायमानो वे ब्राह्मणस्मिन्निर्गता जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण कविभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्यः ।

## History of Dharmasūtra

of Śanaḥśepa in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa ( VII. 3 ) suggests that a son could be adopted even when there was an *aurasa* son. The Taittirīya-saṁhitā (VII. 1. 8. 1) tells the story of Atri who gave an only son in adoption to Aurva. The Kṣetrajña son of the Dharmasūtras is often referred to in the earliest Vedic literature. 'What ( sacrificer ) invites you ( Aśvins ) in his house to a bed as a widow does a brother-in-law or a young damsel her lover'<sup>32</sup>. The Taittirīya-saṁhitā makes it clear that a father 'could distribute his wealth among his sons during his own life time 'Manu divided his property among his sons' &c.<sup>33</sup> Another passage of the same Saṁhitā seems to suggest that the eldest son took the whole of the father's wealth 'therefore people establish their eldest son with wealth'<sup>34</sup>. Even in the Vedic ages the son excluded the daughter from inheritance 'a son born of the body does not give the paternal wealth to ( his ) sister'<sup>35</sup>. A passage of the Taittirīya-saṁhitā is relied upon by ancient and modern writers on *Dharmasūtra* for the exclusion of women in general from inheritance 'therefore women being destitute of strength take no portion and speak more weakly than even a low person'<sup>36</sup>. The R̥gveda eulogises the stage of studenthood and the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa speaks of the duties of the Brāhmacārin such as not partaking of wine and offering every evening a *samīd* to fire<sup>37</sup>. The

32 को वै शय्या विधेर्व देवर् मय न योचो रुणते सधस्थ आ । ऋग्वेद X. 40. 2.

33 मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यमजत् । ते. सं. III. 1. 9. 4. This passage is relied upon by आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 11 and सो. ध. सू. II. 2. 2.

34 नस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रे धनेन निरपसापयन्ति । ते. सं. II. 5. 2. 7. This passage is referred to by आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 12 and सो. ध. सू. II. 2. 5.

35 'न जामये तान्मो' रिक्थमारेकु' ऋग्वेद III. 31. 2. Vide निरुक्त III. 5 for explanations of this verse.

36 नस्मान्मियो निरिन्द्रिया अदायादीरपि पापान्स उपस्मिन्तरं वदन्ति । ते. सं. VI. 5. 8. 2. Here the portion spoken of is really that of the soma beverage. Vide सो. ध. सू. II. 2. 47 for reliance on this passage and also हरदत्त ( on आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 1 ) and सरस्वतीविलास ( para. 21 and 236 ). Vide also शनपथभा. IV. 4. 2. 13 for a similar passage.

37 ब्रह्मचारी चरति वेविष्टाद्विपः स देवानां भवत्येकमङ्गम् । ऋग्वेद X. 109. 5. The शनपथभा. ( XI. 5. 4. 18 ) reads ' न द्राहुः । न ब्रह्मचारी सम्मन्वयनीयः । Compare मनु II. 177. Vide शनपथभा. XI. 3. 3. 1 for samīd.

Taittirīya-saṁhitā (VI.2. 8. 5) relates<sup>38</sup> how Indra consigned *Yatis* to wolves (or dogs) and how Prajāpati prescribed a *Prāyaścitta* for him. The Śatapathabrāhmaṇa speaks of the king and the learned Brāhmaṇa as the upholder of the sacred ordinances.<sup>39</sup> The Taittirīyasaṁhitā says 'therefore the Śūdra is not fit for sacrifice'.<sup>40</sup> The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa tells us that when a king or other worthy guest comes, people offer a bull or a cow.<sup>41</sup> The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa speaks of Vedic study as *yajña* and the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka<sup>42</sup> enumerates the five *yajñas*, which are a prominent feature of the Manusmṛti. The R̥gveda eulogises the gifts of a cow, horses, gold and clothes.<sup>43</sup> Another passage of the R̥gveda<sup>44</sup> (thou art like a *prapa* in a desert) is relied upon by Śabara on Jaimini (I. 3. 2) and by Viśvarūpa on Yājñavalkya as ordaining the maintenance of *prapas* (places where water is distributed to travellers). The R̥gveda condemns the selfish man who only caters for himself.<sup>45</sup>

The foregoing brief discussion will make it clear that the later rules contained in the *dharmaśāstras* and other works on *dharmaśāstra* had their roots deep down in the most ancient Vedic tradition and that the authors of the *dharmaśāstras* were quite justified in looking up to the Vedas as a source of *dharma*. But, as said above, the Vedas do not profess to be formal treatises on *dharma*; they contain only disconnected statements on the various aspects of *dharma*; we have to turn to the *smṛtis* for a formal and connected treatment of the topics of the *dharmaśāstra*.

<sup>38</sup> दन्द्रो यतीन् सालावृकन्वः प्रायच्छत् । मेघान्तिथि (on मनु XI. 45) quotes this. Vide ऐ. ब्रा. 7. 28 and तण्डुलमहाब्रा. ४. 1. 4, 13. 4. 17 and अथर्ववेद II. 5. 3.

<sup>39</sup> एष च श्रोत्रियश्चेतो ह वै द्वौ मनुष्येष्टु धृतमतौ । शतपथ V. 4. 4. 5.

<sup>40</sup> तस्माच्छूद्रो यज्ञेऽनवकृमः । ते. सं. VII. 1. 1. 6.

<sup>41</sup> तद्यथेवादौ मनुष्यराजे आगतेन्यस्मिन्वार्हस्पत्युक्षान् वा वेहर्त वा क्षुदन्त एवमस्मा एतत्क्षुदन्ते यदस्मि मथनन्ति । ऐ. ब्रा. I. 15. Compare वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र 4. 8.

<sup>42</sup> पञ्च वा एते महायज्ञाः सताति प्रतापन्ते सतति सन्तिष्ठन्ते देवयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो भूतयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञः । ते. आ. 2. 10. 7.

<sup>43</sup> उच्चा विवि दक्षिणावन्तो अस्तुयै अश्वदाः सद् ते सूर्येण । हिरण्यदा अमृतत्वं भजन्ते वासोदाः सोमि प्र तिरन्त आयुः ॥ ऋग्वेद X. 107. 2.

<sup>44</sup> धन्वन्निव पुषा आसि त्वमग्न इषुक्षवे' पूरवे' मल राजन् । ऋग्वेद X. 4. 1.

<sup>45</sup> कर्बलापो भवति केवल्यदी । ऋग्वेद X. 117. 6.

### 3. When Dharmasāstra works were first composed

The important question is to find out when formal treatises on *dharma* began to be composed. It is not possible to give a definite answer to this question. The Nirukta (III. 4-5) shows that long before Yāska heated controversies had raged on various questions of inheritance, such as the exclusion of daughters by sons and the rights of the appointed daughter (*putrika*). It is very likely that these discussions had found their way in formal works and were not merely confined to the meetings of the learned. The manner in which Yāska writes suggests that he is referring to works in which certain Vedic verses had been cited in support of particular doctrines about inheritance<sup>46</sup>. It is further a remarkable thing that in connection with the topic of inheritance Yāska quotes a verse, calls it a śloka and distinguishes it from a *rk*.<sup>47</sup> This makes it probable that works dealing with topics of *dharma* existed either composed in the śloka metre or containing ślokas. Scholars like Bühler would say that the verses were part of the floating mass of mnemonic verses, the existence of which he postulates without very convincing or cogent arguments in his Introduction to the Manusmṛiti (S. B. E. vol. 25 Intro.xc). If works dealing with topics of *dharma* existed before Yāska, a high antiquity will have to be predicated for them. The high antiquity of works on *dharmasāstra* follows from other weighty considerations. It will be seen later on that the extant *dharmasūtras* of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Apastamba certainly belong to the period between 600 to 300 B. C. Gautama<sup>48</sup> speaks of *dharmasāstras* and the word *dharmasāstra* occurs in Baudhāyana also (IV. 5.9). Baudhāyana speaks of a *dharmapāṭhaka* (I. 1. 9.). Besides Gautama quotes in numerous places the views of others in the words 'ityeke' (e. g. II. 15, II. 58, III. 1, IV. 21, VII. 23). He refers to Manu<sup>49</sup> in one place and to 'Acaryas' in several places (III. 36, IV. 18 and 23).

46 अधेता जाय्या रिक्थप्रतिषेध उद्हरन्ति ज्येष्ठं पुत्रिकाया इत्येके । Vide S. B. E. Vol. 25, LXI (footnote) for Bühler's view refuting Roth's opinion that the whole discussion in the Nirukta is an interpolation.

47 तदेतद्वृत्तलोकाभ्यामभ्युक्तम् । अङ्गद्वयत्सम्भवसि...स जीव शब्दः शतम् ॥ अविशेषेण पुत्राणां दायो भवति धर्मतः । मिथुनानां विलगादौ मनुः स्वायम्भुवोमरीत् ॥

48 गो. ध. सू. 9.21 'तस्य च व्यवहारो वेदो धर्मशास्त्राण्यङ्गानि उपवेदाः पुराणम्', The words पृथग्धर्मविद्वत्तयः in गो. ध. सू. 28.47 appear to refer to students of धर्मशास्त्र.

49 श्रीणि प्रथमान्वनिर्देशानि मनुः । गो. ध. सू. 21.7.



Baudhāyana mentions by name several writers on dharma, viz. Aupajāṅghani, Kātya, Kāśyapa, Gautama, Maudgalya and Hirita. Apastamba also cites the views of numerous sages such as those of Ika, Kanva, Kautsa, Harita and others. There is a Vārtika which speaks of Dharmaśāstra<sup>50</sup>. Jaimini speaks of the duties of a Śūdra as laid down in the dharmaśāstra<sup>51</sup>. Patañjali shows that in his days *dharmaśāstras* existed and that their authority was very high, being next to the commandments of God<sup>52</sup>. He quotes verses and dogmas that have their counterparts in the dharmaśāstras. The foregoing discussion establishes that works on the *dharmaśāstra* existed prior to Yāska or at least prior to the period 600-300 B. C. and in the 2nd century B. C. they had attained a position of supreme authority in regulating the conduct of men.

In this book the whole of the extant literature on *dharma* will be dealt with as follows:—First come the dharmaśāstras, some of which like those of Apastamba, Hiranyakeśin and Baudhāyana form part of a larger Sūtra collection, while there are others like those of Gautama and Vasiṣṭha which do not form part of a larger collection; some *dharmaśāstras* like that of Viṣṇu are, in their extant form, comparatively later in date than other *sūtra* works; some *sūtra* works like those of Śaṅkha-Likhita and Pāṭhīnāsi are known only from quotations. Then early metrical *smṛtis* like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya will be taken up for discussion; then later versified *smṛtis* like that of Nārada; there are many *smṛti* works like those of Bṛhaspati and Kātyavāna that are known only from quotations. The two epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas also have played a great part in the development of the Dharmaśāstra. The commentaries on the *smṛtis*, such as those of Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, Viṇṇāśvara, Aparārka, Haradatta will be next passed

50 धर्मशास्त्रं च तथा । Vide महाभाष्य vol. I, p. 242.

51 शूद्रश्च धर्मशास्त्रत्वात् । पृ. मी. सू. VI.7. 6.

52 नैवेद्य आहारापचनं नापि धर्मसूत्रकाराः पदान्ति अववादेरुत्कर्षा बाध्यन्तामिति । महाभाष्य vol. I, p. 115 and vol. II, p. 365. पतञ्जलि quotes आन्त्राश्रय सिकाः पितृश्रवणिताः ( vol. I, p. 14 ) for which vide आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 20. 3 तद्यथास्य कलार्थं निमित्ते छाया गन्ध इत्यनूत्ययेने, पतञ्जलि says 'तेन न विकृत्यं मांसं न विकृत्यम्' and लोमनसं स्पृष्टुं शौचं कर्तव्यम् ( vol. I p. 25 ).



in review and then the digests on *dharma* such as the works of Hemādri, Tōḍaramalla, Nīlakaṇṭha and others.

It is very difficult to settle the chronology of the works on *dharmaśāstra*, particularly of the earlier ones. The present writer does not subscribe to the view of Max Müller (H. A. S. L. p. 68) and others that works in continuous Anuṣṭubh metre followed sūtra works<sup>53</sup>. Our knowledge of the works of that period is so meagre that such a generalisation is most unjustifiable. Some works in the continuous śloka metre like the Manusmṛti are certainly older than the Viṣṇudharmasūtra and probably as old as, if not older than, the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra. One of the earliest extant dharmasūtras, that of Baudhāyana, contains long passages in the śloka metre, many of which are quotations and even Apastamba has a considerable number of verses in the śloka metre. This renders it highly probable that works in the śloka metre existed before them. Besides a large literature on *dharma* existed in the days of Apastamba and Baudhāyana which has not come down to us. In the absence of that literature it is futile to dogmatise on such a point.

#### 4. The Dharmasūtras.

It seems that originally many, though not all, of the *dharma-sūtras* formed part of the Kalpasūtras and were studied in distinct *sūtracaraṇas*. Some of the extant dharmasūtras here and there show in unmistakable terms that they presuppose the Grhyasūtra of the *caraṇa* to which they belong. Compare Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 16 with Āp. Gr. S. I. 12 and II. 5; and Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 20 with Baud. Gr. S. II. 11. 42 (and other sūtras)<sup>54</sup>. The Dharmasūtras belonging to all *sūtracaraṇas* have not come down to us. There is no dharmasūtra completing the Aśvalāyana Śrauta and Grhya sūtras; no Mānavadharmasūtra has yet come to light, though the

<sup>53</sup> Vide S. B. E. vol. II, p. IX, but see Goldstücker's Pāṇini (pp. 59, 60, 78) against Max Müller and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's Carmichael lectures for 1918, pp. 105-107.

<sup>54</sup> अग्निमिदं परितनूय समिध आदध्यात् सायं गतवर्धोपदेशम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 4. 16; अग्निमिदं प्रागयेद्देवैरग्निं परितनूयति । आप. गृ. I. 12 and इष्टमादावा-  
चारावाचरयति दशपूर्णमासवत्तुम् । आप. गृ. II. 5; शेषमुक्तमष्टकाहोने (बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 20) refers to बौ. गृ. II. 11. 42; मूर्धललाटनासायममाणा वासिकस्य वृक्षस्य  
दण्डाः (बौ. ध. सू. I. 2. 16) refers to बौ. गृ. II. 5. 66 and other places where  
पलाश is one of the वासिक trees.

Mānava Śrauta and Grhya sūtras are extant ; in the same way we have the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta and Grhya sūtras, but no Śāṅkhāyanadharmasūtra. It is only in the case of the Āpastamba, Hiranyakeśin and Baudhāyana Sūtracarāṇas that we have a complete *kalpa* tradition with its three components of Śrauta, Grhya and Dharma sūtras. The Tantravārtika of Kumārila contains very interesting observations on this point. It tells us that Gautama (dharmaśūtra) and Gobhila (grhyasūtra) were studied by the *Chāndogas* (Sāmavedins), Vasiṣṭha (dharmaśūtra) by the R̥gvedins, the dharmaśūtra of Śāṅkha-Likhita by the followers of Vājasaneyasaṁhitā and the sūtras of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana by the followers of the Taittiriya Śākhā<sup>55</sup>. The Tantravārtika (p. 179) establishes it as a *siddhānta* (on Jaimini I. 3. 11) that all the *dharma* and *grhya* sūtras are authoritative for all Aryan people. From this it appears that although originally all sūtracarāṇas might not have possessed dharmaśūtras composed by the founder of the *carāṇa* or ascribed to him, yet gradually certain dharmaśūtras were specially taken over or appropriated by certain *carāṇas*. As the *dharmaśūtras* were mostly concerned with rules about the conduct of men as members of the Āryan community and did not deal with ritual of any kind, all *dharmaśūtras* gradually became authoritative in all schools.

The *dharmaśūtras* were closely connected with the *grhyasūtras* in subjects and topics. Most of the Grhyasūtras treat of the sacred domestic fire, the divisions of Grhya sacrifices, the regular morning and evening oblations, sacrifices on new and full moon, sacrifices of cooked food, annual sacrifices, marriage, *pūṇsavana*, jātakarma, upanayana and other *samskāras*, rules for students and *snātakas* and holidays, śrāddha offerings, madhuparka. In most cases the Grhyasūtras confine themselves principally to the various events of domestic life ; they rarely give rules about the conduct of men, their rights, duties and responsibilities. The dharmaśūtras also contain rules on some of the above topics such as marriage and the *samskāras*,

<sup>55</sup> तन्त्रवार्तिक प. 179 'पुराणमजर्वेतिहासवर्तिकगतौतमवसिष्ठशङ्खलिक्षितह्यतिापस्तम्ब-  
बोधायनादिमणीनधर्मशास्त्राणां गृह्यसूत्राणां च प्रातिशाख्यलक्ष्मणवत्कतिचरणं पाठव्यव-  
स्थोपलब्धते । तद्यथा गौतमीयगोभिलीयि छन्दोगैरेव परिगृह्यते । वासिष्ठं बह्वचरेव शङ्ख-  
लिक्षितोक्तं च वाजसनेयिभिः । आपस्तम्बबोधायनीयि तैत्तिरीयैरेव प्रतिपद्ये । एवं तत्र तत्र  
गृह्यव्यवस्थाभ्युपगमादि दर्शयित्वा विचारयितव्यम् । किं तानि तेषामेव प्रमाजान्युत  
सर्वेषाम् । (on पू. मी. सू. I. 3. 11).

rules for Brahmacharya and snātakas and holidays, on śrāddha and madhuparka. It is therefore not to be wondered at that in the Āpastamba-grhyasūtra the topics of the duties of the Brahmacharin and of the house-holder, of *atithit* and of *śrāddha* are meagrely treated as compared with the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra. The dharmasūtras very rarely describe the ritual of domestic life; they merely touch upon it; their scope is wider and more ambitious; their principal purpose is to dilate upon the rules of conduct, law and custom. Some sūtras are common to both the Āpastamba-grhya and the dharma sūtra<sup>56</sup>. Sometimes the grhyasūtra appears to refer to the dharmasūtra<sup>57</sup>. There are certain points which distinguish the dharmasūtras (the more ancient of them at least) from smṛtis. (a) Many dharmasūtras are either parts of the Kalpa belonging to each sūtracaraṇa or are intimately connected with the grhyasūtras. (b) The dharmasūtras sometimes betray some partiality in their Vedic quotations for the texts of that Veda to which they belong or in the caranās of which they are studied. (c) The authors of the (older) dharmasūtras do not claim to be inspired seers or superhuman beings<sup>58</sup>, while the other smṛitis such as those of Manu and Yājñavalkya are ascribed to Gods like Brahmā. (d) The dharmasūtras are in prose or in mixed prose and verse; the other smṛitis are in verse. (e) The language of the dharmasūtras is generally more archaic than that of the other smṛitis. (f) The dharmasūtras do not proceed upon any orderly arrangement of topics, while the other smṛitis (even the oldest of them, viz. Manusmṛiti) arrange their contents and treat of the subjects under three principal heads viz. *acāra*, *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta*. (g) Most of the dharmasūtras are older than most of the other smṛitis.

### 5. The Dharmasūtra of Gautama.

This has been printed several times (there is Dr. Stenzler's edition of 1876, the Calcutta edition of 1876, the Anandāśrama

56 e. g. पाठाशो दृष्टो नास्त्वणस्य... इत्यवर्णसंयोगेनेक उच्यते । आप. गृ. IV. 17. 15. 16 and आप. ध. I. 1. 2. 38.

57 e. g. the आप. गृ. says 'मासि श्वद्विस्त्रापपरपक्षे यथोपदेशं कालाः' (VIII. 31. 1.). This has in view आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 16. 4-22.

58 Compare शो. ध. I. 3-4 and आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 4. 'तस्मादप्येवमेव न जायन्ते निवर्तमानाः' and आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 9 नदन्वीत्य मपुत्रानः सन्निवृत्तः.

edition with the commentary of Haradatta, and the Mysore Government edition with the bhāṣya of Maskari; it was translated by Bühler in S. B. E., Vol. II. with an introduction). The Ānandaśrama edition of 1910 which is incorrect in a few places (e.g. 21. 7) has been used in this work. This dharmasūtra is, as we shall see, the oldest of those we have. The Gautama-dharmasūtra was specially studied by followers of the Sāmaveda (see note 55 above). The commentary on the Caranavyūha tells us that Gautama was one of the nine subdivisions of the Rāṣayānīya school of the Sāmaveda. A teacher Gautama is mentioned frequently in the Lātyāyanaśrautasūtra (e.g. I. 3. 3 and I. 4. 17) and in the Drāhyāyanaśrauta (e.g. I. 4. 17, IX. 3. 15) of the Sāmaveda. The Gobhilagrhya (III. 10. 6) which belongs to the Sāmaveda cites Gautama as an authority. Therefore it is not improbable that a complete Gautamasūtra embodying Śrauta, Gṛhya and Dharma doctrines once existed. There are other indications pointing to the close connection of the Gautama-dharmasūtra with the Sāmaveda. Chapter 26 of the dharmasūtra about *Kricchra* penance is the same, almost word for word, as the *Sāmavidhāna*<sup>59</sup> Brāhmaṇa (I. 2, Burnell's ed.). Among the purificatory texts (21 in number) mentioned in Gau. Dh. S. (19. 12) there are nine that are Sāmans. The mention of the five utterances ('Vyāhrtis') resembles the number in the Vyāhrtisāma<sup>60</sup> though the order is different. It is however to be noted that Gautama is a generic name. In the Kathopanishad, both Naciketas (II. 4. 15, II. 5. 6) and his father (I. 1. 10) are styled Gautama. In the Chāndogyaopaniṣad there is a teacher Hārīdrumata Gautama (IV. 4. 3).

59 There are however considerable divergences; e.g. गौ. ध. सू. 26. 10-12 are 'आपो हि वेति तिसृन्मः पविप्रवतीनिर्मोर्जयीत हिरण्यवर्णाः शुचयः पावका इत्यष्टाभिः । अधोदकतर्पणम् । नमोद्गमाय &c. while the सामविधान is 'आपोहिष्टीषाभिरधोदकतर्पणं नमोद्गमाय'. गौ. ध. सू. 26.12 contains many additions. Wherever there is divergence, it is generally Gautama that amplifies the passages found in the सामविधान.

60 गौ. ध. सू. I. 52 ओं पूर्वा व्याहृतयः पञ्च सत्यान्ताः. Again in गौ. ध. सू. 25. 8 we have प्रातिपद्वद्भवनसापचारे व्याहृतयः पञ्च सत्यान्ताः, while in गौ. 28. 8. the five व्याहृतयः seem to be भूः, भुवः, स्वः, नवः, सत्यं. As Hradval remarks the five व्याहृतयः in व्याहृतिसाम are भूः, भुवः, स्वः, सत्यं, पुष्यः. The व्याहृतयः are generally declared to be seven (ते. आ. 10. 28.1), the first three being styled महाव्याहृतयः (vide मनु II. 81.)

According to Haradatta the dharmasūtra has 28 chapters. The Calcutta edition adds one chapter on *Karmavivāka* after chapter 19. In many places Gautama unmistakably refers to his own previous *dicta*; e. g. *Yathoktam vā* (23. 16) refers to 23. 10; 23. 26 refers to 17. 8-26; 17. 18 refers to 15. 18. The following are briefly the contents of the Gautamadharmasūtra :—1. Sources of dharma, rules about interpretation of texts, time of *Upanayana* for the four *varṇas*, the appropriate girdle, deer skin, cloth and staff for each *Vaṇa*, rules about *śauca* and *ācamana*, method of approaching the teacher; 2 rules about those not invested with sacred thread, rules for the *brahmacārin*, control of pupils, period of study; 3 The four *āśramas*, the duties of *brahmacārin*, *bhikṣu*, and *vaikhāṇasa*; 4 rules about the house-holder, marriage, age at time of marriage, eight forms of marriage, sub-castes; 5 rules about sexual intercourse on marriage, the five great daily sacrifices, the rewards of gifts, *madhuparka*, method of honouring guests of the several castes; 6 rules about showing respect to parents, relatives (male and female) and teachers, rules of the road; 7 rules about the avocations of a *brāhmaṇa*, avocations for him in distress, what articles a *brāhmaṇa* could not sell or deal in; 8 the forty *samskāras* and the eight spiritual qualities (such as *daya*, forbearance &c.); 9 the observances for a *snātaka* and householder; 10 the peculiar duties of the four castes, the responsibilities of the king, taxation, sources of ownership, treasure-trove, guardianship of minor's wealth; 11 *Rājadharma*, the qualities of the king's *purohita*; 12 punishments for libel, abuse, assault, hurt, adultery and rape, theft in the case of the several *varṇas* and rules about money-lending and usury and adverse possession, special privileges of *brāhmaṇas* as to punishments; payment of debts, deposits; 13 rules about witnesses, falsehoods when excusable; 14 rules of impurity on birth and death; 15 *Śrāddha* of five kinds, persons not fit to be invited at *Śrāddha*; 16 *Upākarma*, period of Vedic study in the year, holidays and occasions for them; 17 rules about food allowed and forbidden to *Brāhmaṇas* and other castes; 18 the duties of women, *niyoga* and its conditions, discussion about the son born of *niyoga*; 19 the causes and occasions of *prāyaścitta*, five things that remove sin (*japa*, *tapas*, *homa*, fasting, gifts), purificatory Vedic prayers, holy food for one who practises *japa*, various kinds of *tapas* and gifts, appropriate times and places for *japa* &c; 20 abandoning a sinner who does not undergo *prāyaścitta* and the way of doing it; 21 sinners of various grades, *mahāpātakas*, *upapātakas*

&c. ; 22 *prāyaścittas* for various sins such as *brahmahatyā*, adultery, killing a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra, cow and other animals &c. ; 23 *prāyaścitta* for drinking wine, and nasty things, for incest and unnatural offences, and for several transgressions by *brahmachārin* ; 24 secret *prāyaścittas* for *mahāpātakas* and *upapātakas* ; 26 the penances called *Kṛcchra* and *Atikṛcchra* ; 27 the penance called *Cāndrāyana* ; 28 partition, *stridhana*, reunion, twelve kinds of sons, inheritance.

The Gautama-dharmaśūtra is written entirely in prose and it contains no verses either quoted or composed by the author himself, as is the case with the other *dharmaśūtras*. Here and there occur sūtras that look like portions of Anuṣṭubh verses e. g. 23. 27<sup>61</sup>. The language of Gautama agrees far more closely with the standard set up by Pāṇini than the *dharmaśūtras* of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. It is not very easy to account for this difference. It is obvious that commentators and generations of students that were brought up in the tradition of the Pāṇinean grammar tampered with the text and improved it in accordance with their notions of correct Sanskrit. But why this process should not have been carried out to the same extent in the case of Āpastamba it is difficult to say. A conjecture may be hazarded that the Āp. Dh. S. being a well-knit component of the Āp. *Kalpa* and being studied as such was less liable to being tampered with than the Gautama Dh. S., which probably did not in its origin belong to any particular *kalpa*. The same commentator, Haradatta, explained both Gautama and Āpastamba. Haradatta, who as will be seen later on, was a great grammarian, shows in several places that the current reading was ungrammatical from the Pāṇinean stand-point and that he preferred readings that were in consonance with Pāṇini's rules<sup>62</sup>. There are still a few un-Pāṇinean words, e. g. in 1. 14 ('dvāvimśateḥ' for *dvāvīṣāṭ*) and 9. 52 (*kulamkula*). The Tantravārtika (p. 99) appears

61 आच्छेदोऽनुवृत्तिस्तु त्रिरात्रं परमं तपः ।

62 e. g. on गो. ध. सू. 16. 21 (कल्पयुषं च सामशब्दो यावत्) he says 'कल्पयुषश्च कल्पयुषम् । अचतुरेत्पादिना निपातः । षष्ठ्यन्तपाठस्तु (i. e. कल्पयुषा) नास्मभ्यं रोचते ;' on गो. ध. सू. 25. 8 (प्रतिषिद्धाहमनसापचारे) he says 'वाहमनसोरेति पाठोऽस्मभ्यं न रोचते । अचतुरेति समासान्तविधिसङ्गत् ।'



to discuss the various readings in Gautama (I. 45<sup>63</sup>). A few sūtras quoted from Gautama in the *Mitākṣarā* (e. g. the sūtra 'utpatyaiva arthsvāmitvam labhante'), the *Śmṛticandrikā* ('dvyamśam vā pūrvajāḥ syāt') and other works are not found in the extant text. This fact along with the fact of an interpolation of one chapter makes it clear that the present text of Gautama is of somewhat doubtful authority.

The literature known to the Gautama-dharmaśāstra was extensive. Besides the Vedic saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas it mentions the following works; Upaniṣads (19. 13), the Vedāṅgas (8. 5 and 11. 19), Itihāsa (8. 6), Purāṇa (8. 6 and 11. 19), Upaveda (11. 19), dharmaśāstra (11. 19). That he borrows a chapter from the Sāma-vidhāna-brāhmaṇa has been mentioned above. He borrows the first six sūtras of the 25th chapter from the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (11. 18). The śramaṇaka (in Gautama III. 26) is, according to Haradatta, the Vaikhāṇasa-śāstra (either composed by Vikhanas or treating of the duties of hermits). Gautama refers to *Anvikṣikī* (XI. 3). The only teacher of *dharma* he quotes by name in Manu (in 21. 7) who is cited for the proposition that there is no expiation for the three sins of *brāhminahatyā*, drinking wine and violation of the bed of the *guru*. Haradatta says that in the extant *Manusmṛiti* the same propositions are laid down about *brāhminahatyā* and *surapana* (in Manu 11. 89 and 146 respectively), but that as to violation of *guru-talpa* a passage from the *Manusmṛiti* has to be searched out (i. e. such a passage is not found there). From this Bühler drew the conclusion that Gautama refers to the dharmaśāstra attributed to Manu (and not to any versified *Manu-smṛiti*). But Bühler is not right in drawing this inference. In the first place in spite of what Haradatta says there are verses in the extant *Manusmṛiti* (XI. 104-105) which say that death is the expiation for violation of the *guru's* bed. In the second place there is nothing to show, even if Haradatta were correct, that Gautama refers only to a *dharmaśāstra* of Manu and not to a versified work. Besides Manu, Gautama frequently quotes certain views ascribed to the 'Ācāryas' (e. g. III. 35, IV. 18). What teachers are meant by the word 'Ācāryaḥ' (which occurs in the *Nirukta*, in Kauṭilya and various other works), it is difficult to say.

63 It follows from the discussion in the तन्त्रवार्तिक that the ancient pūṭha in its day was 'लेपगन्धावकर्षणं शौचममेध्याल्लिप्तस्य' while the present text has 'शौचममेध्यावस्य'. Vide वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र III. 48 which reads 'अकर्षणे शौचममेध्याल्लिप्तस्य' etc.

Probably the word means 'the general traditional view of most writers in that particular śāstra on a particular point.' In numerous places Gautama refers to the views of his predecessors in the words 'eke' (2. 15, 40 and 56, 3. 1, 4. 17, 7. 23 &c.) and 'ekeṣām' (28. 17 and 38). This proves that Gautama was preceded by great literary activity in the sphere of dharmaśāstra. Gautama 11. 28 seems to be a reminiscence of the Nirukta (II. 3)<sup>64</sup>.

The earliest reference to Gautama as an author on dharma occurs in the Baudhāyanaadharmasūtra. Baudhāyana discusses the authoritativeness of usages peculiar to the north or the south and quotes Gautama as saying that it is wrong to hold that certain customs must be held authoritative in certain countries (even though opposed to Vedic tradition and smṛti). This refers to G. Dh. S. 11. 20. In another place Baudhāyana gives it as his view that a Brāhmaṇa, if he cannot make a living by teaching, officiating as a priest or by gifts, should earn his livelihood as a Kṣatriya and quotes the views of Gautama as opposed to this<sup>65</sup>. The extant Gautama on the other hand teaches the same view as that of Baudhāyana<sup>66</sup>. Bühler made the plausible suggestion that the sūtra in the extant Gautama is an interpolation. Govindasvāmī, the commentator of Baudhāyana, suggests that another Gautama is referred to by Baudhāyana. It is possible to suggest that in the Ms. of Gautama used by Baudhāyana the sūtra about living as a Kṣatriya did not occur and the next sūtra about living as a Vaiśya alone occurred. Chapter 19 of the Gautama-dharmasūtra which forms an introduction to *prāyaścittas* in Gautama seems to have been borrowed wholesale by Baudhāyana (III. 10) with slight changes. That Baudhāyana borrows follows from the fact that the chapter in Baudhāyana occurs in the middle of the discussion about *prāyaścittas* and not as an introduction, which is the case in Gautama. Baudhāyana treats of penances in several places (II. 1, III. 5. 10 and IV. 1. 4). There are besides many sūtras in both Gautama and Baudhāyana that exhibit a close correspondence, e. g.

64 'दृष्टो दमनादिन्याहुस्तेनादान्तान्दमयेत्.' The Nirukta has 'दृष्टो ददते... दमनादिरौप्यमन्यवः'.

65 अश्व्यापनयाजनपतिषहैरशतः क्षत्रधर्मेण जविश्रत्यनन्तरत्वात् । नेत गोतमोत्पुपो हि क्षत्रधर्मे ब्राह्मणस्य । यो. ध. सू. II. 2. 69-70.

66 याजन, अश्व्यापनपतिषहः सर्वेषाम् । पूर्वः पूर्वो गुरुः । तदलाभे क्षत्रवृत्तिः । तदलाभे वैश्ववृत्तिः । यो. ध. सू. 7. 4-7.



Gautama III. 25-34 and Baudhāyana II. 6. 17 about Vaikhāṇasa, Gaut. 3. 3 and 35 and Baud. II. 6. 29, Gaut. 15. 29 and Baud. II. 8. 2, Gaut. 23. 8-10 and Baud. II. 1. 12-14, Gaut. 24. 2 and Baud. II. 3. 8. The Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 25 speaks of Smṛti as laying down that up to *upanayana* there is no *adhikāra* for *homa*. This probably refers to Gautama II. 1-3. The Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra also quotes the views of Gautama in two places (4. 34 and 36, impurity on death). The first refers to Gautama 4. 41 but the second cannot be traced in the extant Gautama. Chapter 22 of Vasiṣṭha is borrowed from the Gautamadharmasūtra, chapter 19. There are besides many sūtras that are the same or almost the same in Gautama and Vasiṣṭha, e. g. Gautama 3. 31-33 and Vas. 9. 1-3, Gaut. 3. 26 and Vas. 9. 10, Gaut. I. 44 and Vas. 3. 37, Gaut. I. 40 and Vas. 3. 38, Gaut. I. 45-46 and Vas. 3. 48, Gaut. I. 28 and Vas. 3. 49, Gaut. 14. 5-7 and Vas. 4. 24-26. Gautama is referred to in the Manusmṛti (III. 16) as the son of Urathya. Gautama is one of the authors of *dharmasūtras* enumerated in Yājñavalkya (I. 5). Aparārka quotes a verse from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa which speaks of Gautama's prohibition about drinking<sup>67</sup>. Similarly Kullūka (on Manu XI. 146) quotes a verse from the same Purāṇa which refers to Gautama 23.2. Kumārila in his Tantravārtikā quotes over a dozen sūtras from Gautama which present the same text as we have<sup>68</sup>. Gautama 11. 29 and 12. 4 are quoted by Śaṅkara in his *bhāṣya* on Vedāntasūtra III. 1. 8 and I. 3. 38 respectively. Viśvarūpa in his commentary on Yājñavalkya quotes numerous sūtras from Gautama. In Medhātithi's *bhāṣya* on Manu the writer more frequently quoted than any other is Gautama (e. g. on Manu II. 6, VIII. 125 &c.).

The foregoing discussion about the literature known to the Gautama Dh. S. and the authors and works that mention Gautama or quote the dharmasūtra helps us in arriving at the approximate age of the dharmasūtra. He is separated by a long interval from the Samavidhāna Brāhmaṇa. He is later than Yāska and wrote at a time when Pāṇini's system was either not in existence or had not attained a pre-eminent position. The extant text was known to Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha and was in the same state long before 700 A. D. The sūtra betrays no knowledge of the onslaught delivered on Brahma-

67 प्रतिषेधः दुराणानि मद्यस्य च न राधिय । द्विजोत्तमानामेवोक्तः सततं गौतमादिभिः ॥  
भविष्यत्पुराण quoted by अपरार्क p. 1078.

68 Vide JBBRAS vol. I (new series) for 1925, pp. 66-67.

nism by Buddha and his followers. He uses the term *Bhikṣu* ( 3. 10 ) instead of the term *parivrājaka* that occurs in Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and other sūtra works and lays down that a *bhikṣu* is to stay in one place in the rains, which reminds one of the Buddhist 'bhikkhu' and 'Vasso'. Gautama cites the opinion of some that Yavana is the offspring of a Kṣatriya male and a Śūdra female ( 4. 17 ). It is supposed by many scholars that the Yavanas became known to the Indians only at the time of Alexander's invasion and hence every work in which the word *yavana* occurs must be later than 320 B. C. Bühler ( S. B. E. vol. II. Intro. lvi. ) seems to suggest that the sūtra where the word Yavana occurs in Gautama may be an interpolation. This is not a satisfactory explanation. One may ask, if Bühler believes that the Indians borrowed their alphabet centuries before Alexander from the neighbours of the Greeks, why it is improbable that the Indians may not have heard of the word Yavana centuries before Alexander and why Yavanas may not have resided in India long before that date. Taking all these things into consideration the Gautama-dharmasūtra cannot be placed later than the period between 600-400 B. C.

Haradatta wrote a learned commentary on the Gautama-dharmasūtra called *Mitākṣarā*. For an account *vide* sec. 87 below. In numerous places he quotes the explanations of other commentators of Gautama ( e. g. 9. 52; 10. 12, 56, 66; 11. 17; 12. 32; 21. 9 &c. ). The *bhāṣya* of Maskari, son of Vāmana, is also a learned one, but may probably be later than Haradatta, since the interpretations which he quotes as given by others are found to be those of Haradatta ( *vide* on Gaut. 12. 30, 13. 20-22 ).

Asahāya seems to have written a *bhāṣya* on Gautama; *vide* sec. 59 below.

The *Mitākṣarā*, the *Smṛticandrikā*, Hemādri, Mādhava, and other writers quote a *śloka*-Gautama. *Vide* *Parāśara-Mādhaviya*, vol. I, part I, p. 7. Aparārka, Hemādri and Mādhava quote *Vṛddha-Gautama*, while the *Dattakamīmāṃsā* ( p. 72 ) quotes *Vṛddha-Gaut.* and *Bṛhad-Gaut.* side by side on the same point. These are later works. Jivānanda publishes a *smṛti* of *Vṛddha-Gautama* in 22 chapters and about 1700 verses ( part II, pp. 497-636 ), where it is said that Yudhiṣṭhira asked Kṛṣṇa about the *dharma*s of the four castes. This *smṛti* seems to have been originally taken from the *Āśvamedhikaparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, as Mādhava and others cite

verses occurring in it as from that parva (vide Parāśaramādhaviya vol. I, part I, pp. 108-110).

### 6. The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra.

This has been edited several times (text by Dr. Hultsch at Leipzig in 1884, text in the Ānandāśrama collection of *smṛtis* and in the Mysore Government Oriental Series in 1907 with the commentary of Govindasvāmin; translated in S. B. E., Vol. 14, with an Introduction). The Mysore edition has been used in this work. Baudhāyana is a teacher of the Kṛṣṇayajurveda. A complete set of the Baudhāyanasūtras has not yet been recovered and has not been as carefully preserved as the sūtras of Āpastamba and Hiranyakeśin. Dr. Burnell arranges Baudhāyana's sūtras into six sūtras, the Śrautasūtra in 19 prāśnas (probably); Karmāntasūtra in 20 adhyāyas; Dvaidhasūtra in four prāśnas; Grhyasūtra in four prāśnas; Dharmasūtra in four prāśnas; Śulvasūtra in three adhyāyas. The commentators offer no indication as to the place originally assigned to the *grhya*, *dharma* and *śulva* sūtras in the whole collection. Dr. Caland in his monograph (A. D. 1903) 'Über das Rituelle sūtra des Baudhāyana' gives on p. 12 the contents of the Baudhāyanasūtra as follows:—Prāśnas I-XXI Śrauta, XXII-XXV Dvaidha, XXVI-XXVIII Karmānta; XXIX-XXXI Prāyaścitta, XXXII Śulvasūtra, XXXIII-XXXV Grhyasūtra, XXXVI Grhyaprāyaścitta; XXXVII Grhyaparibhāṣā, XXXVIII-XLI Grhyapariśiṣṭa; XLII-XLIV Pitrmedha, XLV Pravara, XLVI-XLIX Dharma. Dr. Caland edited nine prāśnas of the Śrautasūtra for the B. I. Series (A. D. 1904). Dr. R. Shamsastri published for the Mysore University (in 1920) the Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra with *paribhāṣā*, *grhyasēṣa*, Pitrmedhasūtra. The Grhyasūtra cites the view of Baudhāyana himself (I. 7). The Baudhāyana-dharma refers to the Grhya and presupposes it in several places (vide note 54). In the Baudhāyanagrhya (III. 9. 6) we have a reference to *padakāra* Ātreya, Vṛttikāra Kaundinya, pravacanakāra Kaṇva Bodhāyana, and Sūtrakāra Āpastamba.<sup>68a</sup> A similar passage

68a अथ दक्षिणतः मार्चानावीतिनो वेश्मपायनाय फलिङ्गवे तित्तिरये उस्तायोल्यायाश्रये आश्रे-  
याय पदकाराय कोण्डिन्याय वृत्तिकाराय कण्वाय बोधायनाय प्रवचनकारायपस्तम्बाय  
सूत्रकाराय सत्याषाढाय द्विष्यकेशाय वाजसनेयाय याज्ञवल्क्याय भारद्वाजापात्रिशेयाया-  
चार्येभ्य ऊर्ध्वरेतोभ्यो वानप्रस्थेभ्यो वंशस्त्रेभ्य एकपत्नीभ्यः कल्पयामीति. The epithets  
must be understood as arranged above, since elsewhere the epithet  
सूत्रकार is specially appropriated to आपस्तम्ब. The द्विष्यकेशिगृह्य (II. 20. 1,

occurs in the Bhāradvāja Grhyasūtra. In the Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra (II. 5. 27 Rṣitarpaṇa) we have Kaṇva Bodhāyana, Āpastamba sūtrakāra and Satyāsādhā Hiranyakeśin one after another. These references show that Kaṇva Bodhāyana was an ancient sage when the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra was written and that he could not have been the author of the grhya or the dharma sūtras of Baudhāyana. Baudhāyana may have been a descendant of this Kaṇva Bodhāyana. This surmise is supported by Govindasvāmin who explains Baudhāyana occurring in Baudhāyanadharmasūtra I. 3. 13, as Kāṇvāyana. In the dharmasūtra Baudhāyana is himself cited as an authority several times (e. g. I. 4. 15 and 24, III. 5. 8, III. 6. 20). In all these places the Mysore edition reads Bodhāyana, while the Ānandaśrama reads Baudhāyana. In one or two places he is styled 'bhagavān' (III. 6. 20). Several explanations are offered by the commentator Govindasvāmin (on I. 3. 13). He says that it is the practice of the Ācāryas to refer to themselves in the third person (as Medhātithi says on Manu<sup>69</sup>) or that the author of the dharmasūtra is a pupil of Baudhāyana as the Manusmṛti is promulgated by Bhṛgu, the pupil of Manu, or there was some other Baudhāyana whose works have not come down to us.

The following are the contents of the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra:—*Prairā* 1 :—Sources of *dharma*, who are *śiṣṭas*, *pariṣad*, different practices of northern and southern India, countries where *śiṣṭas* reside and where mixed castes reside, *prāyaścitta* for visiting countries of the latter type; 2. Studenthood for 48, 24 or 12 years, time of *upanayana* and the girdle, skin, staff appropriate to each caste, duties of *brahmacharin*, eulogy of *brahmacharya*; 3. The duties of the *snātaka* who has completed his studies and observances but has not yet married; 4. directions about carrying the earthen jar (in the case of the *snātaka*); 5. bodily and mental *śauca*, purification of various substances, impurity on birth and death, meaning of *sapiṇḍa* and *sakulya*, rules of inheritance, purification on touching a corpse or a woman in her menses or on dog-bite, what flesh and food was

ed. by Kīrti in 1889) makes this clear. It reads 'आग्नेयाय वदकाराय कौण्डिन्याय वृत्तिकाराय सूत्रकारेभ्यः सत्यापाद्याय प्रवचनकर्तृभ्य आचार्येभ्यः &c. भारद्वाजगृह्य' (quoted by Dr. Caland in 'Über das Rituelle' &c. p. 3. n. 3) reads 'बोधायनाय भरद्वाजाय सूत्रकारायापस्तम्बाय सर्वेभ्यः सूत्रकारेभ्यः &c.'

69 'प्रायेण ग्रन्थकाराः स्वमतं परापदेशेन ब्रुवन्ते.'

allowed and forbidden ; 6. Purification from the point of view of sacrifice, purification of clothes, ground, grass, fuel, vessels, and articles used in sacrifice ; 7. Rules about the importance from the sacrificial point of view of sacrifice, of the sacrificial utensils, priests, the sacrificer and his wife, ghee, cooked offerings, the victim, *soma* and fires ; 8. The four *varṇas* and the sub-castes ; 9. Mixed castes ; 10. the duties of kings, the five great sins and punishments for them, punishments for killing birds, witnesses ; 11. The eight forms of marriage, holidays ; *Praśna* II. 1. *Prāyaścittas* for *brahmacaryā* and other great sins, *prāyaścitta* for a *brahmachārin* violating his vow of celibacy, for marrying a *śaṅkṛta* girl, for marrying before elder brother, sins lesser than the great ones, description of such penances as *Parāka*, *Kṛcchra*, *Atikṛcchra* ; 2. Partition of heritage, larger share for the eldest, the several substitutes for an *aurasa* son, exclusion from inheritance, dependence of women, *prāyaścitta* for adultery by men and women, rules about *nivṛtta*, means of subsistence in distress, continuous duties of the house-holder such as *Agnihotra* &c. ; 3. The daily duties of the householder such as bathing, *ācamana*, *Vaiśvadeva*, giving food ; 4. *Sandhyā* ; 5. Rules about the manner of bathing, of *ācamana*, worship of the sun, and about the method of propitiating ('*tarpaṇa*') gods, sages and *pitris* ; 6. The five great daily *yajñas* ; the four castes and their duties ; 7. regulations about dinner ; 8. *Śrāddha* ; 9. eulogy of sons and spiritual benefit from sons ; 10. rules about *sannyāsa* ; *Praśna* III. 1 modes of subsistence for the two kinds of householders, *Śālina* and *Yāyāvāra* ; 2 the means of subsistence called '*ṣaṇnivartanī*' ; 3. the duties of the forest hermit and his means of livelihood ; 4. *prāyaścitta* for not observing the vows of *brahmachārin* or householder ; 5. method of reciting *Aghamarṣaṇa*, the holiest of texts ; 6. the ritual of *prastayāvaka* ; 7 the purificatory *homa* called *Kūsmāṇḍa* ; 9. the penance called *cāndrāyana* ; 9 the recital of the Vedas without taking food ; 10. theories about purifications for sin, purifying things ; *Praśna* IV. 1. *prāyaścittas* of various kinds viz. for eating forbidden food or drink &c. ; 2. *prāyaścittas* and *Aghamarṣaṇa* as purifiers in case of several sins ; 3. secret *prāyaścittas* ; 4. Various Vedic texts as *prāyaścittas* ; 5. Means of securing *siddhi* by means of *japa*, *homa*, *īṣṭi* and *yantra* : the penances called *Kṛcchra*, *Ati-Kṛcchra*, *Sāntapana*, *Parāka*, *Cāndrāyana* ; 6 the muttering (*japa*) of holy texts, the *īṣṭis* ; 7 praise of *Yantras*, various Vedic texts used in *homa* ; 8 censure of those who enter on the means of *siddhi* out of great greed, permis-

sion to get these things done through another in certain circumstances.

The extant Dharmasūtra does not appear to have come down intact. The fourth *praśna* is most probably an interpolation. Most of the eight chapters of that *praśna* are full of verses, the portion in prose being very small. The last three chapters (6-8) are entirely in verse. The style is quite different from that of the first two *praśnas*. The first five chapters of the fourth *praśna* dealing with *prāyaścittas* are more or less superfluous, the same subject having been dealt with in II. 1 and III. 4-10. Some of the *sūtras* in the earlier *praśnas* are repeated *verbatim* in the fourth, e. g. II. I. 33-34 and IV. 2. 10-11 (*avakīrṇi-prāyaścitta*). The third *praśna* also is not free from doubt. The tenth chapter of the third *praśna* is as said above taken from Gautama. The sixth chapter of the third *praśna* agrees very closely in phraseology with the 48th chapter of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. But it is rather difficult to say which is the borrower. Dr. Jolly (S. B. E. Vol. VII. p. XIX) is inclined to think that both borrowed from a common source. It seems more probable that Viṣṇu borrows from Baudhāyana, as the Viṣṇudharmasūtra uses the form 'punita' in place of 'punatha' (in Baud.) and as the Viṣṇu-Dharmasūtra omits all reference to Rudra (Baud. III. 6. 12.) and omits the words "gaṇān paśyati, gaṇādhipatiṃ paśyati... bhagavān Bodhayanah" (Baud. III. 6. 20.). In the Mysore edition all the four *praśnas* of the Dharmasūtra are divided into *adhyāyas*, but the Mss used by Bühler appear to have divided the first two *praśnas* into *kaṇḍikās* and the last two into *adhyāyas*. There are many repetitions even in the first two *praśnas*, which therefore make one rather doubtful about the authenticity of the first two *praśnas* also in their entirety. For example II. 6. 11 and 31 are identical; in II. 7. 22 and II. 10. 53 the same verse ("aṣṭau grāṣa" &c.) is quoted. Such repetitions are frequent in the two last *praśnas* e. g. III. 2. 16 and III. 3. 23; III. 4. 5 and III. 7. 12. Some of the quotations ascribed to Baudhāyana in the *Mitākṣarā* and other works are not taken from the *dharmasūtra*, but from the *Gṛhyasūtra* or its supplements (e. g. the words 'ekam śākhām-adhite śrotriyaḥ' quoted in the *Mit.* on Yaj. III. 24, which are cited by Hultsch (on p. 125) are taken from the *Gṛhya* (vide note 78 below).

The Dharmasūtra of Baudhāyana is somewhat loose in structure and is not concise. Govindasvāmin remarks (on I. 2. 19.) that



Baudhāyana does not aim at brevity.<sup>70</sup> Several subjects are treated of in two places and often without any logical connection with what precedes or follows. Rules of inheritance (*dāya-bhāga*) occur in the midst of rules about *prāyaścitta* (in II. 2.); rules about holidays (*anadhya*) occur immediately after the eight forms of marriage and the condemnation of the sale of a daughter (I. 11). Rules about *śnātaka* occur in two places (I. 3 and II. 3. 10 ff.). Baudhāyana quotes at least 90 verses introduced by the words "*athāpyudāharanti*," more than 80 being from the first two *prāśnas* alone. There are over two hundred other verses, about 80 of which occur in the first two *prāśnas* and about ten are Vedic. Some of the verses even in the first two *prāśnas* do not appear to be quotations e. g. I. 1. 16, II. 2. 1, II. 3. 50, II. 3. 52-54 and 56. A verse quoted is in the *Varṇasāstha* metre (IV. 3. 14); there are two verses in the *Upajāti* metre taken as a quotation (II. 3. 18). There are some prose quotations introduced with the words "*athāpyudāharanti*" (e. g. II. 4. 5 and II. 6. 30 which refers to the *asura* Kapila, son of Prahlāda). The language of the Baud. Dh. S. is archaic and often departs from the Pāṇinian standard. Baudhāyana employs such un-Pāṇinian forms as "*grhya*" (for *grhītvā* in II. 5. 1), *pūjya* (II. 9. 5.), "*adhigacchānaḥ*" (in II. 9. 9.), *anayitvā* (III. 3. 6), "*punatha*" (in III. 6. 5, probably a quotation), "*tebhiḥ*" (for *taibḥ* in III. 2. 16, a quotation). In several places Baudhāyana states opposite views and then gives his own opinion on the point, e. g. Baud. I. 5. 105-109 (about impurity on birth); II. 1. 49-51.

As regards the literature known to Baudhāyana the following points may be noted. All the four Vedas are mentioned by name in II. 5. 27 (*tarpaṇa*). He quotes very frequently the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, *Tai. Brāhmaṇa* and the *Tai. Āraṇyaka* (in the *Āndhra* recension). Well-known hymns of the *R̥gveda* such as the *Aghamarṣaṇa*, the *Puruṣasūkta* and also simple '*ṛks*' are frequently referred to. In III. 10 (which is almost the same as Gautama 19) there is a *sūtra* enumerating the *Upaniṣads*, the *Saṁhitās* of all the Vedas and several *sāmans* as purificatory texts. There are long quotations taken from the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (XI. 3. 3. 1 ff and XI. 5. 6. 3) in Baud. (I. 2. 52 about *brahmacart* and II. 6. 7-9 about *brahmayajña*). It is noteworthy that in the *tarpaṇa* there is an invocation of the

<sup>70</sup> ननु द्विजातिषु स्वकर्मरूपेषु इति सूत्रयितव्ये किमिति सूत्रद्वयारम्भः । सत्यं, अयं हाचार्यो नास्ति बन्धलापवाधिमयो भवति ।

Atharvaveda and immediately afterwards of the Atharvāṅgirasah. The same is found in the Baudhāyanagrhya also (III. 2. 9 and 22). In the Upaniṣads (Bṛhadāraṇyaka II. 4. 10, IV. 1. 2) it is the word Atharvāṅgirasah that stands for the Atharvaveda. Baudhāyana quotes a gāthā of the Bhāṭṭavins (I. 1. 29) about the geographical limits of Āryāvarta. Vasiṣṭha adduces the same verse (I. 15) and says that it is taken from the Nidāna work of the Bhāṭṭavins. The Nirukta also mentions a school of Vedic interpretation called Naidānāḥ. It is difficult to say what Nidāna works contained. *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* occur in the *tarpaṇa* (II. 5. 27). The *aṅgas* of the Vedas occur in I. 1. 8 and the six *aṅgas* in II. 8. 2. Whether the word "rahasya" in II. 8. 3 means the Āraṇyakas (as Govindasvāmin explains) is doubtful. Baudhāyana mentions a Vaikhāṇasa-śāstra in II. 6. 16, which appears to refer to the work of Vikhanas on hermits and speaks of Śrāmaṇaka (the rites prescribed by Vikhanas for initiation as hermit), just as Gautama does. Among the authors on *dharma* mentioned by name are : Āupajāṅghani (II. 2. 33 for the view that only *aurasa* son was to be recognised and not the other kinds of sons<sup>71</sup>), Kātya (I. 2. 47), Kāśyapa (or Kāśyapa in other editions, I. 11. 20 on the point that a woman bought cannot be a *patnī*), Gautama (I. 1. 23 and II. 2. 70), Prajāpati (II. 4. 15 about failure in Sandhyopāśana, and II. 10. 71 about *saṃnyāsa*), Manu (IV. 1. 14 and IV. 2. 16), Maudgalya (II. 2. 61, about observances of a widow being restricted only to six months after her husband's death), Hārta (II. 1. 30). Baud. I. 2. 7 quotes a verse, which Vasiṣṭha ascribes to Hārta (Vas. II. 6). As to Gautama, *vide* p. 17 above. Manu is only mentioned in the fourth prāśna, the authenticity of which, as said above, is very doubtful. Baudhāyana II. 2. 16 (about the efficacy of *Aghamarṣaṇa*) closely agrees with Manu XI. 260. The first reference to Manu's teaching cannot be traced in the Manusmṛti. Prajāpati (in III. 9. 21) seems to stand for god Brahmā and not for any real or mythical writer on *dharma*. One remarkable piece of information contained in Baudhāyana (II. 6. 30) is that he quotes from a work (of the Brāhmaṇa class in language) a prose passage wherein the division into four āśramas is ascribed to an *asura* Kapila, son of Pralhada. In II. 2. 79 Baudhāyana quotes a *gāthā* from the

71 One of the verses (अयमत्ता रक्षत तन्तुमेतं) is referred to by शबरस्वामी on

वृ. मी. सू. I. 2. 13 (अपराधात् कर्तुं च पुत्रदर्शनम्).

H. D. 4.



dialogue between the daughter of Uśanas and the king Vṛṣaparvan<sup>73</sup>, which is nearly the same as Mahābhārata I. 78. 10 and 34. Baud. quotes the view of *Ācāryas* (II. 6. 29) as Gautama does. In several places he refers to the views of his predecessors on *dharma* as "others" (*eke, āpare*) e. g. I. 4. 23, I. 5. 16, I. 6. 105-106, II. 5. 2. In II. 3. 18 two verses in the Upajāti metre are quoted as sung by "anna" (food). From the numerous quotations in verse cited by Baudhāyana on topics of *dharma*, it follows that the Dharmasūtra was preceded by a considerable number of works on *dharma* in verse. Bühler (SBE vol. XIV, p. XLIII) says that Vijñāneśvara was the first writer who quoted the Baud. D. S. But there are writers who flourished centuries before Vijñāneśvara that regarded Baudhāyana as a writer on *dharma* and either quoted his words or pointedly referred to them. Śabara in his *bhāṣya* on Jaimini, I. 3. 3 says that the rule in the Smṛtis about the period of Vedic study being 48 years is opposed to the Vedic injunction "one who has begot sons and whose hair are dark should consecrate the sacrificial fires". This must be regarded as referring to the words of Baudhāyana (I. 2. 1). Śabara uses the same word "Vedabrahmacārya" that Baud. employs. It is true that Gautama and Āpastamba both refer to the rule about 48 years, but they do not employ the word "veda-brahmacārya." The Tantravārtike of Kumārila says that the words of Āpastamba (II. 6. 15. 1) which seem to accept the validity of local and family usages (even though opposed to Smṛti tradition) stand refuted by the words of Baudhāyana (I. 1. 19-24) who cites only such censured usages as are opposed to Smṛti. Kumārila appears to think that Baudhāyana attacks the extant work of Āpastamba, i. e. the present Baud. is later than the present Āpastamba. It is not necessary to follow

73 स्तुवतो दुहिता त्वं वे याचतः प्रतिगृह्णतः । अथाहं स्तूयमानस्य ददतोमनिगृह्णतः ॥

74 शबर's words are 'अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यवरणं ज्ञानपुत्रः कृष्णकेशोर्मिना-  
दधीत-इत्यनेन विरुद्धम्' on I. 3. 3, and again on I. 3. 4 'अपुत्रत्वं प्रच्छादयन्त आ-  
ष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि ब्रह्मचर्यं चरितवन्तः'. बोधायन's words are अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि  
पोराणं वेदब्रह्मचर्यम्. Compare गौ. ध. सू. 2. 58 and आ. ध. सू. I. 1. 2. 12.

75 तन्प्रवार्तिकं D. 139 'आपस्तम्बवचनं तु बोधायनेन स्मृतिविरुद्धदुष्टाचारोदाहरणाम्येव प्र-  
च्छन्ता निराकृतम्'. The words in the बो. ध. सू. (I. 1. 22) 'तत्र तत्र देश-  
याम्यमेव स्वात्' are opposed to the words of आपस्तम्ब 'एतेन देशकुलवर्मा  
व्याख्याताः.'

Kumārila implicitly as regards chronological details, where he is speaking of writers that flourished over a thousand years before him. But his opinion deserves weight. The *Tantravārtika* quotes a *Smṛti* passage which bears a close resemblance to Baudhāyana (II. 3. 28)<sup>75</sup>. In the commentary of Viśvarūpa (who as we shall see below flourished about 800 A. D.) on Yājñavalkya, Baudhāyana is quoted at least nine times in the chapter on *ācāra* alone. Vide Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 21, 26, 29, 53, 64, 69, 72, 79, 195 (Trivandrum edition), where Baud. I. 5. 14, I. 2. 30, I. 5. 5, I. 1. 17, IV. 1. 15, IV. 1. 18, IV. 1. 22, IV. 1. 20 and I. 5. 47 are respectively quoted. There are very few variations from the present text and the only serious variation is as regards the last (I. 5. 47) which is in prose (while Viśvarūpa quotes a verse). It is remarkable that Viśvarūpa quotes several verses from the fourth *praśna*, which shows that even if the fourth *praśna* be an interpolation, it is comparatively an ancient one. The *Mit.* also (on Yāj. III. 306) quotes a long passage from the fourth *praśna* (IV. 1. 5-11). The words of the *Śakuntala*<sup>76</sup> that the first precept is that a girl is to be given away to a meritorious person are probably a reminiscence of Baud. IV. 1. 12. Medhātithi on *Manu*. V. 117 quotes Baudhāyana I. 5. 47 and on IV. 36 quotes Baud. I. 4. 2 (which is mutilated as printed). On *Manu*. V. 114 he says that all the rules about purification of substances are contained in Baudhāyana-smṛti. On *Manu*. V. 118, he quotes Baud. I. 5. 50.

About the home of Baudhāyana it is difficult to advance any positive conclusion. In modern times Baudhāyanīyas are mostly confined to the south. We know that Śāyaṇa, the great commentator of the Vedas, was a Baudhāyanīya. A grant of Nandivarma, a Pallava, of the 9th century mentions Brāhmaṇas of the *pravacana-sūtra* as recipients.<sup>77</sup> As Baudhāyana is called *pravacanakāra* in the *Gṛhya-sūtras* Bühler thinks (S. B. E. vol. 14 p. XLII) that the Brāhmaṇas

75 तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 993 'तथा च स्मृतिः । ...धारयेद्वैणवं दण्डं शुभे रौक्मे च कुण्डले—  
इत्यादि सूपपत्त्यते ।' Baud. has 'वैणवं दण्डं धारयेद्वैष्णवकुण्डले च. Compare मनु  
IV. 36. It is probable that the तन्त्रवार्तिक combines यो. and मनु.

76 'कुणवते कन्यका मेदेया इति तावत्तथमः कल्पः' शाकुन्तल 4th Act; while Baud.  
has 'दद्यात्कुणवते कन्यां नमिकां ब्रह्मचारिणे'.

77 I. A. vol. 8, pp. 273-274.

belonged to the Baudhāyanaśāstra. Buhler is probably right. In the grant most of the donees are students of the Āpastamba Sūtra. First the Gotra, then the Sūtra and then the name of the donee are introduced in the grant. Therefore as some of the donees are said to be students of "pravacanasūtra," it follows that "pravacana" stands for some sūtra school. It appears that *sūtra* and *pravacana* are two different things, whatever the latter term may mean. Baudhāyana is called pravacanakāra and Āpastamba is styled sūtrakāra. We are told by the Baudhāyana-grhysūtra<sup>78</sup> that a Brahmana who studied *sūtra* and *pravacana* was styled "bhrūya." Buhler was inclined to hold that Baudhāyana was a southern teacher for several reasons. Baudhāyana mentions customs of the south and includes sea-faring as a custom peculiar to the north (I. 1. 20), while in another place he places sea-faring at the head of sins (*patanīyas*) lesser than the mortal ones (II. 1. 41). Therefore it is said that he was not a northern teacher. But as against this we have to remember that Baudhāyana (I. 1. 29) quotes with apparent approval a verse in which the countries of Avanti (Ujjain), Aṅga, Magadha, Surāṣṭra (Kathiawar) and Dakṣiṇāpatha are declared to be the home of mixed castes. Dakṣiṇāpatha was generally supposed to be the whole peninsula south of the Narmadā. Baudhāyana, if he was a native of the south, would not have spoken of his country as the home of mixed castes only, unless he put a restricted meaning on the word Dakṣiṇāpatha (which sometimes meant in later days Mahārāṣṭra). Vide J. B. B. R. A. S. for 1917 p. 620.

The extant Baudhāyanadharmasūtra is certainly later than Gautama, as it mentions Gautama twice by name and as one quotation at least is found in the extant Gautama. Besides Baudhāyana quotes by name several teachers on *dharma*, while Gautama quotes only one, Manu. Baudhāyana is far removed from the times of the Upaniṣads. Baud. (II. 7. 15) quotes a verse which is itself an adaptation of a passage from the Chāndogya-upaniṣad.<sup>79</sup> He

78 The whole passage is interesting 'उपनीतमात्रो वनानुचारी वेदानां किंचिदधीत्य  
ब्राह्मणः । एकां शास्त्रमधीत्य श्रोत्रियः । अङ्गप्राप्त्यनुचानः । कल्पध्यायी कथिकल्पः ।  
सूत्रप्रवचनध्यायी भूषणः । चतुर्वेदादृषिः । जल ऊर्ध्वं देवः ।' बो. गृ. सू. I. 7. 3-8.

79 Baud. 'अथाध्यायद्वयमिति- यथाहि तूलमपीकाम्नो मोतं पदीष्यते । तद्वत्सर्वाणि पापानि  
दहन्ते ह्यतनपाजिनः ॥'; compare छान्दोग्योपनिषद् V. 24. 3. 'तयधेरीकानूलमन्मो  
मोतं पदुयेतैवं ह्यस्य सर्वं पाप्मानः पदुयन्ते' &c.

quotes Harita. It is uncertain whether the Hāritadharmasūtra, a manuscript of which was discovered by the late Vaman Śastri Islampurkar at Nasik, is the one intended. Bühler thought that the work of Baudhāyana was earlier than that of Āpastamba by a century or two. His first reason was that Kāva Baudhāyana receives homage in the *tarpaṇa* before Āpastamba and Hiranyakeśin and that the same order is observed in the Baudhāyana-grhyasūtra. But this reason is far from convincing. It may be conceded that Baudhāyana was regarded as the oldest (or the most authoritative or respectable) of the three schools of the Black Yajurveda. But from this it does not at all follow that the extant *dharmasūtra* of the Baudhāyanīyas is earlier than that of the Āpastambīyas. For aught we know the *sūtra* compiled for the school of Baudhāyana may be later than the *sūtra* manual of the Āpastambīyas. We saw above that orthodox opinion, represented by Kumārila, regards Baudhāyana's work as later than Āpastamba's. All the three founders of the three schools are mentioned in the Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra and dharmasūtra. One may equally argue with good reason that both these works knew a *sūtra* work of Āpastamba and that the extant dharmasūtra of Āpastamba is that work. Another reason assigned for the priority of Baudhāyana's work over Āpastamba's is that, though both have numerous *sūtras* that agree almost word for word, a comparison of the views of the two writers shows that Āpastamba lays down stricter and more puritanic (and therefore later) views on certain points than Baudhāyana. Gautama, Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha mention several secondary sons, while Āpastamba is silent about them. Gautama, Baudhāyana (II. 2. 17, 62), Vasiṣṭha and even Viṣṇu approve of the practice of *niyoga*, while Āpastamba condemns it (II. 6. 13. 1-9). Gautama and Baudhāyana (I. 11. 1) speak of eight forms of marriage, while Āpastamba speaks of only six and omits Prajāpatya and Paisāca (II. 5. 11. 17-20 and II. 5. 12. 1-2). Baudhāyana (II. 2. 4-6) allowed a larger share to the eldest son on a partition, while Āpastamba condemns such a procedure (II. 6. 14. 10-14). The Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra (II. 4. 6) allows upanayana to *sathakara*, while Āpastamba (grhya 4. 10. 1-4) does not do so (dharmasūtra I. 1. 1. 19). These points are hardly conclusive on the question of date. From very ancient times there was great divergence of opinion among the doctors of the law on most, if not on all, of these points. There is no hard and fast rule that these doctrines were up-

held by early writers and condemned by later ones. Baudhāyana himself quotes the views of an ancient writer, Āupajāṅhani, who condemned all secondary sons. The verses that Baudhāyana quotes on this point ( II. 2. 34-36 ) are quoted by Āpastamba also but without the author's name ( Āp. II. 6. 13. 6 ), there being variants only in the first verse. *Niyoga* was allowed by Manu ( 9. 56-63 ) and then condemned ( 9. 64-68 ) and Brhaspati refers to this attitude of Manu ( vide Kullūka on Manu 9. 68 ). Even so late a writer as Yājñavalkya ( II. 131 ) approves of *niyoga*. About the *rathakara* being allowed to consecrate the sacred fires there is a discussion in the sūtras of Jaimini ( VI. 1. 44 ff ). Vedic passages supported both methods viz. equal division among sons and the bestowal of a larger share on the eldest. Even Yājñavalkya ( II. 118 ) allows a larger share to the eldest son. Therefore hardly anyone of the circumstances relied upon by Bühler as indicating a later age for Āpastamba is conclusive or convincing. The third ground for placing Baudhāyana before Āpastamba is that the style of the former is simpler and older as compared with the latter's. That Baudhāyana is simpler than Āpastamba may be admitted. But this may be due to the fact that Baudhāyana has been tampered with more than Āpastamba. On the other hand Āpastamba contains more un-Pāṇinian forms, more uncouth constructions, more words in an archaic sense than is the case with Baudhāyana. All that is almost certain about the age of the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra is that it is later than the work of Gautama, that its style, its doctrines and its general out-look on different subjects do not compel us to assign it a later date than that of the other dharmasūtras. We have adduced evidence to show that long before the days of Śābara ( whose latest date cannot be later than 500 A.D. ) the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra was an authoritative *smṛti* ; it follows that the dharmasūtra must be placed somewhere between 500-200 B. C. Numerous sūtras are identical in Baudhāyana and Āpastamba e.g. Āp. I. 1. 2. 30 = Baud. I. 2. 40-41, Āp. I. 2. 6. 8-9 = Baud. I. 2. 39, Āp. I. 5. 15. 8 = Baud. I. 2. 31, Āp. I. 11. 31. 11 and 16 = Baud. II. 3. 39 and 32. There are several verses that occur in both e.g. Baud. II. 1. 42 = Āp. I. 9. 27. 11, Baud. II. 2. 34-36 = Āp. II. 6. 13. 6 ( three verses condemning secondary sons ), Baud. II. 10. 63 = Āp. 11. 9. 21. 10, Baud. II. 7. 22-23 = Āp. II. 4. 9. 13. ( two verses ), Baud. II. 6. 36. = Āp. II. 9. 24. 8. Besides these there are numerous Vedic quotations that are common to both. All this,

however, does not establish anything about their relative position. The Vasistha-dharmasūtra also has numerous quotations in common with Baud. Vide Vas. I. 15. = Baud. I. 1. 28, Vas. III. 5, 6, 11, 20, 36 = Baud. I. 1. 10, 12, 11, 8 and I. 5. 58 (respectively); Vas. 6. 20-21 = Baud. II. 7. 22-23; Vas. VIII. 17 = Baud. II. 2, 1; Vas. XI. 27-28 = Baud. II. 8. 21-22; Vas. XVI. 34 = Baud. I. 10. 35, Vas. XVII. 73 = Baud. IV. 1. 17, Vas. XVII. 86 = Baud. I. 5. 102; Vas. XXII. 10 = Baud. I. 1. 33. It is to be noted that some of these quotations (Baud. II. 8. 21-22, I. 10. 35) occur in the extant Manusmṛiti also (III. 125-126 and VIII. 98). There are a few prose sūtras in Vas. that are transformed into verse in Baud. and *vice versa* e. g. Vas. III. 41 (prose) = Baud. I. 5. 20 (quoted as a verse), Vas. III. 57 (quoted as a verse) = Baud. I. 6. 19-20. It is not likely that one borrows from the other. There are two other possible explanations, viz. that both Baud. and Vas. (and Manu also) quote from or adapt a common source or that the three works have been tampered with and interpolations introduced at every step. The latter alternative is too sweeping as the number of verses is very large and makes all the old sūtras except that of Gautama valueless for all chronological purposes. One cannot subscribe to the view that such extensive interpolations took place as the latter theory demands. The first alternative appears more reasonable. What that common source was, whether it was a regular work in verse or whether there was a floating mass of such popular verses as Bühler holds, are questions that present very great difficulties. It is not easy to believe that there were hundreds of floating verses on *dharma* no body knew by whom composed, on which writers of the centuries preceding the Christian era drew for supporting their opinions. That does not sound as a very likely procedure. It is more probable that such verses were contained in a work or works now lost.

In the *tarpaṇa*, Baud. (II. 5. 21) mentions several appellations of Gaṇeśa, viz. Vighna, Vināyaka, Sthūla, Varada, Hastimukha, Vakraṭuṇḍa, Ekadanta, Lambodara. But this affords no certain clue as to date. The worship of Vināyaka is found in the Mānavagṛhya also. In the *tarpaṇa* (II. 5. 23) we have the seven planets mentioned in the order of the days of the week and also Rāhu and Ketu; besides the twelve names of Viṣṇu occur in II. 5. 24. In II. 1. 44 Baud. speaks of the profession of an actor or of a teacher of dramaturgy (Nāṭyācārya) as an upapātaka. Several



sūtras attributed to Baudhāyana on the subject of adoption in the Dattakamīnāmānisi and other later works are taken from the Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra (II. 6), the sūtras agreeing very closely with Vasīṣṭha (15. 1-9).

According to Burnell the oldest commentator on the Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra was Bhavasvāmin, whom he placed in the 8th century. The commentary of Govindasvāmin on the Dharmasūtra is a learned one and is generally to the point. He appears to be a very late writer.

### 7. Dharmasūtra of Āpastamba.

This has been edited several times (*viz.* by Bühler in the Bombay Sanskrit series with large extracts from Haradatta's commentary called Ujjvalā and also at Kumbhakonam with the complete commentary of Haradatta and translated by Bühler with an introduction in S. B. E. vol. II). The Āpastambakālpasūtra of the Taittirīya Śākhā of the black Yajurveda is divided into 30 *prānas*. According to Bühler, the first 24 *prānas* contain the treatment of Śrauta sacrifices; the 25th contains *paribhāṣas*, *pravarakhaṇḍa*, and *Hautraka* prayers to be recited by Hotṛ priests; 26th and 27th *prānas* constitute the Grhyasūtra, the 28th and 29th Dharmasūtra and the 30th *prāna* is the Śulvasūtra. Bühler seems to be slightly inaccurate here. According to Caṇḍappa, who commented on the Āpastambīya sūtras in the 14th century, the Āpastambīyamantrapāṭha forms the 25th and 26th *prānas* of the Kalpasūtra and the Grhyasūtra forms 27th *prāna*.<sup>80</sup> The Śrauta-sūtra of Āpastamba was edited by Dr. Garbe in the B. I. series; the Grhya and Mantrapāṭha were edited by Dr. Winternitz. The Grhya with the commentary of Sudarśanārya has been edited in the Mysore Govt. Oriental series by Pandit Mahadeva Sastri (in 1893). It is divided into eight *paṭalas* and 23 *khaṇḍas*. According to the Caranavyūha, Āpastamba (or "bha" as written in many southern mss.) is one of the five subdivisions of the Khāṇḍikīya school of the Taittirīyaśākhā of the Black Yajurveda. Whether the author of the Āpastambīya Śrauta, Grhya and Dharma sūtras is the same is difficult to determine. One sūtra in

<sup>80</sup> पञ्चविंशोऽथ पद्विंशो गृह्यमन्त्राः पञ्चविंशोऽथ धर्मसूत्राः । मन्त्रेभ्यः समविंशो ह्यवाह्यमन्त्राविधिक्रमः ॥  
(Dr. Winternitz's edition of Āp. Mantrapāṭha p. IX). The editor further states (p. IX n. 2) that *Paribhāṣas* form part of the 24th *prāna* and not of the 25th, as Bühler says.

the Āpastambadharmas (II. 2. 5, 17) is the same as Āp. Śrauta (III. 17. 8 and VIII. 4. 6). Oldenberg (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. XXXII) does not subscribe to Bühler's view (S. B. E. Vol. II, pp. XIII-XIV) that the authors of the Āp. Śrauta and Dharma were identical and gives it as his own view that another person of the same school might have imitated the style of the author of the Śrauta. Whatever may be said of the identity of the authorship of the Śrauta and Dharma sūtras, the Grhya and Dharma seem to be very closely related and both seem to be the compositions of the same author. The Āp. Grhya sūtra, as compared with the Asvalāyana-grhya or Gobhila-grhya, is extremely brief and leaves out many rules that are given in other Grhya works. For example, about the choice of a girl Āp. grhya gives only a single rule (I. 3. 19<sup>81</sup>). While it is the Dharmasūtra that tells us that the bride must not be *sagotra* nor *sapiṇḍa* (Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 15-16). The Āp. Grhya is silent about the forms of marriage, about holidays, about the duties of *brahmacārins* and such other subjects which are generally treated of in other Grhyasūtras. These subjects are dealt with in the Āp. Dh. S. and there are several places where the Dharmasūtra presupposes the existence of the Grhya and refers to it. Compare Āp. Dh. S. II. 1, I. 10-11<sup>82</sup> with Āp. Gr. S. III. 7 (particularly sūtras 1, 17, 23). Vide note 54 above. Some sūtras are identical in the Grhya and Dharma, e. g. Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 38 and Grhya IV. 11. 15-16 (about the staff of Brahmacārin); Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 8. 7 and Grhya V. 13. 19. In some cases the Grhya-sūtra itself seems to refer to the teachings of the Dharmasūtra, e. g. Grhya 8. 21. 1 and Dharma II. 7. 16. 6-7. All these facts make it highly probable, if not certain, that the Grhya and Dharma sūtras were composed by the same author and that the details of certain topics were purposely omitted in the

81 बभ्रुशीललक्षणसंपन्नामरोगामुपपद्यते ।

82 'श्रोभूते स्थालीपाकः । तस्योपचारः पार्षणेन व्याख्यातः' । आप. ध. सू. 'अथेतामात्रे-  
येन स्थालीपाकेन पाजयति । एवमत ऊर्ध्वं दक्षिणावर्जमुपोषिताभ्यां पर्वसु काशः ।  
पार्षणेनातोम्वानि कर्माणि व्याख्याताम्वोचारायानि गृह्णन्ते । आप. गृ. सू. Vide also  
आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 17. 6 'सर्वेषु वृत्तेषु सर्वतः समवदाय शेषस्य पास्तावरार्धं प्राशनी-  
याद्यधोक्त्वा' and आप. गृ. सू. 8. 21. 9 'सर्वतः समवदायोत्तरेण वज्रुषा शेषस्य  
पास्तावरार्धं प्राशनीयात्' 'उभयतः परिषेचनं यथा पुरस्ताद्' आप. ध. II. 2. 3. 17 and  
आप. गृ. I. 2. 3. 'समावृत्ते चै... यधोपदेशं पूजयेत्' आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 5. 4  
refers to आप. गृ. सू. V. 13. 1-19.



Grhya to avoid repetition. The *Smṛticandrikā* (III. p. 458) distinctly asserts that the author of the *Dharmasūtra* and the *Grhyasūtra* was the same.

The contents of the Āp. dharma-sūtra are :—

1. the authoritative sources of *dharma* are the Vedas and the usages of those who know *dharma*; the four *varṇas*, their precedence; definition of *acārya* and his greatness, time for *upanayana* according to the *varṇas* and according to one's desire; *prāyaścitta* if proper time for *upanayana* is gone; he whose father, grand-father and great-grand-father have no *upanayana* performed becomes *patita*, but he can be purified by *prāyaścitta*; the duties of *brahmacārin*, residence with teacher for 48 years, 36, 25 or 12 years; rules of conduct for *brahmacārin*, his staff, girdle and garment, rules about begging for food, bringing fuel and offering to fire; the vows of a *brahmacārin* are his *tapas*, rules about saluting teacher and others according to *varṇas*; giving *dakṣiṇā* to the teacher at the end of study; rules for *snātaka*; rules about holidays and about the time and place for Vedic study; rules about holidays apply to study of the Veda and not to the use of *mantras* in Vedic rites; the five great daily *yajñas* to the *bhūtas*, men, gods, pitrs, and sages, honouring men of higher castes, old men, parents, brothers and sisters and others, method of inquiring about one's health &c. according to *varṇas*; occasions of wearing *yajñopavita*; times and manner of *namana*; rules about forbidden and permitted food and drink; the avocation of a *vaṇij* not allowed to a Brāhmaṇa except in distress; rules forbidding the sale or exchange of certain things; grave sins (*pataniya*), such as theft, the murder of a Brāhmaṇa or other man, causing abortion, incest, drinking wine etc; other sins are not so grave, though they make the perpetrator impure; discussion of some metaphysical questions such as the knowledge of the soul, Brahma, the moral faults that lead to perdition such as anger, avarice, hypocrisy &c; the virtues that lead to the highest goal, such as absence of anger or avarice &c. truthfulness, tranquility; compensation for killing a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, or Śūdra and women; *prāyaścitta* for killing a Brāhmaṇa and an Ātreya Brāhmaṇa woman, for killing a *guru* or a Śrotriya; *prāyaścitta* for violating the bed of a *guru*, for drinking wine and for theft of gold; *prāyaścittas* for killing several birds, cows and bulls, and for abusing those who should not be abused, for sexual intercourse with a Śūdra woman, for taking forbidden food

and drink &c.; rules about Kṛcchra for twelve nights; what constitutes theft; how one should act towards a fallen (*patita*) *guru* and mother; various opinions about *prāyaścitta* for violating *guru's* bed; *prāyaścitta* for a husband who has intercourse with another woman and for wife's adultery; *prāyaścitta* for killing a *bhrūṇa* (a learned *brāhmaṇa*); *Brāhmaṇa* was not to wield arms, except in self-defence against bodily injury; *prāyaścitta* for *abhi-śasta*; *prāyaścittas* for lesser sins; various views about *śvātaka* (*Vidyāśnātaka*, *Vratasnātaka* and *Vidyāvratasnātaka*); the observances (*vratas*) of *śnātaka* as regards garments, answering calls of nature, about scandalous talk, about not seeing the rising or setting Sun, avoiding moral faults such as anger; II (*prāṇa*) the householder's observances commence on marriage (*pānigrahana*); rules of conduct for a householder about taking food and fasting, about sexual intercourse; all the *varṇas* attain unmeasured bliss by performing their duties and are re-born in conditions appropriate to their actions and by means of evil deeds are re-born in evil surroundings e. g. a *Brāhmaṇa* who is a thief or a murderer of a *Brāhmaṇa* becomes a *Cāṇḍāla*, a similarly guilty *rājanya* becomes a *paṇḍaka*; the three higher castes should after bathing perform *Vaiśvadeva*; *Śūdras* may cook food for their masters of higher castes under the supervision of *Āryas*; offerings (*bali*) of cooked food; guests (*atithi*) should be first offered food, then children, old men, sick persons and pregnant women (and then the householder himself); no one should be refused food when he comes at the end of *Vaiśvadeva*; rules of receiving guests, such as unlearned *Brāhmaṇas*, *Kṣatriyas*, *Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras*; an householder should always wear an upper garment or his sacred thread may serve that purpose; in the absence of a *Brāhmaṇa* teacher, a *Brāhmaṇa* may learn from a *Kṣatriya* or *Vaiśya* teacher; duties of a married man when his teacher comes as a guest; duty of householder to teach and to observe the rules of conduct laid down for him; in case of doubt as to a guest's caste and character, how to proceed; who is an *atithi*; praise of honouring an *atithi*; procedure in case an *atithi* comes to a king or to one who has consecrated fires; to whom and when *madhuparka* is to be offered; the six *aṅgas* of *Veda* named; all including dogs and *cāṇḍālas* should be given food after *Vaiśvadeva*; all gifts to be made with water; one must not give at the expense of servants and slaves; one may subject himself, wife and sons to privations (but not servants); amount of food to be taken by

*brahmacarin*, householder, hermit &c.; occasions for begging are the teacher, marriage, sacrifice, maintenance of parents and avoidance of the cessation of some worthy observance (like *agnihotra*); the peculiar *karmans* of Brāhmaṇas and the other castes; rules of war; the king to appoint a *parokṣita* skilled in *dharma* and art of government, who is to carry out punishments and penances; punishments including death sentence according to the gravity of the offences, but a Brāhmaṇa was not to be killed or injured or to be made a slave; rule of the road; a man of the lower caste by practising his duties rises higher and higher when re-born and a man of the higher castes goes lower by *adharma*; one should not marry another wife, when the first has children and is helpful in the performance of *dharma*; rules about marriageable girl, i. e. she must not be *sagotra* and *sapinda* of the mother; six forms of marriage, *brāhma*, *ārṣa*, *daiva*, *gāndharva*, *asura*, *rikṣasa*; preference among the six; rules of conduct after marriage; sons born of wives of the same caste can perform the duties appropriate to the father's caste and inherit parent's property; the son of a woman who was once married or who is not married according to prescribed forms or who is not of the same caste is censured; whether the son belongs to the begetter (or to him on whose wife he is begotten); there can be no gift or sale of a child; partition during father's lifetime and equal division; exclusion from inheritance of the impotent, lunatics and sinners; the inheritance in the absence of son goes to nearest *sapinda*, then to the teacher and then to the pupil, or the daughter and ultimately to the king; the opinion of some that the largest share goes to the eldest son is opposed to the Vedas; no partition between husband and wife; usages of countries and families not to be followed if opposed to the Vedas; impurity on death of agnates, cognates &c.; gifts to be made at proper time, place and to proper person; *śrāddhas*; times of *śrāddha*; materials required at *śrāddha*, food (including flesh) appropriate at *śrāddhas*; what Brāhmaṇas are to be called at *śrāddha*; the four *āśramas*; rules about *parivraj* i. e. *sannyāsin*; the duties of forest hermit; praise of the meritorious and condemnation of evil-doers; special rules about kings; founding of his capital and palace; position of the *sabha*; extirpation of thieves; gifts of land and wealth to Brāhmaṇas; protection of people; persons exempt from taxation, such as Śrotriya, women of all castes, students and ascetics; punishment of young men for adultery; punishment varied according as the woman wronged was Ārya or

Śūdra; punishments for abuse and for homicide; punishments for various breaches of conduct; dispute between cowherd and master; the perpetrator, the abettor and one who approves of the act are all guilty; who are to decide disputes; in case of doubt decision by inference and by divine proof (ordeals); punishment for perjury; all other *dharma*s should be learnt, according to some, from women and people of all castes.

Each of the two *prāśnas* of the *Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra* is divided into eleven *pāṭalas*, there being 32 and 29 *khaṇḍikās* in the two *pāṭalas* respectively. The *Dharmasūtra* is written in a more concise and compact style than that of *Baudhāyana* and has more archaic and un-Pāṇinian forms than any other extant *Dharmasūtra*. For example, the following are against the rules of Pāṇini; *Adhāsana* (for *adha āsana*) in I. 1. 2. 21, *aglaṁśnu* (I. 2. 3. 22), *muhūṁśca* (I. 2. 8. 22), *agrhyamāna* (I. 4. 12. 8), *sarvatopeta* (for *sarvata upeta*) in I. 6. 19. 9, *sakhim* (for *sakhim*) in I. 7. 21. 9. Haradatta points out in many places that the current reading was un-Pāṇinian and therefore he read differently (e. g. in II. 2. 5. 2 he reads 'viprakramāṇa', while the current reading was 'viprakramiṇa')<sup>83</sup>. This makes it probable that in the original text there must have been many more un-Pāṇinian forms than in the one preserved by Haradatta. There are many unfamiliar or rare words used by *Āpastamba*, i. e. *ananiyoga* (I. 6. 19. 12), *anaścārika* (I. 8. 22. 1), *Kartapatya* (I. 2. 5. 3), *vyupatoda* and *vyupajava* ('-pa') in I. 2. 8. 15, *brahmalhasarīstuta* (I. 1. 1. 32). We meet with strange forms of certain words, such as *parvānta* (I. 3. 9. 21), *prāśāsta* (II. 8. 19. 3), *anātyaya* (I. 1. 1. 21 for *anatyaya*), *brahmojjham* (for *-ojjhaḥ*) in I. 7. 21. 8, *śvāvīt* (I. 5. 17. 37), *śthevana* (I. 11. 30. 19 for *sthivana*), *acāryadāre* (for *-dāreṣu*) in I. 2. 7. 27. Though the *Ap. Dharmasūtra* is mainly in prose, there are verses here and there. Some of the verses are expressly stated to be taken from other sources by being introduced with the word "udāharanti" or with "āthāpyudāharanti" e. g. I. 6. 19. 13 (two ślokas from a *Purāṇa*), I. 6. 19. 15 (compare *Manu* 8. 317 and *Vas.* 19. 44), I. 11. 31. 1, I. 11. 32. 24, II. 4. 9. 13 (two verses, same as *Baud.* II. 7. 22-23), II. 7. 17. 8, II. 6. 13. 6 (three verses almost the same as in *Baud.* II. 2. 34-36), II. 9. 23. 4-5 (two ślokas from a *Purāṇa*). Besides these there are several isolated verses, most of which

<sup>83</sup> प्रायेण मकारादपरिमितारमधीयते । तत्राप्येष एवार्थः । इकारस्तु छान्दसोपपादो वा ।

seem to be quotations, though not introduced with words like "udāharanti". They are I. 4. 14, 25, I. 6. 19, 14 (the first pāda of which is Manu 4. 212), I. 9. 27, 10, I. 9. 27, 11 (same as Baud. II. 1. 42), II. 2. 4, 14 (compare Manu III. 101). Some of these verses are defective in metre, there being nine syllables in one anuṣṭubh pāda as in I. 9. 27, 10, II. 9. 23, 4-5, II. 2. 4, 14. One of the verses is in the classical Upajāti metre (II. 7. 17, 18), while another closely approaches that metre (I. 9. 27, 11). Besides these there are a few half-verses, II. 5. 11, 5-6 (same as latter half of Vanaparva 133. 1), II. 9. 21, 10 (Manu 6. 43 has the first pāda). Thus in all there are about twenty verses, of which at least six occur in Baudhāyana. Some sūtras that are printed as prose are parts of verses, e. g. I. 2. 5, 11. Besides these there are several verses in the pāṭalas dealing with metaphysics (I. 8. 22, 4-8 and I. 9. 23, 1-3) that are pieced together largely from Upaniṣad passages. Āpastamba in several places employs the first person plural about himself<sup>84</sup>, e. g. I. 1. 1, 27, I. 8. 22, 3, I. 8. 23, 4. Haradatta points out that in his day there was difference in the text as handed down in Northern and in Southern India.<sup>85</sup>

Āpastamba quotes, besides the *Saṃhitās*, the *Brahmaṇas* very frequently (e. g., I. 1. 1, 10-11, I. 1. 3, 9, I. 1. 3, 26, I. 2. 7, 7, I. 2. 7, 11, I. 3. 10, 8). He quotes the *Vājasaneyaka* (I. 5. 17, 31) and the *Vājasaneyi-brahmaṇa* (I. 4. 12, 3 on svādhyāya), he speaks of the Upaniṣads (II. 2. 5, 1), his quotations (II. 2. 3, 16-II. 2. 4, 1-9) from the *Tai. Āraṇyaka* agree, according to Bühler, with the text current in the Āndhra country. He speaks of the six *āṅgas* of the Veda (II. 4. 8, 10) and in the next sūtra enumerates Chandas, Kalpa, grammar, Jyotiṣa, Nirukta, Śikṣā, (phonetics) and Chandoviciti (metrics), which are seven (Śikṣā being probably intended to be included in grammar). There are passages in Āpastamba which agree with the *Nirukta*, e. g. the definition of *ācārya*<sup>86</sup>.

84 'आपोद्भास्य माह्वस्य... यथा ब्रूतेनु समर्थः स्वाद्यानि वक्ष्यामः' आप. I. 1. 1, 27; 'तत्रात्मलक्ष्मीयाश्च श्लोकानुदाहरिष्यामः' I. 8. 22, 3; 'अथ भूतदाहोयान्दोषानुदहरिष्यामः' I. 8. 23, 4.

85 On the sūtra अन्यत्र राहुदर्शनात् (II. 7. 17, 25) he says 'उद्दिश्यहस्तेनप्रायेण न पठन्ति । तथा च पूर्वनि व्याख्यातम्'.

86 'वक्ष्याद्भर्माचिनोनि स आचार्यः' आप. घ. सू. I. 1. 1, 14; 'आचार्यः कश्चादाचारं वाहयति आचिनोत्यर्थानाचिनोति बुद्धिमिति वा' निरुक्त I. 4 and 'तस्मै न द्रष्टुकलमवचनम्' (quoted in निरुक्त II. 3).

He quotes the views of ten writers on *dharma* by name, viz. Eka (I. 6. 19. 7), Kaṇva (I. 6. 19. 3 and I. 10. 28. 1), Kāṇva (I. 6. 19. 7), Kuṇika (I. 6. 19. 7), Kutsa (I. 6. 19. 7), Kautsa (I. 6. 9. 4 and 7, I. 10. 28. 1), Puṣkarasādi (I. 6. 19. 7, I. 10. 28. 1), Vārṣāyaṇī (I. 6. 19. 5 and 8, I. 10. 28. 2), Śvetaketu (I. 4. 13. 19 and I. 2. 5. 6), Hārīta (I. 4. 13. 11, I. 6. 18. 2, I. 6. 19. 12, I. 10. 28. 1, 5 and 16, I. 10. 29. 12 and 16). Some of the names (viz. Kautsa, Vārṣāyaṇī, and Puṣkarasādi) occur in the Nirukta. He quotes the view of Śvetaketu in Śvetaketu's own words (in I. 4. 13. 20) that even a married man should every year stay with his teacher for two months to refresh his studies and gives it as his own opinion that Śvetaketu's view is opposed to the Śāstras (the Vedas). In another place (I. 1. 4. 5-6) he speaks of Śvetaketu as an *āvara* (a person belonging to later ages) and as one who on account of the remnant of his meritorious actions done in a former life or lives was able to grasp the four Vedas in a short time. It is usual to see in this a reference to Śvetaketu in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (VI. 1. 1-2), where it is stated that Śvetaketu mastered all the Vedas in twelve years. But this identification is somewhat of doubtful value. Āpastamba quotes Śvetaketu as a teacher of *dharma*. The quotation from Śvetaketu given by Āpastamba has nothing corresponding to it in the Upaniṣad. Besides the Chāndogya Upaniṣad appears to make a distinction between two Śvetaketu's (in VI. 1 and VI. 8), one being called Āruṇeya and the other Āruṇī (son of Āruṇa). Hārīta, whose views are cited so frequently, is quoted by Baudhāyana (II. 1. 50) and also by Vasiṣṭha (II. 6. ). From the two sūtras (I. 6. 19. 3 and 7) it follows that Kaṇva and Kāṇva are two distinct writers. The Kumbhakonam edition reads Kāṇva in I. 10. 28. 1, while Bühler reads Kaṇva there. Kāṇva Baudhāyana is a teacher, whose name occurs in the *ṛṣitarpaṇa* in many works. The view ascribed to Kāṇva by Āpastamba in I. 6. 19. 7 seems to be the same as that of the Baudhāyana-dharmaśūtra (I. 2. 19<sup>87</sup>). It has been shown above that there are close parallels in thought and expression

87 'क आशयान्नः । य ईप्सोदिनि कण्वः । ... शुद्धा भिक्षा भोक्तव्यैककुलिको कान्वकुत्सो नया पुष्करसादि.' आश.ध.सू. I. 6. 19. 2, 3 and 7. Here various views on the question as to whose food should be partaken by begging are set forth. Baudhāyana says 'ने ब्राह्मणायाः स्वकर्मस्थाः' which tallies with शुद्धा भिक्षा &c.



between Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. In several places Āpastamba seems to be controverting the views of Baudhāyana or similar views held by others. Āpastamba condemns the view of giving the paternal wealth to the eldest son as opposed to the Vedas and explains the Vedic text (Tai. S. II. 5. 2. 7 quoted above) about the eldest son being endowed with all wealth as a mere *anuvāda* and not a *vidhī* (vide Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 6-13). Baudhāyana cites both the texts of the Tai. S. about equal division among sons and about the eldest son's larger share and seems to favour the latter view by putting it last (II. 2. 2-7.). Similarly the discussion in Āpastamba (I. 1. 4. 5-12) about a *brahmacārin* eating the leavings (*ucchiṣṭa*) of his *guru*, provided the things are not directly forbidden by Śruti, seems to be directed against Baudhāyana (II. 1. 25-26). Although Āpastamba does not expressly quote Gautama, he appears to have had before him the Gautama-dharma-sūtra. He speaks of a *smṛti* (II. 6. 15. 25) that lays down that *upanayana* confers *adbikāra* on a man for śāstric actions and that before *upanayana* one is free to do anything and to eat anything. This, as interpreted by Haradatta, refers to Gautama (II. 1)<sup>88</sup>. There are striking coincidences between Gautama and Āpastamba, e. g. Gaut. I. 19. = Āp. I. 1. 1. 41 (about some teachers prescribing the yellow robe to a *brahmacārin*), Gaut. I. 3 = Āp. II. 6. 13. 7 (about the violation of *dharma* by the great in former ages), Gaut. 9. 52 = Āp. I. 11. 31. 13), Gaut. 23. 9 = Āp. I. 9. 25. 2; Gaut. 16. 19 = Āp. I. 3. 9. 14-15). Āpastamba frequently refers to the views of his predecessors in the words 'eke' (I. 1. 2. 37, 38, 41; I. 1. 4. 17; I. 2. 5. 20; I. 2. 6. 4; I. 3. 9. 3; I. 3. 11. 3 &c.) and 'aparam' (II. 6. 15. 22). It is somewhat remarkable that in many of these cases (where 'eke' occurs), the views are those either held by Gautama or ascribed by him also to others, e. g. Āp. I. 1. 2. 38 about the staff of a *brahmacārin* refers to Gaut. I. 23; Āp. I. 1. 2. 41 is almost same as Gaut. I. 19, Āp. I. 2. 5. 20 seems to refer to Gaut. 1. 54-59, Āp. I. 3. 9. 3 (the view of some that Vedic study lasts for four months and a half) seems to refer to Gaut. 16. 2, and Āp. I. 3. 11. 3 (about not studying after dining at a sacrifice for deities that are *manuṣya-prakṛti*) pointedly refers to Gaut. 16. 34 which contains the word '*manuṣyayajñabhojana*'. Āpastamba twice

<sup>88</sup> अथ ह्यधिकारः शास्त्रैर्मन्वि । सा निष्ठा । स्मृतिश्च । आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 15. 23-25;

प्रगुपनयनात् कामचारः कामवादः कामभक्षः । अदुतात् । गो. व. सू. II. 1-2.

quotes verses from a Purāṇa (I. 6. 9. 13, II. 9. 23. 3) and in one place gives in prose the view of a Purāṇa (I. 10. 29. 7)\*. Āpastamba (II. 9. 24. 6) speaks of the view of a Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa (about creation of the world after a periodic dissolution). In one place Āpastamba (II. 11. 29. 11-12) says that 'the knowledge that exists (traditionally) among women and Śūdras is the furthest limit of *vidyā* and it is said to be a supplement of the Atharvaveda.' Here he probably refers to Arthaśāstra, which according to the *caranavyūha*, is the Upaveda of the Atharvaveda. Āpastamba refers (II. 7. 16. 1) to Manu as founder of the institution of *śraddha*. But this appears to be a reference to Manu, the mythical progenitor of mankind, and not to the Manusmṛti. It is noteworthy that Āpastamba (II. 7. 17. 8) quotes a verse, which is the same as Anuśāsanaparva 90. 46 (*sambhojanī nāma* &c.).

The Āpastambadharmasūtra stands in a peculiar relation to the Pūrvamīmāṃsā. It is the only extant Dharmasūtra that contains many of the technical terms and doctrines of the Mīmāṃsā. He says (I. 1. 4. 8) 'a positive Vedic text is more cogent than an usage which merely leads to an inference (of its being based on a Vedic text now lost)<sup>89</sup>'. This refers to Jaimini's rule (I. 3. 3) "if there is a conflict between an express Vedic text and Smṛti, the latter is to be disregarded; but if there be no conflict an inference (may be made that the Smṛti is based upon some Śruti)". In another place Āpastamba says (I. 4. 12. 11) 'where an action is done on account of finding pleasure therefrom (i. e. from a worldly motive), there is no (inference of its being based on) Śāstra'. This is the same as Jaimini's teaching (IV. 1. 2)<sup>91</sup>. He speaks of the

89 'यो हिंसाधर्मभिक्षाग्नं हन्ति मन्युरेव मन्यं स्पृशति न तस्मिन्दोष इति पुराणे'। आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 29. 7; this seems to be a summary of a verse like the one in Baudhāyana (Db. S. I. 10. 12) and Vasistha (III. 18) 'स्वाध्यायिन् कुले जातं यो हन्यादात्मनायिनम् । न तेन भूणह्य स स्वान्मन्युस्तं मन्युमुच्छति ॥' (Baud. has अन्ध्यायकं कुले and भूणह्य भवति).

90 'श्रुतिर्हि बलीयस्यानुमानिकादाचारात्' आप. ध. सू.; 'विरोधे त्वनपेक्ष्यं स्यादसति ह्यनुमानम्' पू. मी. सू.

Vide also 'विप्रतिषेधे श्रुतिरक्षणं बलीयः' आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 30. 9 for the same position.

91 'यत्र तु प्रीतिपलब्धितः प्रवृत्तिर्न तत्र शास्त्रमस्ति' आप. ध. सू. यस्मिन्प्रीतिः पुरुषस्य तस्य लिप्साधलक्षणाविभक्तायात् पू. मी. सू. Vide also आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 4. 9-10 'दुरूपे चापि प्रवृत्तिकारणम् । प्रीतिर्बुधलभ्यते' and 'हेतुदर्शनाच्च' पू. मी. सू. I. 3. 4.



convention (*samaya*) of those who know Nyāya (i. e. Mīmāṃsā) that aṅgas (such as the Kalpasūtras are) cannot be designated the Vedas (which are the principal), which is clearly a reference to Pūrvamīmāṃsā (I. 3. 11-14)<sup>93</sup> and he says that those who know Nyāya lay down that a mere *anuvāda* (affirming or reciting) of what is well-known to all is not a positive rule (a *vidhi*), which is similar to Jaimini's rule<sup>94</sup>. The dictum of Āpastamba that the word "sale" (*kṛaya*) applied to a bride in some Vedic texts is merely figurative closely resembles Jaimini's<sup>95</sup> remarks on the same point. The remark of Āpastamba that the rules of *anadhyaṃya* only apply to Vedic study and not to the recital of *mantras* at sacrifices corresponds to a rule in Jaimini<sup>96</sup> almost in the same words. These examples show that in Āpastamba's day Mīmāṃsā doctrines had been far advanced and that works existed that dealt with Mīmāṃsā topics (Nyāyas). The correspondence in language with the Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra is so close that one is tempted to advance the view that Āpastamba knew the extant Mīmāṃsā-sūtra or an earlier version of it that contained almost the same expressions. It cannot be said that all these passages are later interpolations. They have all been explained by Haradatta and one of the sūtras referring to Mīmāṃsā topics occurs in so early a work as the commentary of Viśvarūpa (on Yaj. 1. 7) who quotes "Brahmaṇoktā vidhayaḥ", (Āp. I. 4. 12. 10). The last passage is quoted by Medhātithi also (on Manu II. 6).

The dharmasūtra of Āpastamba has been quoted from very ancient times as authoritative. Śābara in his *bhāṣya* on Jaimini VI. 8. 18 quotes one sūtra of Āpastamba and a paraphrase of another.<sup>96</sup> The Tantravārtika refers to the sūtras of Āpastamba about local and

<sup>93</sup> 'अङ्गानां तु प्रधानैरप्यवदेश इति न्यायवित्तमयः ।' आप. ध. सू. II. 4. 8. 13.

<sup>94</sup> 'अथापि निश्चयानुवादमविधिमाहुर्न्यायविद्' आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 13; 'अर्थवादे वा विधिष्वेव त्वास्तमान्नित्यानुवादः' पू. मी. सू. VI. 7. 30.

<sup>95</sup> तस्यां कथंशब्दः संस्तुतिमात्रम् । धर्माद्वि सम्बन्धः । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 11-12; 'कथस्य धर्ममात्रतम्' पू. मी. सू. VI. 1. 15.

<sup>96</sup> 'विद्यां प्रात्यन्यायः श्रूयते न कर्मयोगे मन्त्राणाम्' आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 12. 9; 'विद्यां प्रति विधानाद्वा सर्वकालं प्रयोगः स्यात्कर्मार्थत्वात्प्रयोगस्य' पू. मी. सू. XII. 3. 19.

<sup>97</sup> "यथेव स्मृतिः 'धर्मे च अर्थे च काले च नातिचरितव्या' इति, 'धर्मप्रज्ञासंपन्ने दारे नान्वां कुर्वीत' इति च एवमिदमपि स्मर्यत एव 'अन्यतरापावे अन्यां कुर्वीत इति ।' शबरः, आप. ३३७ 'धर्मप्रज्ञासंपन्ने दारे नान्वां कुर्वीत । अन्यतरापावे कार्या प्रागन्यायेवत्' II. 8. 11. 13-15.

family usages,<sup>97</sup> about drinking wine and about the conflict between the views of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba (vide above page 26 also). Śaṅkarācārya in his *bhāṣya* on Brahmasūtra IV. 2. 14 quotes Āpastamba I. 7. 20. 3 (about the planting of trees for fruit as a meritorious act and the collateral benefits of shade and fragrance). He also cites (on Brahmasūtra II. 1. 1.) about the supreme soul a half verse from Āpastamba (I. 8. 23. 2)<sup>98</sup>. In his *bhāṣya* on Brhadāranyaka, he cites Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1 (upāsane gurūṇām &c.). The two *paṭalas* of Āpastamba (I. 8. 22 and 23) dealing with *adhyātma* (philosophy) were commented upon by Śaṅkarācārya, who, from the general style and method of the commentary (vide Trivandrum edition of the *adhyātmapaṭala*), seems to be the same as the great ācārya. Sureśvara in his *Vartika* (I. 1. 97) on Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the Brhadāranyakopaniṣad quotes the sūtra about the planting of mango (Āpastamba I. 7. 20. 3<sup>99</sup>) trees. Viśvarūpa, who according to Mādhava, was the same as Sureśvara,<sup>100</sup> quotes (Trivandrum edition) in his commentary on Yājñavalkya (ācāra and vyavahāra only) Āpastamba's sūtras about twenty times. The quotations show that the text of Āpastamba was identical with the one printed, barring a few variations that are no more than mere slips on the part of the scribes of Mss. In his commentary on Yāj. III. 237 Viśvarūpa quotes eighteen sūtras of Āpastamba (I. 9. 24. 6-23) consecutively which are the same as those in the printed text. Medhātithi quotes Āpastamba II. 5. 11. 2, II. 4. 7. 16, II. 8. 19. 20, I. 4. 14. 30-31 on Manu II. 247, III. 102, III. 273 and VIII. 357 respectively and appears to refer to Āpastamba I. 4. 13. 6 (about "om") on Manu II. 83. The *Mitākṣarā* has several quotations and *Aparārka* contains

97 तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 138 'प्रतिदेशं व्यपस्थया । आपस्तम्बेन संदृत्य दुष्टदुष्टत्वमावृतम् ॥'. This has in view 'एतेन देशकालधर्मो व्याख्याताः' आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 1; 'यापि यापस्तम्बस्मृतिपञ्चानुल्यबलत्वाद्वाङ्मा भवेत्तापि तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः सुरा न पिबेदिति एतेन प्रायश्चित्तमुतिविधिना निराकृतेति तेन विषयाचारमाप्यमाशङ्कितव्यम्.'

98 परमात्मानमेव प्रकृष्टापस्तम्बः पठति 'तस्मात्कायाः प्रभवन्ति सर्वे स मूलं शान्तिः स नित्यः'.

99 आग्ने कलार्थे इत्यादि ह्यापस्तम्बस्मृतेर्वचः । कलवत्त्वं समाचष्टे नित्यानामपि कर्मणाम् । बृहदारण्यकमाध्यायवार्तिक. आपस्तम्ब's words are 'तथा आग्ने कलार्थे निमित्ते तावा गन्ध इत्यनुवद्यते एवं धर्मं चर्यमाणमर्थं अनुवद्यन्ते ।'

100 Vide my article in JBERRAS for 1922 pp. 205-206.

about two hundred sūtras of Āpastamba, though rather in a mutilated form. But it is not necessary to refer to these and other later works in detail, since Haradatta's commentary, as will be shown later on, was written about the time of Aparārka. Thus from the days of Śābara (500 A. D. at the latest) to 1100 A. D. we have a host of writers who vouch for the authenticity of the extant text of Āpastamba.

About the home and personal history of Āpastamba little is known. Āpastamba is not an ancient name. It does not occur in the Vedic texts. It occurs in the *gūṇa* "Bīḍādi" in Pāṇini IV. 1. 104. He speaks of himself as belonging to later ages (*avara*). Vide Āpastamba<sup>101</sup> I. 2. 5. 4. and II. 6. 13. 9. In the *tarpaṇa* he is generally mentioned after Bodhāyana and before Satyaśaḍha Hiranyakeśin (vide note 68a above). Therefore according to tradition his school was elder or more authoritative than that of Hiranyakeśin. In one place Āpastamba refers to a peculiar śrāddha usage of the *udīcyas* (II. 7. 17. 17).<sup>102</sup> Āpastamba must be supposed to have embodied in his work the usages of his own country. If he specially mentions the usages of a particular locality, it would follow that he did not hail from that locality. But the exact meaning of "Udīcyā" is doubtful. Haradatta quotes a verse of the grammarians, according to which the country north of the Śaravati was called "Udīcyā". According to the Mahābhāṣya quoted in the commentary on the *caranavyūha* the Āpastambīyas were to be found to the south of the Narmadā, in the south-east, that is, in Āndhra and the territory about the mouth of the Godāvarī. Therefore it is natural to suppose that Āpastamba's school had its origin in the south and probably in Āndhra. The Pallavas made land grants to Āpastambīyas. Vide I. A. vol. V, page 155.

The age of the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra can be settled within only approximate limits. It is probably later than the Gautama Dharmasūtra and also the Baudhāyanadharmaśāstra and before 500 A. D. it was an authoritative *smṛti* work according to Śābara. Āpastamba is enumerated by Yājñavalkya as a writer on *dharma* (I. 5)

<sup>101</sup> 'तस्मादृष्योत्तरं न जायन्ते नियमानि कामान्' and 'तदन्वीक्ष्य प्रयुजानः सतिदिवसः'.

<sup>102</sup> उदीक्ष्यवृत्तिरुवाचनगतानां हस्तेषुदपानयनम् । on this हरदत्त says धरातया उदीक्ष्यवृत्तिरुवाचनं वृत्तिरुवाचनः.

and by Śāṅkha-Likhita. Its style and grammar (which is un-Pāṇinian in the extreme) entitle it to great antiquity. There is no clear reference to Buddhism and other schisms anywhere. It appears to look upon Śvetaketu as not far removed from its own epoch. It was probably written at a time when Jaimini had founded his school. Hence we shall not be far wrong if we assign it to some period between 600-300 B. C. On several points his views are opposed to those of his predecessors, e. g. he rejects secondary sons, condemns *niyoga*, does not admit *Paśāca* and *Prājāpatya* as valid forms of marriage (vide above page 29). There are other points also wherein Āpastamba differs from Gautama and the other sūtrākāras. Gautama (IV. 14-17) and Baudhāyana (I. 8. 7-12) give long lists of mixed castes and Gautama includes Yavana among them. Āpastamba is silent on this point. But this has hardly any bearing on chronology. Even the Vedic works mention the *Niṣāda* and the *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra* has a special *adhikaraṇa* (VI. 1. 51) devoted to him; the Br. Upaniṣad mentions (IV. 3. 22 and 37) such castes as *Cāṇḍāla*, and the *Gītā* mentions the *Śvapāka*. The Āp. Śrauta speaks of the *Niṣāda* (9. 14. 12-13). The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 1. 2. 6) mentions *Cāṇḍāla*, *Paulkasa* and *Vaiśya*. Gautama (17. 30) forbids the eating of the flesh of cows and bulls, while Āp. (I. 5. 7. 30-31) seems to allow it and cites the *Vājasaneyaka* for support. In this connection it has to be noted that Vasiṣṭha also has a similar sūtra (14. 46). Āp. (I. 9. 27. 10) prescribes a penance for one who practises usury and lays down that one should not eat at the usurer's (I. 6. 18. 22), while Gautama appears to allow usury to a Brāhmaṇa as a calling if done through an agent (X. 6). Baudhāyana, on the other hand, quotes verses that condemn usury in strong language as even worse than *brahmahatyā*, holds that a Brāhmaṇa who is a usurer should be treated as a *śūdra* and allows the first two castes to practise usury only towards atheists, *śūdras* and such like persons (I. 5. 79-81). So these differences of Āp. from others are hardly conclusive as to his chronological position.

The commentary of Haradatta called *Ujjvalā-vṛtti* is the only one so far recovered. For an account of Haradatta, vide sec. 86. The *Smṛticandrikā* (I, page 25) quotes a passage from the *bhāṣya* of Āpastamba (II. 6. 15. 19-20) and (II. p. 300) quotes the explanation of the *bhāṣyakāra* on Āpastamba II. 6. 14. 1. Both these passages

are not found in the commentary of Haradatta, though in the latter case, Haradatta holds the same view as that of the Bhāṣyakāra. Similarly the Viramitrodaya (Vyavahāra, page 671) quotes the bhāṣyakāra of Āpastamba, but that quotation does not agree with Haradatta. Haradatta himself does not call his work *bhāṣya*, but *vṛtti*. Besides the Subodhinī on the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. II. 132) quotes a passage from the Āpastambadharmavṛtti which is found in Haradatta on Āp. II. 6. 14. 1. Haradatta himself cites sometimes two or three other interpretations of the same sūtra (e. g. on Āp. I. 2. 5. 2; I. 3. 10. 6; I. 5. 15. 20; II. 2. 3. 16). So the *bhāṣyakāra* was probably one of his predecessors.

In Apararka, Haradatta, Smṛticandrika and other works there are numerous quotations in verse ascribed to Āpastamba. These quotations are concerned with topics of Āhnikā, Śrāddha, and Prāyaścitta. The Smṛticandrika (III. pp. 423 and 426) quotes a Stotrāpastamba. Haradatta on Gautama (22, 18) quotes several verses on prāyaścitta from Āpastamba. Three of these verses are found in the Āpastamba-smṛti in verse (Jīvananda's collection vol. I pp. 567-584 chap. I verses 16, 19, 31). The Smṛti printed by Jīvananda contains about 207 verses in ten chapters on prāyaścitta and purifications. But the quotations from the Smṛticandrikā and Apararka show that the verse Āpastamba was a much larger work and since they regarded the versified work as equally authoritative with the sūtra work, the versified smṛti must have been comparatively an ancient work.

### 8. Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra.

The Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra forms the 26th and 27th *prāśnas* of the Hiranyakeśi-kalpa. The Śrauta sūtra has been published by the Anandāśrama Press (Poona). The Hiranyakeśi-grhya-sūtra was edited with extracts from the commentary of Mātṛdatta by Dr. Kirste (Vienna, 1889). The Grhya forms the 19th and 20th *prāśnas* of the Kalpa, each *prāśna* being divided into eight *pāṭalas*. The Śrauta-sūtra is largely based on the Śrauta-sūtra of Āpastamba. The Grhya-sūtra is indebted to the Grhya-sūtra of Bhāradvāja. The Dharmasūtra of Hiranyakeśin can hardly be called an independent work. Hundreds of sūtras are borrowed word for word from the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra. The Dharmasūtra of Hiranyakeśin is therefore the oldest voucher for the authenticity of Āpastamba's text and is very valuable for checking the latter.

The Hiranyakeśins form a sūtra-carana of the Khāṇḍīkeya section of the Taittirīyāśākhā and were formed later than the Āpastambīya School. In a grant of the Kongu kings dated in 454 A. D. Brāhmaṇas of the Hiranyakeśi School are mentioned (I. A. vol. V. page 136). According to the Mahārpaṇa quoted in the commentary of the caranavyūha, the Hiranyakeśins were to be found in the south-west between the Sahya mountain and the ocean and near Paraśurāma (i. e. in the Konkan). There are at present many Brāhmaṇas in the Ratnagiri District who call themselves Hiranyakeśins. The Dattaka-mīmāṃsā of Nanda-panḍita twice quotes passages from the commentary of Śabarasvāmī on the sūtra of Satyaśāḍha. If he was identical with the great commentator of the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā (which is almost certain), then we have unimpeachable evidence for the existence of the works of the Hiranyakeśins long before the fifth century A. D.

Bühler in his second edition of the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra (1893) gave (in appendix II) the various readings of the Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra from two MSS. I secured a modern transcript of the Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra from the Deccan College collection (No 138 of 1881-82), which contains the text and also the commentary of Mahādeva thereon. There are 18 folios for the sūtra and 101 for the commentary. That ms. presents some readings which are not noticed by Bühler as found in the two mss. consulted by him. For example, the ms. reads "saptama āyuskāmamaṣṭame brahmavarca-sakāmaṇi (reversing the order of years in Ap. I. 1. 1. 21-22), omits the words "yadi snāyat daṇḍavat plavet" (from Ap. I. 1. 2. 30.), reads "vastrānyeva vaśīto bhaya &c." (Ap. I. 1. 3. 9 omits vaśita), reads "gurave" for "ācāryāya" in Ap. I. 1. 3. 31. The ms. of the Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra contains certain additions to the sūtras of Āpastamba. For example, a sūtra "kṣāralavaṇa-madhumāṃsāni ca varjayet" is added after Ap. II. 9. 22. 14, a sūtra "teṣāṃ pūjā śreyasyātmanah kār्या" occurs after Ap. II. 9. 25. 8, and the sūtra "sarva-dharmāṇāṃ svadharmānuṣṭhānāni yameṣu ca yuktaḥ syāt" occurs after Ap. II. 9. 25. 13. The manuscript contains a few verses, that are not found in the Āpastambadharmasūtra, introduced by the words "athāpyudāharanti"<sup>103</sup>, (except in one case

<sup>103</sup> 'पराशर मुखादानी अस्मा चालवणोभू (हु)तः । एतद् माह्व ते पण्यं तन्मुञ्चारजनी-  
कृतः ॥' after आच. घ. सू. I. 7. 21. 4.; अन्वाचकं कुले नार्तं वो ह्यप्यादाततापिनम् ।'



viz. 'putrena, &c.'). The manuscript also omits certain sūtras found in Āp. e. g. 'varṇajvāyasām cetasair varṇaiḥ' (Āp. II. 5. 11. 8), 'anyatra rāhudarśanat' (Āp. II. 7. 17. 25), 'athopanayanam tata udakopasparśanam' (Āp. I. 1. 1. 36.). In the case of some sūtras the readings of Hiraṇyakeśiṇ present a smoother and more classical Sanskrit than that of Āpastamba and are manifestly attempts to bring them in a line with the requirements of the śiṣṭas at the time when the Āpastambasūtras were taken over into the Hiraṇyakeśi school. Hiraṇyakeśisūtra has 'padanam' and 'ardhonam' for 'padūnam' and 'ardhena' of Āpastamba (I. 1. 2. 13-14), 'asandarśane' for 'asandarśe' (Āp. I. 1. 2. 29), 'aglanib' for 'aglanisnuḥ' (Āp. I. 1. 3. 22), 'prakṣālayet' for 'prakṣālayita' (Āp. I. 1. 3. 36), 'kartṛpatyam' for 'kartapatyam' (Āp. I. 2. 5. 3) 'yathāśakti' for 'śaktiviśayeṇa' (Āp. II. 5. 12. 1). Another noticeable feature is that the arrangement of the sūtras into subsections is a good deal different in the two works. Bühler notes that from the 13th khaṇḍikā (6th pāṭala) of the second prāśna both the manuscripts consulted by him do not indicate the pāṭalas. The Deccan College manuscript does not number them from the second pāṭala in the second prāśna. The number of pāṭalas in the first prāśna of Hiraṇyakeśi is eight, while Āpastamba has eleven pāṭalas in each of the two prāśnas. The distribution of sūtras in the khaṇḍikās is therefore different in the two works. Hiraṇyakeśi has 31 khaṇḍikās in the first prāśna and 20 in the second. Besides a few of the khaṇḍikās are differently placed. The first khaṇḍikā of Hiraṇyakeśi (first prāśna) stops after Āp. I. 1. 2. 1, the third reaches up to Āp. I. 1. 4. 6; Āp. I. 8. 22 and 23 (the adhyātmapāṭala) come in Hiraṇyakeśi immediately after Āp. I. 6. 19 and are Hiraṇya. I. 6. 20; Āp. I. 7. 20 and 21 = Hir. I. 6. 21-22; Āp. I. 9. 24 and 25. 1-4 = Hir. I. 6. 23; Āp. I. 9. 25. 4-13 and I. 9. 26. 1-10 = Hir. I. 7. 24; Āp. I. 9. 26. 11-14 and I. 9. 27 = Hir. I. 7. 25; Āp. I. 10. 28 = Hir. I. 7. 26; Āp. I. 11. 31. 1-10 = Hir. I. 8. 29; Āp. I. 11. 31. 11-23 =

न तेन भृगुहा भवति मन्वुसं मन्वुमुत्तरीति । which is हिरण्यकेशि I. 7. 27. 8 and comes after आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 29. 7: पुत्रेण लोकाजयति पौत्रेणामृतं सुते । अध पुत्रस्य पौत्रेण माप्नोति ब्रह्मस्य विदुषम् ॥ दौहित्रस्तत्पत्निमुञ्चति ययामं महद्दयम् । ब्राह्मदेवास्त्वधिकारिणः ॥ after आप. II. 5. 12. 4: 'वेदाभ्यायी पञ्चाभिस्त्रिमुपर्णो ज्वेष्ठ-सामिकः । ब्राह्मदेवानुसन्तानी पञ्चेने पक्षिपावनाः ॥' after आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 17. 21. The verse अथ्यापकं is quoted in Band. Dh. S. I. 10, 12 and Vas. III. 18 and for पुत्रेण &c. compare मनु 9. 137.



Hir. I. 8. 30. In the second *prāśna* the variance in distribution of sūtras into *khaṇḍikās* is still greater. Besides Āp. II. 4. 8-9 are placed in Hiranyakeśi before Āp. II. 3. 6-7 and Āp. II. 6. 13-15 before Āp. II. 5. 10-11. Sometimes a single sūtra of Āpastamba is split up into two and placed in two different *khaṇḍikās*, e. g. Āp. I. 9. 25. 4 is split into Hir. I. 6. 23. 31 and I. 7. 24. 1 (the portion from 'rājānam gatvā' being the first sūtra of Hiranyakeśi's 24th *Khaṇḍika*).

The com. of Mahādeva Dikṣita called Ujġvalā, is almost word for word the same as that of Haradatta's Ujġvalā. That one has borrowed from the other admits of no doubt and Bühler thinks that Mahādeva is the borrower. But there is hardly anything to turn the scale in favour of Haradatta. Sometimes Mahādeva's commentary contains more matter than Haradatta's (e. g. on the sūtras 'Saptame brahmarcasakamam &c.', 'Upanayanam vidyārthasya śrutitah', 'dvādaśavarardhyam') and sometimes Haradatta contains more explanation (e. g. on 'tasmiṃśca vidyakarmāntam &c.'; on 'nāpsu ślāghamānaḥ snāyat', on 'pāṇisatīkṣubdhienodakentaika &c.'). Mahādeva differs from Haradatta's explanation of the word 'atha', which the former takes in the sense of 'anantarya or adhikāra', while the latter takes it only in the sense of 'anantarya'. That Mahādeva also is an early writer follows from the fact (noted by Bühler p. 117n) that portions of his commentary are contained in the Munich Ms. of Haradatta dated Vikrama-Sāhvat 1668 (1611-12 A. D.). It is to be noted that Haradatta after saluting Gaṇeśa at the beginning of his Ujġvalā does obeisance to Mahādeva (which may mean God Śiva or the author Mahādeva if he was the *guru* or father of Haradatta). Mahādeva often comments on the sūtras as found in Āpastamba and not on the readings of them as existing in the Hiranyakeśi school; e. g. he comments on 'padūnam', on 'adhāsanaśāyī' for ardhāsanaśāyī (the reading of the sūtra), on 'atmasvastyaayanārthena' (Āp. II. 5. 11. 9) for 'svastyayanārthena' of the ms. of Hir. The explanations of the two writers sometimes differ, as for example on 'ācaryādhrinas syād-anyatra putaniyebhyaḥ' (Āp. I. 1. 2. 19<sup>104</sup>). One more circumstance that is worthy of note is that the Ujġvalā of Haradatta does not contain many quotations from Smṛtis as com-

104 इदं explains 'आचार्याधीनो भवेत्पुनयनान्ते यत्संज्ञासंनं तस्मिद्भवेवाचार्याधीनता-  
नृपते', while महादेव makes it a सिद्धि 'आचार्याधीनता स्थानव्यतिनि विधिः'.

pared with his commentary on the Gautamadharmasūtra. Although one may be inclined to hold that it is Mahādeva who borrows, it must be clearly recognized that there is hardly any positive evidence in support of such a view. There is a commentary called Vaijayanti on the Hiraṇyakeśi-śrauta-sūtra. This Mahādeva is very likely identical with the Mahādeva who commented upon the dharmasūtra.

### 9. Vasīṣṭha-dharmasūtra.

This *dharmasūtra* has been printed several times. The collection of Jivananda (part II, pp. 456-496) contains only 20 chapters and a portion of the 21st and so does the collection of Mr. M. N. Dutt (Calcutta 1908). The Ānandāśrama collection of smṛtis (1905, pp. 187-231) and the edition of Dr. Führer in the B. S. series (1916) contain thirty chapters. According to Dr. Jolly (R. u. S., p. 6) some mss. give only six or ten chapters. The Vasīṣṭhadharmasūtra with the commentary called Vidvaninodini was printed at Benares. In the following Dr. Führer's edition has been used.

Kumārila (vide note 55 above) tells us that the *dharmasūtra* of Vasīṣṭha was specially studied by the students of the Ṛgveda, but that along with other *dharmasūtras* it is authoritative for all *caranās*. No śrauta and grhya sūtras of Vasīṣṭha, if they ever existed, have come down to us. We have therefore to fall back upon one of two hypotheses, viz. either the *dharmasūtra* of Vasīṣṭha is the solitary remnant of a school that might have once possessed a complete *kalpa* or that it was composed as an independent work on *dharma* and was subsequently seized upon by the students of the Ṛgveda, who had only śrauta and grhya sūtras of Āśvalāyana. For reasons given elsewhere I incline to the latter view. The *dharmasūtra* of Vasīṣṭha cites quotations from all Vedas and beyond the name Vasīṣṭha there is hardly anything special in the *dharmasūtra* to connect it with the Ṛgveda. It is true that in the 17th chap. several verses of the Ṛgveda (such as I. 21. 5, I. 124. 7, V. 4. 10 which occur in sūtras, 3, 16 and 4 respectively) and several passages from the story of Śunaḥśepa in the Aitareyabrāhmaṇa are quoted by the sūtra and that several hymns of the Ṛgveda, such as the *asyavāntya* (Rg. I. 164), *baviṣpantya* (Rg. X. 88), *Aghamarṣaṇa* (X. 190), are referred to in the 26th chap. But there is nothing remarkable in this as some of the verses and *sūktas* are mentioned in the Bauddhayanadharmasūtra also. Besides the Vas. Dh. S. quotes several

passages from the *Taittirīyasamhitā* (as in *Vas. V.* 7-9, which quotes *Tai. S. II.* 5. 1. 6 and *Vas. XI.* 48 which quotes *Tai. S. VI.* 3. 10. 5), the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, the *Maitrayaṇīya-samhitā* (in *Vas. I.* 37).

The contents of the *Vas. Dh. S.* are :— I Definition of *Dharma*, limits of *Āryāvarta*, who are sinners, the mortal sins, a *brāhmaṇa* can marry a girl of any of the three higher castes, six forms of marriage, the king was to regulate the conduct of people and to take the sixth part of wealth as a tax ; II. The four *varṇas*, the greatness of *ācārya*, before *upanayana* there is no authority for religious rites, the privileges and duties of the four castes, in distress a *Brāhmaṇa* could subsist by resorting to the calling of a *Kṣatriya* or *Vaiśya*, a *Brāhmaṇa* was forbidden to sell certain things, usury condemned, rates of interest allowed ; III. Censure of illiterate *Brāhmaṇa*, rules on finding treasure-trove, who are *ātatayins*, when they could be killed in self-defence, who are *pañkṭipāvanas*, constitution of a *pariṣad*, rules about *acamana*, *śauca* and purification of various substances ; IV. The constitution of the four castes is based upon birth and the performance of *samśkaras*, the duties common to all castes, honouring guests, *madhuparka*, impurity on birth and death ; V. dependence of women, rules of conduct for a *rajasvālā* ; VI. usage is transcendental *dharma*, praise of *ācāra*, rules about answering calls of nature, moral characteristics of a *brāhmaṇa* and the peculiar characteristics of a *śūdra*, censure of partaking food at the houses of *śūdras*, rules of etiquette and good breeding ; VII the four *āśramas*, and the duties of a student ; VIII. Duties of an householder, honouring guests, IX. rules for forest hermits ; X. rules for *śaṁnyāsins* ; XI. six persons who deserve special honour, viz. the priest at the sacrifice, son-in-law, king, paternal and maternal uncles and a *snātaka* ; order of precedence in serving food, guests, rules about *śrāddha*, times for it, the *brāhmaṇas* to be invited at it, rules about *agnihotra*, *upanayana*, the proper time, staff, girdle &c. for it ; method of begging for alms, *prāyaścitta* for those whose *upanayana* is not performed ; XII. rules of conduct for a *snātaka* ; XIII. rules about the beginning of Vedic study, rules about holidays for Vedic studies, rules about falling at the feet of the *guru* and others, guiding principles in precedence as regards respect ( learning, wealth, age, relationship, avocation, each prior deserving more consideration than each succeeding one ), rule of the road ; XIV. rules about forbidden and permitted food, rules about the flesh of certain birds and animals ; XV. rules of adoption,

about excommunication of those who revile the Vedas or perform sacrifices of śūdras and for other sins; XVI. About administration of justice, king as guardian of minors, threefold *pramāṇas*, viz. documents, witnesses and possession; rules about adverse possession and about king's advisers; qualifications of witnesses; perjury condoned in certain cases; XVII. praise of *aurasa* son; conflicting views about *kṣetrajā* son, viz. whether he belongs to the begetter or to him on whose wife he is begotten; twelve kinds of sons; partition between brothers, grounds of exclusion from partition, rules of *niyoga*, rules about grown-up unmarried girl, rules of inheritance, king as ultimate heir; XVIII. *pratiloma* castes such as *caṇḍāla*, no Vedic studies for śūdras or in their presence; XIX. king's duty to protect and to punish; importance of *purohita*; XX. about *prāyaścittas* for various acts unknowingly or knowingly done; XXI. *prāyaścitta* for adultery by Śūdra and others with women of the Brāhmaṇa caste or for cow-killing; XXII. *prāyaścitta* for eating forbidden food and sacred texts that purify in case of sins; XXIII. penances for *Brahmacārin* having sexual intercourse, for drinking wine &c.; XXIV. *Kṛcchra* and *Atikṛcchra*; XXV. secret penances and penances for lesser sins; XXVI-VII. virtues of *prāṇāyāma*, Vedic hymns of *Gāyatri* as purifiers; XXVIII. praise of women, eulogy of Vedic *mantras* like *aghamaṣṭaka* and of gifts; XXIX. rewards of gifts, *brahmacarya*, *tapas* &c.; XXX. eulogy of *dharma*, truth and *brahmanya*.

The Vas. Dh. S. resembles in several respects the other dharma-sūtras described above. It contains almost the same subjects and is similarly composed in prose interspersed with verses. The Vas. Dh. S. is in style like the Gautamadharmaśūtra and has many sūtras identical with or closely resembling those of the latter. Vide. p. 18 • above. It has also several sūtras closely corresponding with the sūtras of Baudhāyana. Grave doubts have been entertained about the authenticity of the whole of the text of the Vas. Dh. S. as the mss. contain varying numbers of chapters from 6 to 30, and as the text is hopelessly corrupt in several places (e. g. vide note 108 below). The Vas. Dh. S. contains many verses which bear the impress of a comparatively late age. Chapters 25-28 are entirely in verse, while there are other chapters (like III. 2-12, VI. 1-13, XI. 20-42) which contain many verses interposed between prose passages. In this respect Vasishṭha's work is on a par with Bau-

dhāyana's, in the fourth praśna of which there are chapters entirely consisting of verses. It has therefore been argued that the text of Vasiṣṭha was tampered with freely, particularly as regards the chapters at the end. But as shown below it will have to be admitted that the interpolations, whatever they may be, were made at a very early period. The *Mitākṣarā* quotes Vas. by name about 80 times and the quotations are taken from almost every chapter from the first to the last. For example, *Mit.* quotes Vas. 27. 1 on Yāj. III. 311, Vas. 27. 21 on Yāj. III. 324, Vas. 28. 7 on Yāj. III. 298, Vas. 28. 18, 19 and 22 on Yāj. III. 310. Even *Medhātithi* quotes Vasiṣṭha over twenty times. The quotations are mostly taken from the first chapter to the 21st. Only one quotation from the last few chapters (viz. 27. 16) has been found in *Medhātithi* (on *Manu* XI. 211) and that too is not quoted as Vasiṣṭha's, but is ascribed to 'others.' *Viśvarūpa*, who flourished about the first quarter of the 9th century quotes Vas. about thirty times in his commentary on the *acara* and *vyavahāra* sections of Yāj. These quotations hardly differ in any respect from the text of Dr. Führer's edition and are scattered over almost all chapters from the 1st to the 17th, six quotations being taken from chapters 3 and 17 each. In the *prāyaścitta* section *Viśvarūpa* quotes Vas. even more frequently. Besides several sūtras from the 1st, 4th, 10th and 11th chapters, he quotes here no less than 22 sūtras of the 20th chap. and 9 of the 21st. Moreover sūtras 37 and 39 of the 23rd chap. are quoted (on Yāj. III. 281-282). What is more remarkable is that two verses (2-3) of the 28th chapter are ascribed to Vasiṣṭha and explained in detail (on Yāj. III. 256), while Vas. 28. 4 is quoted without the author's name. These facts make it certain that the Vas. Dh. S. contained in *Viśvarūpa*'s day all the chapters from the first to the 23rd and also the 28th. Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya in *Bṛ. Upaniṣad* (III. 5. 1) quotes Vas. X. 4 and on *Bṛ. Up.* IV. 5. 15 he quotes Vas. VII. 3. The Vas. Dh. S. quotes numerous verses preceded by the words 'athāpyudāharanti', which is the case with Baudhāyana also. Several verses occur without these words being prefixed, but most of them seem to be quotations (e. g. Vas. II. 3 which combines *Manu* II. 169 and 170, IV. 6 which is *Manu* 5. 41, VI. 6 and 8 which are *Manu* IV. 157 and 158). Some of these verses introduced with the words 'athāpi' &c. as well as some of those not so introduced are in the regular classical *Upajātī*, *Upendra*vājra or *Indra*vājra (vide I. 38, X. 20 for verses with *athāpi* &c.

and VI. 9 and 25, X. 17, XVI. 36 for verses without them). Some of the verses are in the ancient *Trīṣṭubh* form (e. g. VI. 3 and 30, VIII. 17, XVII. 71). In one verse (VI. 5) there are twelve letters in the first *pāda* and 11 in the rest. One quotation with the words "athāpi" &c. is in prose (II. 5). There are a few un-Pāṇinian forms like 'Vivadanti' in XIV. 47 (vide Pāṇini I. 3. 47). It looks as if the dharmasūtra once ended with the 24th chapter, where we have an injunction (in sūtra 6) against imparting the dharmasūtra to one who is not a son or pupil. The same sūtra occurs in Baudhāyana Dh. S. IV. 4. 9 and the succeeding sūtra is the same in both. But the words 'prāyaścitta has been described in the *rahasya* sections for playing false to the husband' (in Vas. V. 4) apparently refer either to chapters 25-28 (which contain *rahasya* penances) or to some prototype of those chapters now lost.

The Vas. Dh. S. quotes largely from the R̥gveda and other Vedic *Saṁhitās*. Among the Brāhmaṇas, the Aitareya and Śatapatha are frequently cited. The Vājasaneyaka (Vas. 12. 31 and 23. 13) and the Kāthaka (Vas. 12. 24 and 30. 5) are mentioned by name. The Tai. Āranyaka is quoted in Vas. 23. 23. The Upaniṣads and Vedānta occur in 22. 9. Vasiṣṭha quotes a *gāthā* of the Bhāllavins from their Nidāna work about the extent of the home of Brāhmanism, which is quoted by Baudhāyana also (Dh. S. I. 1. 27). He speaks of the *aṅgas* of the Veda (3. 23 and 13. 7) and gives their number as six (3. 19). Itihāsa and Purāṇa are mentioned in 27. 6. The science of words (grammar), of omens and portents and of astrology and astronomy (Nakṣatrawidyā) are referred to in 10. 20-21. He prohibits the learning of the language of the Mlecchas (in 6. 41). Vas. quotes a verse that states that the view holding the *apramāṇya* of the Vedas leads to perdition (12. 41). In Vas. II. 8-11 occurs the Vidyāsūkta in four verses that we meet with in the Nirukta (II. 4). Vasiṣṭha calls his own work dharmasāstra (in 24. 6) and probably refers to other works on *dharma* in the words 'one who studies dharmas' (in 3. 19). The study of dharmasāstra as a penance for even mortal sins is spoken of in 27. 19. Vas. quotes several authors on dharmasāstra. He quotes a verse from Hārīta (in II. 6) which occurs in Baudhāyana also with slight variations (Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 7), though without the author's name. The two halves of this verse are almost the same as the latter halves of Manu, 2. 171-172. Bühler is therefore not quite accurate when he



says without qualification that the verse attributed to Hārta occurs in Manu (p. XX, S. B. E. vol. XIV). Vas. quotes Gautama twice (in 4. 35 and 37) about impurity on death, the first corresponding to Gautama (14. 41), while there is nothing in Gautama to correspond to the 2nd. Vas. quotes a verse (11. 20) which mentions Yama by name and embodies the latter's views. Vas. (18. 13-15) quotes three ślokas sung by Yama, one of which (14) is the same as Manu 4. 80 and another (15) is very similar to Manu 4. 81. Another śloka of Yama is quoted by Vas. (19. 48) which is almost the same as Manu 5. 93. From these facts and others Bühler draws the conclusion (S. B. E. vol. XIV, p. XX) that these verses were taken from the Mānavadharmasūtra, which occupied the same position in Vasiṣṭha's day as the Manusmṛti does at present. I demur to this conclusion, which will be discussed later on in detail (under Manusmṛti). Vas. (14. 30-32) quotes ślokas of Prajāpati, the first of which mentions Yama by name. Vas. 14. 16-19 and 24-27 are quoted as ślokas of Prajāpati, three of which (14. 16, 18 and 24) are practically the same as Manu. 4. 248, 249 and 5. 127. Vas. 14. 19 contains a *pāda* which occurs in Manu 4. 212. It is remarkable that the Vas. Dh. S. cites Vasiṣṭha himself with great reverence (as *bhagavan*) in 2. 50 (about the rate of interest), 24. 5 (about Kṛcchra penance), 30. 11. In numerous places the Vas. Dh. S. either refers to Manu by name or quotes the views of Manu (under the form 'iti Mānavam') or a śloka of Manu (with the words 'Mānavam ślokaṃ'). All these passages have an important bearing on the age of the Manusmṛti and on the supposed existence of a Mānavadharmasūtra. They therefore deserve to be carefully examined. Vas. I. 17 is in prose (about local, family or caste usages) and summarises the views of Manu. The absence of the word 'iti' before 'abrahvān Manuh' and the form of the sūtra itself clearly establishes that Vas. is not directly quoting a sūtra of Manu. That sūtra is only a summary of our Manu I. 118. Vas. 3. 2 (which is preceded by the words 'Mānavam ślokaṃ') is Manu II. 168. And so are Vas. 13. 16, 20. 18, which are Manu 4. 117 and 11. 151 (with very slight variations). That the latter existed in Vasiṣṭha's text is vouched for by Aparārka (p. 1075). Vas. 4. 5 is in prose and cites the view of Manu that animals may be sacrificed only for worshipping and honouring the



manes, deities and guests <sup>105</sup>. There is hardly anything to show that it is a direct quotation from Manu and not a summary of Manu's views. The sūtra briefly summarises the views that we find expressed in our Manu 5. 22, 32, 41 and 42 (the words of 42 'eṣvartheṣu paśuṁ hiṁsan' are interesting and bear a close resemblance to 'paśuṁ hiṁsyād' in Vas.). That sūtra is followed by a verse which is the same as Manu 5. 41. It is to be noted that the same verse occurs in the dharmasūtra of Viṣṇu (51. 64) which reads 'nānyatreṭi katharṣcana' for 'nānyathetyabravīn Manuḥ'. This change appears to have been purposely made to keep up the impression that the Viṣṇu-Dh. S. emanated from Viṣṇu himself and so could not have borrowed from a human author. Vas. 4. 7 is very similar to Manu 5. 48. Bühler (S. B. E. Vol. 25, p. xxxi) is wrong in taking Vas. 4. 8 as a quotation from the Mānavadharmasūtra. There is nothing to show that it is so taken. It is more probably a quotation from or a summary of a Brahmana passage (compare a quotation in Aparārka on Yaj. 1. 109, which is similar). Vide note 46. Vas. 23. 43 (where Manu is referred to as prescribing an easy penance called Śiśukṛcchra for children and old men) corresponds more or less with Manu 11. 211 and 219 and Vas. 26. 8 has evidently Manu 11. 260 in view. There are only two places in Vasiṣṭha where the name of Manu occurs for which it is not possible to point out a corresponding verse in the Manusmṛti. They are Vas. 12. 16 and 19 37. The latter is cited as a Mānavāśloka and is in the Upajāti metre. <sup>106</sup> Because this is not found in our Manu, Bühler and other Western scholars seem to think that the verse is taken from the Mānavadharmasūtra which once existed in mixed prose and verse and is now lost. But as will be shown elsewhere this hypothesis is based, to say the least, on very slender foundations. Besides these two that are not found in our Manu, there are about forty verses that are common to the Vas. Dh. S. and the Manusmṛti and about a dozen verses which, though not strictly identical, are more or less similar. There are several prose sūtras of Vas. which correspond to the

<sup>105</sup> पितृदेवाभिधिपूजायामप्येष पशुं हिंसादिति मानवम् । वसिष्ठ 4. 5: वसिष्ठ 4. 8 is अथानि ब्राह्मणाश्च वा राजन्याश्च वाभ्यागताश्च महोक्षार्ण वा महार्ण वा पचेदेवमस्मा अभिध्यं कुर्वन्तीति ।

<sup>106</sup> शुल्के चापि मानवं श्लोकमुदाहरन्ति—न भिक्षार्थोपणमसि शुल्के न शिल्पवृत्तौ न शिशौ न मृते । न भैक्षलब्धे न हुतावशेषे न श्रोत्रिये न पयजिते न पक्षे ॥ The vi. १. (p. 305) says 'वसिष्ठः शुल्के चापि मानवं श्लोकमुदाहरति न भिक्षम्' &c.

verses of Manu almost word for word.<sup>107</sup> The hypothesis that commends itself to me is that Vas. contains borrowings from the Manusmṛti or its purer ancient original in verse.

In the words 'Śramaṇakenāgnimādhāya' (Vas. 9. 10), the sūtra of Vikhanas seems to be referred to. Gautama (Dh. S. 3. 26) contains the same words. Vasiṣṭha's 22nd chap. is the same as Gautama's 19th and Baudhayana's tenth in the 3rd *prāśna* and seems to have been borrowed from Gautama. Vasiṣṭha refers to the views of others in the words 'eke' or 'anye' (Vas. 1. 12, 13, 25; 4. 10; 17. 66; 20. 2). Dr. Jolly (S. B. E. vol. VII, p. xviii) thinks that Vas. 28. 10-15 and 18-22 are borrowed from the Viṣṇudharma-sūtra chap. LVI and LXXXVII (or its original the Kāthakadharmasūtra). Dr. Jolly is not right with regard to both the places. Bühler has already pointed out his mistake as to the second passage (S. B. E. vol. XIV p. XXII). The verses in Vas. 28. 10-15 occur in several smṛtis (vide Śaṅkhasmṛti, 10th chap. in Jivananda's ed. part II. pp. 356-357 for the same verses). Besides Vas. 28. 11 occurs in Baud. Dh. S. IV. 3. 7. Hence it is hardly proper for any scholar to make the dogmatic assertion that one particular smṛti must have borrowed from any other. The rather very corrupt passage in Vasiṣṭha (16. 21-23<sup>108</sup>) very closely resembles a passage of Śaṅkha, which is cited by Viśvarūpa on Yaj. I. 305 and by the Kṛtya-kalpataru (I. O. Cat. Ms. No. 852, folio 8a).

Bühler is of opinion that the home of the school to which the Vas. Dh. S. belonged lay to the north of the Narmada and the

107 वसिष्ठ 7. 3. 'तेषां वेदमधिरथ वेदो वेदान्वाविर्निर्जज्ञस्त्वयो यमिष्येत्समावसेत् ।' compare मनु 3. 2; वसिष्ठ 13. 61 'तृणभूम्यान्पुङ्गवाकस्तृणान्पुष्पाः सतां गृहे नोच्छिद्यन्ते कदाचन ।' ; compare मनु 3. 101; वसिष्ठ 16. 30 'स्त्रियां साक्षिणः स्त्रियः कुर्याद् द्विजानां सदृशा द्विजाः शुद्राणां सन्तः शुद्राश्चान्न्यानामन्ययोनयः' ; compare with मनु 8. 68 'स्त्रियां साक्ष्यं स्त्रियः कुर्वुर्द्विजानां सदृशा द्विजाः । शुद्राश्च सन्तः शुद्राणामन्यानामन्ययोनयः ॥'.

108 The printed Vas. reads 'वेधसे वा राजा श्रेयान् गृधपरिवारं स्वात् । गृधपरिवारं वा राजा श्रेयान् । गृधपरिवारं स्वात् गृधो गृधपरिवारं स्वात्'. This hardly makes any sense. The *सुत्यकल्पनसु* presents a good reading (from *शङ्खलिखित*) 'न गृध्नुपरिवारः स्वात् । कामं गृधो राजा श्रेयान् हंसपरिवारः । परिवाराद्दि दोषाः यादुर्भवन्ति । तेऽलं विनाशाय ।'.

Vindhya ( S. B. E. vol. XIV p. XVI ). When it is extremely problematical whether the Vas. Dh. S. was the product of a school, it is idle to speculate as to the home of the Vas. Dh. S. Bühler's is no more than a mere conjecture and it is better to admit that we know nothing positive at present on the point.

The earliest work to refer to Vasiṣṭha as an authority on *dharma* is our Manu ( 8. 140 ), saying that Vas. allowed 1/80th of the principal as interest per month. This appears to refer to the rule in Vas. 2. 50. We saw above that Vas. borrows from the Manusmṛti, which in its turn quotes a rule of Vasiṣṭha. The explanation of this is twofold. Both the Manusmṛti and Vas. have received later additions and further it is possible that the present Vas. Dh. S. is the work of some one who had received the teachings of Vas. through a succession of teachers and disciples. Yāj. mentions ( 1. 4 ) Vasiṣṭha as a writer on *dharma*. The Tantravārtika as seen above ( note 55 ) remarks that the Vas. Dh. S. was studied by R̥gvedins. The same work when speaking of works on *dharma* puts Manu, Gautama and Vasiṣṭha in the forefront.<sup>108a</sup> Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and other early commentators largely quote from Vas. The verse 'agnerapatyam' ( Vas. 28. 16 ) occurs in the Ragini copperplate of Tivaradeva of the last quarter of the 8th century ( Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions No. 81 ). Therefore the existence of a work of Vasiṣṭha on *dharma* at least in the first centuries of the Christian era is vouched for with certainty and the authenticity of its text is supported by eminent writers from the 7th century downwards. Aparārka quotes passages from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa which have in view the present text of Vas.<sup>109</sup> Some of the views held by Vasiṣṭha are very ancient. For example, he speaks of the twelve secondary sons, assigns a very inferior position to the Dattaka son ( 17th chapter ), allows *nīyoga* ( 17. 56 ff ) and the remarriage of child widows ( 17. 74 ); like Āpastamba he mentions only six

108a 'प्रायेण मनुगौतमवसिष्ठादिमणीताः समानेष्वर्थेषु धर्मसंहिता वर्तन्ते । तेनानिगानास्ताभ्य एव ध्रुवः स्वनुमानः । न च व्याकरणस्य ताभिः समानार्थत्वम् ।' तन्त्रवार्तिक on जैमिनि I. 3. 24.

109 'वसिष्ठेन समाख्यातं ब्रह्महत्याव्यपोदनम् । द्वादशरात्रमभ्यक्षो द्वादशरात्रमुपवसेत् ॥' अपरार्क p. 1067 ( this is वसिष्ठ 23. 38 ) : 'वसिष्ठेन तथोक्तं वै प्रायश्चित्तं सुराधिप । कामतो मद्यपाने तु न सुरायाः कदाचन ।' अपरार्क p. 1075 ( this is वसिष्ठ 20. 19 ).

forms of marriage ( 1. 28-29 ), *brāhma*, *daiva*, *ārṣa*, *gāndharva*, *kṣātra* and *mānuṣa*. In some respects his views are different from those of early writers like Gautama and Baudhāyana. He prohibits the marriage of a Brāhmaṇa with a śūdra woman ( I. 25-26 ). Vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 8. 2 for the contrary view. He elaborates rules of adoption ( 15th chapter ) which are not found in Gaut. or Baud. or Āpastamba. He speaks of documents as one of the three means of proof ( Vas. 16. 10-15 ), while Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana are silent on the point, though in Gautama ( 13. 4 ) there appears to be a reference to documents. Taking all these things into consideration it may be said that Vasiṣṭha is later than Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana, but much earlier than the beginnings of the Christian era and may tentatively be assigned to the period between 300-100 B. C. It has been asserted by an eminent authority ( Cambridge History of India vol. I, p. 249 ) that Vasiṣṭha 18. 4 ( *vaiśyena brāhmaṇyam-utpanno Rāmako bhavattīyāhuḥ* ) probably contains a reference to the Romans. This assumption is gratuitous and does not deserve serious consideration. The reading *Romaka* ( on which the learned writer relies ) is not supported by the best mss. and it is most hazardous to seize with avidity on a variant reading and to build an imposing structure of chronology thereon. The offspring of a Vaiśya male from a Brāhmaṇa woman is designated *Rāmaka* by Vasiṣṭha, while Gautama calls him *Kṛta* ( 4. 15 ) and Baud. Dh. S. ( I. 9. 7 ) calls such an offspring *Vaidhaka* ; so *Rāmaka* has as much to do with the Romans as with Rameses. In the *nibandhas* there are several quotations ascribed to Vasiṣṭha which are not found in the printed *Dharmasūtra*. For example, Haradatta on Gaut. ( 22. 18 ) quotes a verse in the *Upajāti* metre which is not found in the present text \*\*.

So early a writer as Viśvarūpa cites ( on Yāj. I. 19 ) the views of a writer called *Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha*. The Mit. on Yāj. ( II. 91 ) quotes the definition of a *jayapātra* ( judgment ) from *Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha* and on III. 20 quotes him about impurity on miscarriage. The *Smṛticandrikā* quotes about 20 verses from *Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha* on *abhiṣeka* and *śrāddha* ; Bhaṭṭoji in his gloss on the *Caturvīṃśatimatā*

110 The verse is न नालिकेरं न शालिकेरं चापि मौजेन न वधशृङ्खलेः । एतेस्तु गावो न निबन्धनीया बन्धनानिहत् परशुं पशून् ॥ The same verse is quoted in the *mitākṣara* ( on Yāj. III. 264 ) without the author's name.

( p. 12 ) seems to quote a prose passage from Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha. From the above it follows that Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha was an early compilation and dealt with almost all such topics ( including Vyavahāra ) as are dealt with by Yaj. The Mit. also quotes a Bṛhad-Vasiṣṭha. The Smṛticandrikā ( III. p. 300 ) quotes a few verses from a Jyotir-Vasiṣṭha. The I. O. catalogue ( No. 1339 p. 392 ) speaks of a Vasiṣṭha-smṛti in ten *adhyāyas* about the religious observances and duties enjoined on devotees of Viṣṇu.

That Yajñāsvāmin wrote a commentary on the Vas. Dh. S. follows from Govindāsvāmin's comment on Baud. Dh. S. ( II. 2. 51 ), where he quotes Vas. 21. 13 and Yajñāsvāmin's comment thereon.

### 10. Viṣṇudharmasūtra.

The Viṣṇudharmasūtra has been printed several times in India, viz. by Jivananda in his Dharmasāstrasaṅgraha ( 1876 part I pp. 70-176 ), by the Bengal Asiatic Society ( 1881, ed. by Dr. Jolly with extracts from the commentary *Vaijayanti* ), by M. N. Dutt ( Dharmasāstra texts, vol. II. pp. 541-666, Calcutta, 1909 ) and translated by Dr. Jolly ( in the S. B. E. vol. VII with an Introduction ). In the present work Dr. Jolly's edition has been used. The sūtra contains one hundred chapters. Though the number of chapters is so large, the sūtra is not very extensive. There are several chapters such as 40, 42 and 76 that contain only one sūtra and one verse. The first chapter and the last two are entirely in verse; the remaining chapters are in mixed prose and verse, the versified portion being generally at the end of each chapter. As pointed out by the *Vaijayanti* the sūtra is in close relation to one of the oldest schools of the Yajurveda, viz. Kāṭha. It also stands in a peculiar relation to the extant Manusmṛti. According to the Caranavyūha, Kāṭha and Cārāṇiṇya are two of the twelve sub-divisions of Caraka-śākhā of the Yajurveda. Dr. Jolly ( S. B. E. vol. VII p. XII ) says that the Viṣṇudharmasūtra has four chapters ( 21, 67, 73 and 86 ) in common with the Kāṭhak-grhya ( except the final parts in 21, 67, 86 ) and that both drew from a common source. Bühler points out ( West and Bühler's digest, 3rd ed. p. 35 ) that the Kāṭhakagrhya found in Kashmir agrees closely with the Dharmasūtra of Viṣṇu and the *mantras* in the latter agree with the Kāṭhaka recension of the Yajurveda. But the Viṣṇudharmasūtra is not the work of the same author that composed the Kāṭhaka Śrauta or Grhya sūtras, nor does it appear that it formed part of the

Kāthaka Kalpa. Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 7) says that Govindarāja (12th century) in his *Smṛtimañjarī* cites a passage in prose from a Kāthasūtrakṛt on the penance for Brāhmaṇa murder which is wanting in our Viṣṇusmṛti (vide S. B. E. Vol. 25, p. XXI n for the passage).

The contents of the Viṣṇu-dharma-sūtra are :—1. The earth being lifted out of the surging ocean by the great Boar, went to Kāśyapa to inquire as to who would support her thereafter, and was sent by him to Viṣṇu who told her that those who would follow the duties of *varṇas* and *āśramas* would be her support, whereupon the earth pressed the great God to impart to her their duties; 2. the four *varṇas* and their *dharma*s; 3. the duties of kings (*rājadharmāḥ*); 4. the Kāśāpaṇa and smaller measures; 5. punishments for various offences; 6. debtors and creditors, rates of interest, sureties; 7. three kinds of documents; 8. witnesses; 9. general rules about ordeals; 10–14. ordeals of balance, fire, water, poison and holy water (*kośa*); 15. the twelve kinds of sons, exclusion from inheritance, eulogy of sons; 16. offspring of mixed marriages, and mixed castes; 17. partition, joint family and rules of inheritance to one dying sonless, re-union, *śrādhā*; 18. partition among sons of a man from wives of different castes; 19. carrying the dead body for cremation, impurity on death, praise of Brāhmaṇas; 20. the duration of the four Yugas, Manvantara, Kalpa, Mahākalpa, passages inculcating that one should not grieve too much for the departed; 21. the rites for the dead after period of mourning, monthly *śrāddha*, *sapindi-karaṇa*; 22. periods of impurity on death for *sapindas*, rules of conduct in mourning, impurity on birth, and rules about impurity on touching various persons and objects; 23. purification of one's body and of various substances; 24. marriage, forms of marriage, inter-marriages, guardians for marriage; 25. the *dharma*s of women; 26. precedence among wives of different castes; 27. the *sauṁskāras*, *garbhādhāna* and others; 28. the rules for *brahmachārin*s; 29. eulogy of *ācārya*; 30. time for the starting of Vedic study and holidays; 31. father, mother and *ācārya* deserve the highest reverence; 32. other persons deserving of respect; 33. the three sources of sin, viz. passion, anger, greed; 34. kinds of *atipātakas*, deadliest sins; 35. five *mahāpātakas*; 36. *anupātakas*, that are as deadly as the *mahāpātakas*; 37. numerous *upapātakas*; 38–42. other lesser sins; 43. the twenty one hells and the duration of hell torments for various sinners; 44. the various low births to which sinners are consigned for various sins; 45. the



various diseases suffered by sinners and the low pursuits they have to follow by way of retribution ; 46-48. various kinds of *kṛcchras* ( penances ), *sāntapana*, *cāndrāyana*, *prasṭiyāvaka* ; 49. actions prescribed for a devotee of Vāsudeva and the rewards thereof ; 50. *prāyaścitta* for killing a *brāhmaṇa* and other human beings, for killing cows and other animals ; 51-53. *prāyaścittas* for drinking wine and other forbidden substances, for theft of gold and other articles, for incest and sexual intercourse of other kinds ; 54. *prāyaścittas* for miscellaneous acts ; 55. secret penances ; 56. holy hymns like *Aghamarṣaṇa* that purge sin ; 57. whose society should be avoided, *Vrātyas*, unrepentant sinners, avoiding gifts ; 58. the pure, variegated (mixed) and dark kinds of wealth ; 59. The duties of house-holders, *pākayajñas*, the five daily *mahājñas*, honouring guests ; 60. the daily conduct of a householder and good breeding ; 61-62. rules about brushing the teeth, *ācamana* ; 63. means of livelihood for a householder, rules for guidance, good and evil omens on starting on journey, rule of the road ; 64. bathing and *tarpaṇa* of gods and Manes ; 65-67. worship of Vāsudeva ; flowers and other materials of worship, offering of food to deities and *piṇḍas* to ancestors and giving food to guests ; 68. rules about time and manner of taking food ; 69-70. sexual intercourse with wife and about sleep ; 71. general rules of conduct for a *snātaka* ; 72. value of self-restraint ; 73-86. *śrāddhas*, the procedure of *śrāddhas*, *aṣṭakā śrāddha*, the ancestors to whom *śrāddha* is to be offered, times of *śrāddha*, fruits of *śrāddha* on the several week days and the 27 *nakṣatras* and the *līlhis*, materials for *śrāddha*, *brāhmaṇas* unfit to be invited at *śrāddha*, *brāhmaṇas* who are *pañkti-pāvana* ; countries unfit for *śrāddha*, *tirthas*, letting loose of a bull ; 87-88. gifts of antelope skin, or a cow ; 89. *kārtika snāna* ; 90. eulogy of gifts of various sorts ; 91-93. works of public utility such as wells, lakes, planting gardens, embankments, gifts of food, flowers &c. ; difference in merit according to the recipient ; 94-95. rules about forest hermit ( *vānaprastha* ) ; 96-97. about *sahnyasa*, anatomy of the bones, muscles, veins, arteries &c. ; concentration in various ways 98-99. praise of Vāsudeva by the Earth and of Lakṣmi ; 100. rewards of studying this Dharmaśāstra.

The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra somewhat resembles the Dharma-sūtra of Vasīṣṭha. Like the latter it is full of verses. But one feature which is peculiar to the Viṣṇu-dharmaśāstra is that it professes to be a revelation by the supreme Being. None of the other dharma-



sūtras so far described assumes this role. The style of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra is easy and somewhat diffuse. It presents hardly any ungrammatical forms. The printed text is corrupt only in a few cases; the verses occur generally at the end of chapters. Sometimes the number of verses in a chapter is very large e. g. in chapter 20 there are 21 sūtras and 32 verses, in chapter 23 there are 24 verses, in chap. 43 there are 14, in chap. 51 there are 20 verses. Some of the verses are in the classical Indravajrā (19. 23-24) and the Upajāti metres (23. 61 and 59. 30) and a few are Triṣṭubhs (29. 9-10, 30. 47, 72. 77). The three Triṣṭubhs (29. 9-10, 30. 41) are three out of the four verses of the Vidyā-sūkta occurring in the Nirukta (II. 4). There is one verse (72. 6) which has eleven letters in the first *pāda* and twelve in the remaining three.

In determining the age of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra one is confronted with a difficult problem. Some of the chapters undoubtedly contain material which is comparatively old and on a level with the ancient Dharmasūtras of Gautama and Āpastamba. Such are the chapters about rājadharmā and punishments (3 and 5), the rules about twelve sons and the mixed castes (15-16), funeral rites and mourning (21 and 22). But there are very large portions of the work that bear a clear impress of a later date. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra and the Manusmṛti have at least 160 identical verses. But this is not all. There are hundreds of sūtras which are merely the prose equivalents of verses from the Manusmṛti. For example, Viṣṇu 2. 3 and Manu 2. 16, Viṣṇu 3. 4 and 6 and Manu 7. 69-70, Viṣṇu 3. 7-10 and Manu 7. 115, Viṣṇu 3. 11-15 and Manu 7. 116-117, Viṣṇu 4. 1-13 and Manu 8. 132-137, Viṣṇu 5. 4-7, and Manu 9. 237, Viṣṇu 20. 1-21, and Manu I. 67-73, Viṣṇu 51. 7-10 and Manu 4. 209-212, Viṣṇu 59. 21-25 and Manu 3. 70, Viṣṇu 62. 224 and Manu 2. 59, Viṣṇu 71. 48-52 and Manu 4. 80, and Viṣṇu 96. 14-17 and Manu 6. 46 agree almost word for word. The verses that are identical in both are found in all the chapters of the Manusmṛti from the second to the last, the largest number (about 47) occurring in the 5th and chapters eleven, two, and three respectively contributing 23, 24, and 19 verses. Therefore the question whether the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra borrows from Manu or *vice versa* or whether both borrow from a common original assumes very great importance. As the correspondence extends over several hundred verses of the Manusmṛti, the last hypothesis of borrowing from a common original does

not recommend itself to me. No such common source is known to have existed and to say that there were hundreds of floating popular verses whose authorship was unknown and which were drawn upon by both works appears to me to be an extremely gratuitous and unsatisfactory assumption. In my opinion it is the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra that borrowed the verses *ad hoc* or adapted them from the Manusmṛti. There are several lines of reasoning that strengthen this hypothesis. There are some verses that are identical in both, in which the name of Manu occurs, which the Viṣṇudharmasūtra omits by making slight verbal changes. For example, Viṣṇu 23. 50 substitutes 'tat parikīrtitam' for 'Manur-abravīt' in Manu 5. 131 and Viṣṇu 51. 64 reads 'nānyatreṭi kathāṃcana' for Manu 5. 41 'nānyatretyabravīn-Manuh' (this last occurs in Vas. 4. 6). The reason for these changes is obvious. The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra professes to be a direct revelation from Viṣṇu and it is in keeping with this assumed role that not one human author is mentioned by name in the sūtra. Therefore where the name of Manu occurred in any verse, it was purposely omitted. Another reason why the sūtra must be presumed to be the borrower is the character of the extant work itself. It is a kind of hotchpotch and contains verses that are identical with those of other works. For example, several verses of the Bhagavatgītā occur in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. Viṣṇu 20, 48-49 and 51-52 are the same as Gīta 2. 13, 23, 24, 28; Viṣṇu 72. 7 and Gīta 13. 14-18 are almost identical. Viṣṇu 96. 97 and the first half of 98 are the same as Gīta 13. 1-2, except that in keeping with its character of a revelation to the Earth, the Viṣṇudharmasūtra substitutes 'vasudhe' for 'kaunteya' and 'bhāvinī' for 'bhārata.' Several verses of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti are identical with those of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. For example, Viṣṇu 6. 41 and Yāj. 2. 53, Viṣṇu 8. 38 and Yāj. II. 79, Viṣṇu 9. 33 and Yāj. 2. 97, Viṣṇu 17. 17 and Yāj. 2. 138, Viṣṇu 17. 23 (first half) and Yāj. 2. 210 (latter half), Viṣṇu 62. 9 and Yāj. 1. 21, Vi. 63. 51 and Yāj. 1. 117 are identical. Besides these there are hundreds of prose sūtras that are identical with passages of Yājñavalkya. For example, Vi. 3. 72-74 = Yāj. II. 1-4; Vi. 3. 82 = Yāj. 1. 318-320 (rules about land grants); Vi. 5. 65-69 = Yāj. II. 217-220, Vi. 5. 73 = Yāj. II. 221; Vi. 45. 3-12 = Yāj. 3. 209-211 (about diseases suffered by sinners); Vi. 60. 24 = Yāj. 1. 17; Vi. 96. 55-79 = Yāj. 3. 84-90 (about 360 bones of the body); Vi. 96. 80-88 = Yāj. 3. 100-102 (about the number of arteries, veins, muscles etc.); Vi. 96. 89-92 = Yāj. 3. 93-99. Dr. Jolly

thinks that Yājñavalkya borrows from Viṣṇu the whole of the anatomical section (vide S. B. E. vol. VII, p. XX). With great respect I differ from this opinion. There is nothing to show that the anatomical details were first given to the world by Viṣṇu. They must have first been embodied in works on medicine such as those of Caraka and Suśruta<sup>111</sup> and were probably copied by Dharmasūtra writers. But if there is any borrowing between Viṣṇu and Yājñavalkya I think from the character of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra that it is the sūtra that must be regarded as borrowing from Yājñavalkya. There are several matters in the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra which are wanting in Yājñavalkya and which induce one to place the extant sūtra later than Yājñavalkya, viz. the name 'Jaiva' for Thursday (Vi. 78. 5), the long list of tirthas (Vi. chap. 85) which include Śrīparvata and the five rivers of the south called southern Pāñcanada, the importance of the conjunction of the moon and Jupiter on a full moon day (Vi. 49. 9-10), the vague definition of Āryāvarta<sup>112</sup> (Vi. 84. 4). The verse in Viṣṇu 54. 33 (about half prāyaścitta for boys and old men) is ascribed to Aṅgīras by the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. III. 243).

Therefore the most probable conclusion is that the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra borrows from the Manusmṛti, Yājñavalkya and other authors. It would be too much to assume that the Manusmṛti, the Bhagavatgītā and Yājñavalkya borrow from such a comparatively unimportant work as the Viṣṇudharmasūtra.

The above conclusion is further strengthened by certain other considerations. The Manusmṛti has been quoted with utmost reverence by a host of writers from the fifth century downwards, such as Śābara, Kumārila and Śaṅkarācārya. Yājñavalkya was commented upon by Viśvarūpa in the first half of the 9th century. Viśvarūpa in his commentary quotes scores of sūtras from Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha, Śaṅkha and Hārīta. But it is significant that Viśvarūpa in his commentary on Yājñavalkya does not quote even a single sūtra of Viṣṇu by name. It is true that Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 66) says that

111 Vide चरक, शरीरस्थान chap. 7 and सुश्रुत, शरीरस्थान chap. 5; in the अष्टाङ्ग-हृदय of वाग्भट, शरीर chap. 3, we find 360 bones and 700 muscles.

112 पालुर्वर्ण्यवस्थानं यस्मिन्देशे न विद्यते । स म्लेच्छदेशो विज्ञेय आर्षावर्तनतः परः ॥  
It is to be noted that Yāj. (I. 2) lays down dharmas for the country in which the black deer moves about, following Baud. I. 1. 28 and Vas. I. 12.

the four forms of asceticism (*pāriśrajya*) should be understood from other smṛtis like those of Viṣṇu<sup>113</sup>. This probably refers to chap. 97 of the extant Viṣṇudharmaśāstra. Medhātithi (on Manu 3. 248) quotes Viṣṇu (21. 12) and on Manu 9. 76 quotes a sūtra of Viṣṇu which I could not trace in the printed Viṣṇu.<sup>114</sup> The Mitākṣarā mentions Viṣṇu about thirty times. The quotations are taken from chapters 19, 21, 22, 35-42, 50, 51, 52, 75 and 79 of the Viṣṇudharmaśāstra, 18 sūtras of chap. 22 (on āśauca and kindred topics) being quoted on Yāj. III. 23, 24, 27, 29-30. But it is a remarkable fact that not one of the verses in the extant Viṣṇudharmaśāstra is cited as Viṣṇu's in the Mitākṣarā. The only exception is a verse cited as Viṣṇu's on Yāj. III. 265, which has the same purport as Viṣṇu 52. 14 (a verse) and the first *pāda* of which is identical with that of the verse in the Viṣṇudharmaśāstra.<sup>115</sup> A few verses that are quoted as Viṣṇu's in the Mitākṣarā could not be traced in the extant dharmaśāstra.<sup>116</sup> It is not unlikely that the sūtra first contained mostly prose sūtras based on Manu and the Kāthakagṛhya and verses were tacked on later. Among later writers of *nibandhas* Aparārka quotes Viṣṇu most profusely and the Smṛticandrikā also quotes Viṣṇu about 225 times.

113 स्मृत्यन्तरेभ्यश्च विष्णवादिभ्यो विशेषतश्चतुर्विधः पारिव्राज्यप्रकारमेदोभ्युपगमनव्ययः ।

114 The quotation is 'अथै विमसृताः पद् राजन्वाभ्युपग्रे केशा द्विगुणं मसृतेति न भुद्रायाः कालनिषमः स्यात्संस्तमिन्त्येके', compare for a somewhat similar rule Vas. 17. 78.

115 यथाह दिग्गुः । दत्तेवापहृतं द्रव्यं स्वामिने हतमाचरोदिति । while विष्णुधर्मसूत्र reads 'दत्तेवापहृतं द्रव्यं धनिकस्याप्युपायतः । प्रायश्चित्तं ततः कुर्यात्कल्मषस्याप-  
नुत्तये ॥ . '

116 The verse are : ओजो विलोमको स्पृष्टा वासो विपरिधाय च । quoted on Yāj. I. 195;  
'अमरास्तास्तु कालीनगुहोत्पन्नसहोदजाः । पौनर्मवश्च नेवेते पिण्डरिक्थांशभाणिनाः ॥  
quoted on Yāj. II. 132; अपुत्रपौत्रसन्ताने दोहित्रा धनमाप्नुयुः । पूर्वेण तु स्वधाकारे  
पौत्रा दोहित्रका मताः ॥ on Yāj. II. 135; आरुहस्तादितो वापि धर्मैर्वा विप्रयोजितः ।  
यमुद्दिश्य त्वजेऽपार्श्वस्तम्भदुर्महानकम् ॥ ज्ञातिमित्रकलत्रार्थं सुहृत्सभार्थमेव च ।  
यमुद्दिश्य त्वजेत्...पातकम् ॥ उद्दिश्य कुपितो हत्वा तोषितः धावयेत् पुनः ।  
तस्मिन् मृते न दोषेरित द्वयोरुच्छ्रावणे रुते ॥ on Yāj. III. 227; स्त्रीणामर्थं मदातव्यं  
वृद्धानां तोषिणां तथा । पादौ बालेषु दातव्यः सर्वपापेभ्यश्च विधिः ॥ on Yāj. III. 243;  
गोपस्य पञ्चगव्येन मातमेकं पलत्रयम् । मत्स्यं स्यात्पराको वा चान्द्रावणमथापि व । ॥  
on Yāj. III. 263.

Many of the verses found in *Vi.* are quoted by Aparārka as Viṣṇu's, e. g. *Vi.* 84. 4 on *Yāj.* 1. 2; 68. 46-47 on *Yāj.* 1. 106; 67. 33 on *Yāj.* 1. 107; 5. 183 on *Yāj.* 2. 60; 10. 9-11 on *Yāj.* 2. 102. But there are numerous verses quoted as Viṣṇu's by Aparārka which are not found in the *sūtra*, e. g. on *Yāj.* I. 21, 53, 89, 100. Aparārka quotes almost whole chapters of Viṣṇu, e. g. *Vi.* 68 on *Yāj.* I. 106 and 90 on *Yāj.* I. 208, 70 on *Yāj.* 1. 114. It is to be noted that *Vi.* 70. 17 (a verse) is quoted by Aparārka as a prose *sūtra* (on 1. 114) with slight verbal changes. All these facts make one feel naturally sceptical about the authenticity of most of the verses in the extant *Viṣṇudharmasūtra*. They probably formed no part of the *sūtra* at the time when the *Mitākṣarā* was composed. At all events it cannot be gainsaid that the verses are a very late part of the *sūtra*.

The *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* contains quotations from all the Vedic *samhitās* and from the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* (as in *Vi.* 15. 45). It mentions the *Vedāṅgas* very frequently (30. 3 and 38. 28. 35, 83. 6), it speaks of *Vyākaraṇa* (83. 7), of *itihāsa* (3. 70, 30. 38, 83. 7), of *Dharmaśāstras* (3. 70, 30. 38, 73. 16, 83. 8), of *Purāṇa* (3. 70, 30. 38 &c.). About the close correspondence between *Baud.* III. 6 and *Viṣṇu.* 48 and between *Vas.* 28. 10-15 and 18-22 and *Viṣṇu* 56 and 87 vide remarks made above pp. 23, 57. The *sūtra* quotes several verses (called *gāthās*) and says they were sung by *pitṛs*; vide 78. 52-53, 80. 14, 83. 21, 85. 65-67. They bear close resemblance to the *gāthās* sung by the *pitṛs* quoted in the *Anuśāsana-parva* 88. 11-15 and a half verse 'eṣṭavyā bahavaḥ putrā yadyekopi Gayāṁ vrajet' is the same in *Vi.* 85. 67 and *Anu.* 88. 14. The *Viṣṇusmṛti* enumerates twenty one hells (43. 1-22), which are almost the same as *Yājñavalkya's* (3. 222-224). It mentions the names of the seven days of the week (78. 1-7), Thursday being called *Jaiva*, while *Yājñavalkya* mentions only the seven planets (with *Rāhu* and *Ketu*) in the same order (I. 296). It recommends the practice of *sati* (25. 14), speaks of *pustakas* (18. 44, 23. 56), a word which is not used by the other *dharmaśāstras* so far described. It gives a long list of good and evil omens at the time of starting on a journey (63. 33-39). Among evil omens it includes the sight of yellow-robed ascetics (i. e. Buddhists probably) and *Kāpālikas* (63. 36). It prohibits speech with *Mlecchas*, *Antyajās* (71. 59) and journeys to *Mleccha* countries (84. 2). It contains special directions about the worship of *Vāsudeva* in chap. 49

and speaks of Śvetadvīpa as the reward of devotion to Vāsudeva (49. 4). Here and there, there are eulogies of Vāsudeva (1. 50-57, 65. 1, 97. 10, 98 which gives one hundred names of Viṣṇu). It speaks of the four vyūhas of Vāsudeva (67. 2) and of the Varāha incarnation. It gives a vague location of Āryāvarta as a country where the four varṇas exist (84. 4). It enumerates numerous sacred places (85. 1-52), among which Śrīparvata, Saptārṣa (modern Satara?), Godāvari and southern Pāñcanada deserve to be specially noted. Though it does not specifically enumerate the eighteen titles of law just as Yājñavalkya does not, yet it contains rules (in chapters 5-6) on almost all of them.

As Yājñavalkya enumerates Viṣṇu among the propounders of dharmaśāstras, it follows that a work of Viṣṇu existed in comparatively early times. What matters that work embraced it is difficult to say. It probably contained the topics found in the works of Gautama, Āpastamba and others. It may have included portions borrowed from the Kāthakagrhya. When Dr. Jolly says that certain chapters of Viṣṇu agree closely with the Kāthakagrhya, all that is meant is that some of the sūtras of Viṣṇu are the same or almost the same as those of the Kāthakagrhya (e. g. compare Viṣṇu 21, 73 and 86 with Kāthakagrhya V. 12, V. 9, and V. 3 respectively). But in all these places Viṣṇu contains more details than the Kāthakagrhya. It may however be noted that in a few cases the views of the Kāthakagrhya differ from those of Viṣṇu. For example, Viṣṇu (30. 1) speaks of Vedic studies for  $4\frac{1}{2}$  months only in the year when once they are started on the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa or Bhādrapada, while the Kāthakagrhya (I. 9. 10) gives three alternatives, viz.  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , 5 or  $5\frac{1}{2}$  months; Viṣṇu prescribes that the proper year for the upanayana of a kṣatriya is the 11th from conception (27. 16), while the Kāthaka prescribes the 9th, without specifying whether it is from conception or birth (IV. 1. 2); Viṣṇu enumerates eight forms of marriage (24. 18), while the Kāthaka (II. 3 and 4) speaks of only two, Brāhma and Āsura, and is silent about the rest; Viṣṇu (46. 19-20) defines Sāntapana and Mahāsāntapana differently from the Kāthaka (I. 7. 3-4), but agrees with Yājñavalkya (III. 315-316). Here the recent Lahore edition of the Kāthakagrhya by Dr. Caland has been used. As it used Kāthaka mantras and borrowed from the Kāthakagrhya, the dharmaśāstra may have been a text-book of the Kāthaka school and probably originated in Kashmir and Punjab which is the home



of the *Kaṭhas*. The date of the older portion of *Viṣṇu* may be placed between 300 B.C. to 100 B.C. But this is no more than a mere conjecture. It is to be noted that Kumārila does not mention the *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* among the *sūtras* studied by particular schools. Then several centuries later on the whole of the *sūtra* was recast from the *Vaiṣṇavite* point of view and received large additions both in prose and verse. When these additions were made we have no exact means of determining. It is probable that they were not made very long before *Viśvarūpa*. At all events the additions were made long after the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* and after the 3rd century. The mention of the week days makes the *sūtra* comparatively a late work. The earliest epigraphic mention of a week day is in the *Eran* inscription of 484 A. D. (vide Fleet's *Gupta inscriptions* pp. 88-89) and *Varāhamihira* (6th century) knew the week days well. The *Brahmapurāṇa* (28. 55) mentions Sunday and the *Padmapurāṇa* mentions Thursday (*Brahmakhaṇḍa* chap. 11. 34). The *Sūrya-siddhānta* (XII. 6 and 78) speaks of the lords of days. Thus although the extant *Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra* is a late recast, it contains a few doctrines that were held in ancient times. For example it allows a *Brāhmaṇa* to marry a girl of anyone of the four castes (24. 1) and does not inveigh against *nīyoga* as *Manu* does.

A few of the *sūtras* agree closely with *Nārada*. Vide Vi. 7. 10-11 and *Nārada* (*Rṇādāna* verses 136-137).

The *Mitākṣarā* quotes all the prose passages of chapters 35-42 and ascribes them to *Brhadviṣṇu* (on *Yāj.* 3. 242). Similarly on *Yāj.* 3. 261 it ascribes Vi. 35. 3-5 to *Brhadviṣṇu*. Similarly the *Smṛticandrikā* (II. p. 298) ascribes Vi. 17. 4 ff to *Brhad-Viṣṇu*. The *Mitākṣarā* (on *Yāj.* 3. 267) quotes a verse of *Vṛddha-Viṣṇu* which summarises some *sūtras* of *Viṣṇu* <sup>117</sup> (50. 6 and 12-14).

In the *Ānandaśrama* collection of *smṛtis* there is a *Laghu-Viṣṇu-smṛiti* in five chapters and 114 verses dealing with the duties of the *varṇas* and the four *āśramas*. *Aparārka* in his commentary on *Yāj.* 3. 258 quotes four verses from *Laghu-Viṣṇu*, which are not found in the *Ānandaśrama* text. So *Aparārka* used some other work or perhaps a larger work. The *Parāśara-Mādhaviya* often quotes *gadya-*

117 The verse of वृद्धविष्णु is विप्रैः तु सकलं देवं पादोर्ध्वं क्षत्रिये स्मृतम् । वैश्वेधमेकपादस्तु शूद्रजातिषु शस्यते ॥ The *sūtras* are ब्राह्मणं इवा द्वादशसंवत्सरं कुर्यात् । पादोर्ध्वं क्षत्रियवधे । अर्धं वैश्यवधे । तद्वर्धं शूद्रवधे ।



Viṣṇu and padya-Viṣṇu. The former from a quotation in vol. I. part 2, p. 234 seems to be the Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra itself. In the Sarasvativilāsa numerous sūtras of Viṣṇu with the explanations of Bhāruci thereon are quoted, which are not found in the printed Viṣṇu.<sup>118</sup>

The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra was commented upon by Nandapaṇḍita, author of several works on dharmasāstra, who wrote at Benares the commentary called Vaijayanti (according to certain mss.) in 1679 (i. e. 1622-23 A. D.) of the Vikrama era. Dr. Jolly publishes extracts from this commentary in his edition of the sūtra.

From the fact that the Sarasvativilāsa quotes several times the sūtras of Viṣṇu with Bhāruci's explanation, it looks probable that Bhāruci commented upon the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. For further information on Bhāruci vide sec. 61.

So far only the printed and well-known dharmasūtras have been passed under review. But there were numerous other dharmasūtras which are either now extant in rare mss. or are not yet discovered but are only to be reconstructed from quotations. It is now time to discuss them.

### 11. The Dharmasūtra of Hārīta

That Hārīta was an ancient sūtrakāra on *dharma* is quite patent from the fact that the dharmasūtras of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha quote him as an authority (vide pp. 25, 39, 54). Āpastamba quotes Hārīta more frequently than any other author. From this it may

118 a. g. para 637 सधाह भारुचिरेतद्विष्णुवचनव्याख्यानावसरे बीजशब्दः पिण्डवाचीति । (Viṣṇu's sūtra seems to have been बीजग्रहणानुविधायमंशं गृह्णीयात्); para 719 अथ भारुचिः (on विष्णु's सूत्र 'पितृव्यपितृभानृगिरेव संसर्गो नान्येः) वेकल्पिकोयं संसर्गविधिरिति, para 736 अथ भारुचिः भिन्नोदराणामिति निधोरणे बह्वी (on विष्णु's सूत्र 'भिन्नोदराणां संसृष्टिनो गृह्णीयुः'); para 847 contains a long sūtra of Viṣṇu 'अपिच्यं गार्धं धामं मेधं देयमाकस्मिकमादशाब्दं प्रविनाज्यमत ऊर्ध्वं सर्वमविभाज्यम्' and para 848 contains भारुचि's explanation of it.

Vide pp. 38, 50, 165, 166, 243, 244 &c. of the recently published Mysore edition of the सरस्वतीविलास for sūtras of Viṣṇu which are not found in the printed text of Viṣṇu. It appears that the सरस्वतीविलास had a very much larger version of the sūtra before it.

be concluded that they belonged to the same Veda. The *Tantravārtika* (vide note 55 above) mentions Hārīta along with Gautama and other sūtrakāras on dharma. From Viśvarūpa down to the latest writers on dharmasāstra Hārīta is most profusely quoted. From the quotations it appears that his dharmasūtra was perhaps the most extensive of all dharmasūtras.

The late Pandit Vamansastri Islampurkar discovered at Nasik a ms. of the Hārīta-dharmasūtra. It was not possible for me to make use of it for the present work. Dr. Jolly (in R. und S. pp. 8-9) gives an account of the ms. from which I give a summary. It is so faulty that an edition based on it alone cannot be thought of. The ms. contains thirty chapters. So far as the language and contents are concerned the work impresses one as ancient, but the material citations ascribed to Hārīta in later digests on court procedure and the law of crimes &c. are not found in the ms. The prose is mixed up with verses in Anuṣṭubh and Tristubh metres, which are often introduced with the characteristic words "athāpyudāharanti" as in other dharmasūtras. The ms. quotes 'bhagavān Maitrāyaṇi' and the verse "Śatadāyo vīro" which is Maitrāyaṇiya Sāmhita I. 7. 5. Dr. Caland points out remarkable correspondence between the citations of Hārīta and the Maitrāyaṇiya Pāṇiṣṭha and Mānavaśraddha-kalpa. All this tends to show that he was a sūtrakāra of the Black Yajurveda. The numerous quotations from Hārīta in Āpastamba and Baudhāyana are not however found in the ms. The ms. was found at Nasik, which is also the source of two mss. of the Maitrāyaṇiya Sāmhita. The Kashmirian word 'kaphella' is cited in Hārīta and so the Hārīta-dharmasūtra probably originated there. Hemādri (caturvarga III. 1. p. 559) mentions a commentator (bhāṣyakāra) of Hārīta.

From the numerous quotations from Hārīta in the *nibandhas* it appears that the dharmasūtra dealt exhaustively with the same topics as are dealt with in other dharmasūtras, viz. sources of dharma, brahmacārin of two kinds (upakurvāṇa and naiṣṭhika), *śrāta*, the householder, the forest hermit, prohibitions about food, impurity

119 The sūtra of Hārīta is 'पालङ्ग्या-नालिका-पौतीक-शिष्ट-सुसुक्त-वाताक-भूस्न-कफेह-माय-मसूर-कतलवणानि च भादे न दद्यात्' on which हेमाद्रि says, 'कफेहः आरण्याविशेषः काश्मीरेषु प्रसिद्ध इति हरीतस्मृतिभाष्यकारः.'

on birth and death, śrāddha, the pañkṭipāvana, general rules of conduct, the five yajñas, Vedic study and holidays, duties of kings, rules of statecraft, court procedure, the various titles of law, duties of husband and wife, various kinds of sins, prāyaścittas, expiatory prayers &c.

According to Kullūka (on Manu 2. 1) the Hārta-dharmaśāstra opened with the words 'now then we shall explain *dharma*; dharma is based upon revealed texts (śruti); revealed texts are of two kinds, the Vedic and the Tāntric.'<sup>120</sup> The quotations show that this very style was pursued in the body of the work. Aparārka (on Yāj. III. 322) quotes a sūtra<sup>121</sup> in similar style about a penance 'tulāpuruṣa' said to have been promulgated by Śiva himself. The sūtra often introduces verses as quotations with the words "an author says thus" (evam hyāha; vide Aparārka on Yāj. I. 83, I. 154, III. 135, Vivāda-ratnākara pp. 443, 626). Numerous passages quoted as Hārta's are identical with passages from other dharmaśāstra works. The sūtra 'Jāyāpatyomā vibhāgo vidyate' is quoted as from Hārta by the Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 268), which is the same as Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 16. The same work quotes 'pratyakṣavidhānād gārhaṣṭhyasya' as from Hārta which is part of Gautama 3. 35. A verse about the enormity of usury quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 177) as Hārta's is almost the same as Baudhāyana (I. 5. 79) and Vasiṣṭha<sup>122</sup> (2. 42). A verse about atipātākins (quoted by Aparārka on Yāj. III. 231) is the same as Viṣṇu 34. 2. Manu is mentioned by name in several verses (vide Smṛticandrikā III. p. 426, Vivāda-ratnākara p. 552-553). Two verses are cited in the Vyavaharatattva of Raghunandana as found in Hārta, Baudhāyana (I. 10. 30) and Manu (8. 18-19). A verse quoted by the Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 21) is almost the same as Manu 8. 95. Several times we have the words 'Prajāpativaco yathā' (vide Aparārka on Yāj. I. 154 and Smṛticandrikā I. p. 181). Hārta seems to have relied upon the views

120 'अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः । श्रुतिप्रमाणको धर्मः । श्रुतिश्च द्विविधा वेदिकी तान्त्रिकी च ॥'. The Brahmayajña probably takes the words अथातो... स्यामः' from हारीत and not from the Vaiśeṣika-sūtra.

121 अथार्तस्मिन्नयनोक्तस्य तुलापुरुषस्य कर्त्तव्यं व्याख्यास्यामः ।

122 The verse is 'ब्रह्मार्जुनं बुद्धिर्जीवं च तुलया समतोलयत् । अतिवद् ब्रह्मा कोट्यां बुद्धिर्जीवकल्पयत् ॥

of 'ācāryas' in several places.<sup>123</sup> He often quotes the views of others (eke, apare<sup>124</sup>) and sometimes refutes them.<sup>125</sup>

Hārīta refers to the Vedas, the Aṅgas, dharmasāstra, metaphysics, and other branches of knowledge.<sup>126</sup> The quotations do not show that he belonged to any particular Veda, as he quotes from all the Vedas promiscuously. In this connection it is worthy of note that though Kumārila mentions Hārīta as an ancient dharmasūtrakāra, he does not assign him to any particular school, while he assigns Āpastamba and Baudhāyana to the Taittiriya school.

Some of the doctrines of Hārīta are worth noting. He speaks of eight forms of marriage, but two of them are styled Kṣatra and Mānuṣa, while Ārṣa and Prājāpatya are omitted (vide Viramitrodaya, Saṁskāraprakāśa, p. 84). Vasiṣṭha has the same nomenclature (I. 29). Hārīta speaks of two sorts of women (*brahmadāditis* and *sadyovadhas*) and states that the former were entitled to have the Upanayana performed, to keep the sacred fire and to study the Vedas.<sup>127</sup> He speaks of the twelve kinds of sons (vide Haradatta on Gautama 28. 32). He looks down upon the profession of an actor and forbids the employment of a Brāhmaṇa actor in any śrāddha or rite for gods.<sup>128</sup> Aparārka (on Yaj. II. 1332) quotes from Hārīta a lengthy passage in mixed prose and verse, where the worship of Gaṇeśa comes in.<sup>129</sup>

123 विषय on Yaj. I. 195. 'तन्मापकृतेदनेके वातसाय । न वा साधारणत्वात् । साधारणं हि वात इत्याचार्याः । तस्मात्सर्ववातसानुपपातापनोदनादेव छद्भिः ।' अपरार्क on Yaj. I. 154. 'आहारशुद्धौ सत्त्वशुद्धित्याचार्याः' मी. पा., p. 704. 'न ह्ययदानामयं लोको न पर इत्याचार्याः'.

124 Vide म. पा. pp. 607, 706; स्मृतिच. III. p. 422, अपरार्क on Yaj. II. 127.

125 अपरार्क on Yaj. I. 183. 'यानशयनान्यपरिहार्याण्येके मम्यन्ते । तत्र । वर्णविशेषान् शुक्ललिनसंसर्गदर्शनात् पापसंसर्गयोगाच्च तस्मात् पृथक् शौचाच्छेदात् ।'

126 स्मृतिच. III. p. 290. वेदा अङ्गानि धर्मोऽव्याप्तं विज्ञानं स्थितिश्चेति षड्विधं भूतम् ।

127 द्विभिधा स्त्रियः । ब्रह्मवादिभ्यः सद्योवद्विधः । तत्र ब्रह्मवादिनीनामुपनयनमग्नीध्रं वेदाभ्ययनं स्वगृहे च निष्ठाप्य । quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 34. and चतुर्विंशतितल्ल्याख्या (Benares ed.) p. 113.

128 कुशीलवादीन् देवे पित्र्ये च वर्जयेत् । quoted by अपरार्क on Yaj. I. 222-224.

129 We have there the names सालकटंकट, कृष्माण्डराजपुत्र, महाविनायक, करुणुण्ड, गजाधिपति. For the first two vide मानवगृहसूत्र II. 14 and याज्ञ. I. 285 ff.

A very interesting question is the relation of the verse quotations from Hārīta with the prose quotations from Hārīta. The dharma-sūtra was probably interspersed with verses as is the case more or less with all dharmaśāstras except that of Gautama. But there are numerous verses ascribed to Hārīta in the *nibandhas*, which are manifestly modern. Both the Mitākṣarā and Aparārka (on Yāj. I. 86) quote Hārīta's verses eulogising the sati. The Smṛticandrikā (III. p. 344) quotes his verses that refer to the signs of the Zodiac. There are numerous verses containing elaborate rules of procedure, ascribed to Hārīta, which are quite foreign to the general atmosphere of the ancient dharmaśāstras. All such verses must be ascribed to a comparatively later date. In the Śuddhimayūkha it is said that certain verses quoted from the Mahābhārata by Hārīta are not found in several copies of the Mahābhārata.

Dr. Jolly (in 1889) collected together most of the prose and verse citations from Hārīta on the Vyāvahāra section. In Jivananda's collection, we have a Laghu-Hārīta smṛti (I. pp. 177-193) and a Vṛddha-Hārītasmti (I. pp. 194-409). The former contains seven *adhyāyas* and about 250 verses, dealing with the duties of the four castes and the *āśramas* and with Yoga. The latter is professedly a Vaiṣṇavite work, said to have been proclaimed by Hārīta to Ambariṣa; it is divided into eight chapters and contains about 2600 verses, dealing with the *nītiya* and *naimittika* rites of the *varṇas* and *āśramas*, the nature of the individual and supreme self and the means of attaining mokṣa. In the Ānandaśrama collection of smṛtis, Vṛddha-Hārīta is divided into eleven chapters, the first two of Jivananda's being split up into five. The Ānandaśrama collection contains a Laghu-Hārīta-smṛti in 117 verses which is different from the Laghu-Hārīta of Jivananda. The former deals with purification from pollutions of various kinds, with *prāyaścittas*, rules about impurity on birth and death, *śrāddha* and a few rules about inheritance, partition &c.

It is noteworthy that Aparārka (on Yāj. III. 254) quotes Vṛddha-Hārīta and Hārīta, both in prose, one immediately after another.

That the Vṛddha-Hārīta in verse is comparatively a late work follows from the fact that it distinctly recites that the smṛtis of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Kātyāyana were known to it as authorities

on *rāja-dharma*.<sup>110</sup> Some of the quotations ascribed to *Laghu-Hārīta* in *Aparārka* and other works are found in the *Laghu-Hārīta*, e. g. the verse 'vinā yajñopavitena' (*Laghu-Hārīta*, *Ānandāśrama*, verse 23) is quoted by *Aparārka* on *Yaj.* III. 289. Some verses that are ascribed to *Hārīta* are found in the *Laghu-Hārīta*, for example, the verse 'snānam kṛtvā tu ye', cited by the *Smṛticandrikā* (I. p. 203), occurs in the *Laghu-Hārīta* (*Ānandāśrama*, verse 41). It appears that several compilations were made at different times, embracing different topics of *dharma* and ascribed to *Hārīta*, probably because they were based more or less on the *Hārītadharmaśūtra*.

That some of the verses ascribed to *Hārīta* are very ancient follows from several considerations. For example, *Viśvarūpa* quotes (on *Yaj.* III. 246) a verse from *Hārīta*. The *Sarasvativilāsa* quotes from *Hārīta* a brief passage which appears to be a portion of a verse and *Kaṭyāyana's* explanation thereon.<sup>112</sup> It follows that long before the sixth century A. D. *Hārīta* existed in verse.

For *Hārīta* on *Vyavahāra*, vide sec. 56.

## 12. The Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita

From the *Tantravārtika* we learn (note 55 above) that the *Dharmasūtra* of *Śaṅkha-Likhita* was specially studied by the *Vājasaneyins* (the followers of the white *Yajurveda*). The *Tantravārtika* also quotes a few words from that *dharmaśūtra* which constitute an *Anuṣṭubh paḍa*.<sup>113</sup> The *Mahābhārata* (*Śānti*. chap. 23) contains the story of the two brothers *Śaṅkha* and *Likhita*. In the *Śānti-parva* (130. 29 and 132. 15-16) the word *Śaṅkha-Likhita* seems to be used in a double sense, *Śaṅkha* also meaning the forehead. *Yājñavalkya* (1. 5) mentions *Śaṅkha-Likhita* among the writers on *dharmaśāstra*. The *Parāśara-smṛti* says (1. 24) that in the four ages of *Kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali*, the ordinances of *Manu*, *Gautama*, *Śaṅkha-Likhita* and *Parāśara* are respectively of paramount authority

<sup>110</sup> राजधर्मोपमितेयं यस्मात्तान् कथितो मया । कात्यायनेन मनुना याज्ञवल्क्येन धीमता ॥  
नारदेन च संयोजं विस्तरदिदमेव हि । तस्मान्मया विस्तरेण नोकमत्र नृपोत्तम ॥  
(*Jīvananda* I, 4th chap. p. 265; *Ānandāśrama*, 7th chap. 270-272).

<sup>111</sup> हारीतेनापि केचन भेदा उक्ताः । एकमूलो द्विरुद्धानो द्विस्कन्धो द्विफलः । कात्यायनस्तु  
तान् व्याचरे । 2nd उल्लास, p. 61 (*Mysore edition*).

<sup>112</sup> तन्त्रवार्तिक, p. 139. 'स्मार्तधर्माधिकारे हि शङ्खलिखितभ्यामुक्तम् - आश्रायः स्मृति-  
धारकः.'



in matters of *dharma*. Viśvarūpa ( on Yāj. III. 248 ) quotes a verse from an ancient author which says that Śaṅkha and Likhita pondered deeply over the *dharma* promulgated to the sages by Manu and drew upon the Veda<sup>133</sup> also. Commentators and *nibandhakāras* from Viśvarūpa downwards profusely quote Śaṅkha-Likhita. A considerable portion of these quotations is in prose. Hence it is quite clear that the *dharmaśūtra* of Śaṅkha-Likhita is an ancient one, that it was largely if not entirely in prose and that it was once easily accessible though it has not yet been discovered. In the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute ( vol. VII-VIII ) I made an attempt at a reconstruction of Śaṅkha-Likhita.

Jivananda ( collection of *smṛtis*, part II., pp. 343-374 ) prints in 18 chapters and about 330 verses a *smṛti* of Śaṅkha and a *smṛti* of Likhita in about 93 verses ( part II., pp. 375-382 ). The Ānandāśrama collection also prints the same text of the two *smṛtis*. The latter also contains a Laghu-Śaṅkha-*smṛti* in 71 verses and a Śaṅkha-Likhita-*smṛti* in 32 verses. All these, except perhaps the Śaṅkha-*smṛti* in 18 chapters, are late compilations. The *smṛti* in 18 chapters seems to have been compiled very early. About fifty verses from it are quoted by the Mitākṣarā. In the 11th and 12th chapters occur a few prose passages, one of which is quoted even by Medhātithi. The numerous prose quotations ascribed to Śaṅkha-Likhita do not however occur in these *smṛtis*. One point deserves special notice. Comparatively early writers sometimes ascribe the same text to Śaṅkha-Likhita or to Śaṅkha simply. The well-known *sūtra* about succession to a son-less man ( *athāputrasya svaryātasya bhrātṛgāmi dravyam &c.* ) is ascribed to Śaṅkha by Viśvarūpa and the Mitākṣarā, but to Śaṅkha-Likhita by Aparārka ( on Yāj. II. 135-136 ). Similarly the *sūtra* ' *pitaryaśakte kuṭumbavyavahārān jyeṣṭhaḥ* ' &c. is ascribed to Śaṅkha by Aparārka and to Śaṅkha-Likhita by the Vivāda-ratnākara, Dāyatattva and Madanapārijāta. Quotations ascribed to Likhita are few and far between. Some passages are ascribed by some writers to Śaṅkha and by others to Likhita. For example, a prose passage ' *Uddhṛtya parikṣitābhiḥ* ' &c. is ascribed to Likhita by Aparārka ( on Yāj. I. 18 ) and to Śaṅkha by Viśvarūpa ( on Yāj. I. 20 ) and by the Vīramitrodaya ( Āhnikaprakāśa p. 68 ). Similarly the *sūtra* ' *ubhābhyāmapī hastābhyām prāṇmukho devatīrthena kuryāt* ' is ascribed to Śaṅkha-Likhita by the Pārāśaramādha-

133 समीक्ष्य निपुणं धर्ममृषिम्यो मनुभाषितम् । आस्तायास्तस्यगुदस्य शब्दश्च निश्चितस्तथा ॥



viya (I. 1. p. 352) and to Likhita by Aparārka (on Yāj. I. 101). The relation of the Śaṅkha-smṛti in verse to the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha seems to be this. The former is based upon the latter and is a versified paraphrase or adaptation of portions of the dharmasūtra.<sup>134</sup>

The versified Śaṅkha shows a tendency towards greater strictness. The dharmasūtra allows a Brāhmaṇa to marry a woman of any of the four castes, while the verse Śaṅkha restricts him to the first three castes.<sup>135</sup> It is not unlikely that the dharmasūtra contained a few verses as is the case with Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha. Even so early a writer as Viśvarūpa looked upon the prose and verse portions as the composition of the same author (vide his comment on Yāj. III. 237, and Aparārka pp. 1149, 1154, 1161).

The dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita was commented upon early. Lakṣmidhara in his Kalpataru (Ghose's Hindu Law vol. II., p. 504) draws attention to the fact that the bhāṣyakāra of Śaṅkha read a well-known sūtra as 'sa yadyekah syāt' instead of 'sa yadyekaputrah syāt'. Lakṣmidhara flourished between 1100-1160 A. D. as he was a minister of Govindacandra of Kanauj. The Vivādaratnākara (1314 A. D.) also cites the bhāṣyakāra of Śaṅkha-Likhita. The Vivāda-cintāmaṇi (p. 67) quotes from the bhāṣyakāra of Śaṅkha-Likhita.

The dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita would appear, from the quotations in the *nibandhas*, to have closely resembled the other extant sūtras on dharma in style and contents. It embraced almost all the topics treated of in Gautama or Āpastamba. It agrees very closely with the words of Gautama and Baudhāyana in several places.<sup>136</sup> It is curious to note that a quotation from Śaṅkha

134 Compare उद्धृत्य परिप्लवितिरिषोक्षितानिरक्षारानिरनर्थाभितानिरकेनामिरपुद्गुदामिः (quoted as Śaṅkha's by the वीरः, आह्निकप्रकाश, p. 68) with शृङ्खलस्मृति 9. 6

'आदिः समुद्रतामिस्तु इतिमिः केनपुद्गुदेः । वह्निना चाप्यद्वयामिरपुद्गुलीमिस्तुष्टुशेत् ॥

135 The दावनाम (ed. of 1829, p. 210) quotes 'भार्याः कार्यः स्वजातीयाः श्वेतरश्चः सर्वेषां स्युरिति पूर्वकल्पः । ततोऽनुकल्पभक्तसो ब्राह्मणस्यानुपूर्व्वेण' ; the शृङ्खलस्मृति (4. 7) says 'ब्राह्मणी क्षत्रिया वैश्या ब्राह्मणस्य प्रकीर्तिता ॥

136 Compare 'नाब्राह्मणोतिथिर्ब्राह्मणस्य' (quoted in वीरः, आह्निकः, p. 452) with गो. ध. सू. 5. 39-42 ; 'दन्तवदन्तलमेण' (quoted by अपरार्कः on याज्ञ. I. 195) with गो. ध. सू. I. 41-43 ; 'न निम्नं प्रणतो नाङ्गुलीभिः' (चतुर्वर्गः III. 1. p. 977) with गो. ध. सू. I. 5. 15.

containing the names of writers of *smṛtis* cites Śaṅkha-Likhita as authority.<sup>117</sup>

The *dharmasūtra* seems to have permitted *niyoga*, speaks of twelve secondary sons, and did not favour (like Āpastamba) the claims of females to succeed to males. On certain points the *dharmasūtra* of Śaṅkha marks a more advanced state of opinion than is the case with Gautama or Āpastamba. Śaṅkha speaks of several kinds of ordeals and appears to have contained elaborate prose rules about them (vide Aparārka on Yāj. II, 95; *Smṛticandrikā* II, p. 112, *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 270). As regards partition and inheritance, Śaṅkha-Likhita gives more detailed information than Āpastamba or Baudhāyana. The limits of Āryāvarta<sup>118</sup> stretched over wider areas according to Śaṅkha (i. e. to the east of Sindhu-Sauvira and to the west of Kāmpilya) than is the case with Baudhāyana (I. 1. 25) or Vasiṣṭha (I. 8-9). The style of Śaṅkha reminds one of Kautilya rather than of Gautama. The quotations hardly exhibit any ungrammatical forms. It is noteworthy that Yājñavalkya is included among the authors of *smṛtis* by Śaṅkha (vide note 137 above). If it is the extant Yājñavalkya-*smṛti* that is meant to be referred to, then the *dharmasūtra* of Śaṅkha will have to be assigned to a late date. But this does not seem to be likely. From the fact that the Yājñavalkya-*smṛti* itself enumerates Śaṅkha-Likhita among ancient authors on *dharma*, from the general style of the work, from the development of the legal conceptions it presents and from its doctrines about the rights of women, it appears almost certain that the extant Yājñavalkya-*smṛti* is much later than the *dharmasūtra* of Śaṅkha. There are close correspondences between Śaṅkha and Yājñavalkya.<sup>119</sup>

137 'स्मृतिर्षर्मशास्त्राणि तेषां प्रणेतास्तौ मनुष्यमदक्षविष्ण्वह्निरौषधहस्तुश्चनआपस्तम्ब-  
गौतमसंवर्तप्रिहारीतकात्यायनशङ्खलिसितपराशरण्यासशातातप्रचेतोयज्ञवल्क्यादयः ।  
quoted in चतुर्वर्ग. I. p. 527; वीर. परिभाषा, p. 16 and स्मृतिच.

138 'देश आर्यो गुणवान् ... माह सिन्धुसौराक्षिणेन हिमवतः पश्चात्काम्पिल्या उदक्  
पारिवाप्रादनवर्षं महर्षयसम् ।' quoted in वीर., परिभाषा, p. 57.

139 compare 'पष्ठेष्टौ वा सीमन्तः' शङ्ख quoted in चतुर्वर्ग. III. 2, p. 734 with  
याज्ञ. I. 11; 'सूदाकर्म यथाकुलम्' शङ्ख (quoted in चतुर्वर्ग. III. 2, p. 743)  
with याज्ञ. I. 12; 'दारानाहरेत्सदृशानसमानार्षेयानसम्बन्धानासप्तमपञ्चमाह् पितृमातु-  
वन्धुभ्यः' शङ्ख (quoted in उज्ज्वल on आप. ध. सू. II. 5.11.16) with  
याज्ञ. I. 53.

The prose quotations from Śaṅkha-Likhita refer to the Vedāṅgas, Śaṅkha, Yoga, dharmasāstra. Śaṅkha recognised eight forms of marriage. The views of Śaṅkha about the status of the offspring of mixed marriages differed from those of Baudhāyana (I. 8. 6) and Manu (X. 6) and were intermediate between the latter two.<sup>140</sup> The *tarpaṇa*<sup>141</sup> (which resembles the one in Baudhāyana, though it is more elaborate) refers to the six Vedāṅgas, Bhārata (but not Mahā-bhārata), to twenty writers on *dharma* and contains numerous details about geography, mythology, and cosmogony which are generally found in the Purāṇas. The dharmasūtra frequently cites the opinions of others. It mentions by name the views of Prajāpati, Āṅgīrasa and Uśanas (Vivādaratnākara p. 537), Prācetasas (Vivādarat. p. 557-560), Vṛddha-Gautama (Madana-pārijāta pp. 701-2). The verse quotations ascribed to Śaṅkha further mention Yama, Kātyāyana, and Śaṅkha himself. But in drawing chronological conclusions it is better to leave the verse quotations out of account. The same verses are ascribed to Manu and Śaṅkha<sup>142</sup> and a few sūtras closely resemble the Manusmṛti.<sup>143</sup> Six identical verses occur in the Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra (28. 10-15) and in the Śaṅkha-smṛti (10th chap.).

All these circumstances lead to the conclusion that the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha is probably later than Gautama and Apastamba but earlier than the Yājñavalkya-smṛti and so must be assigned to some date between 300 B. C. to 100 A. D.

### 13. Mānavadharmasūtra—Did it exist ?

Following the orthodox view of Western Sanskrit scholars that most of the dharmasūtras are older than almost all, if not all, the metrical smṛtis, I gave the first place of honour to the dharmasūtras of Gautama and others. But my own views differ to a great extent from those of the orthodox school of Sanskritists represented by Max Müller and Bühler. It is high time to state here my views about

140 'आह्वणेन क्षत्रियायामुभयनो क्षत्रिय एव भवति' शङ्ख quoted in मिताक्षरा on Yāj. I. 91.

141 Vide चतुर्वर्ग. III. 1. pp. 950-955 and वीर. आह्निक, p. 356. ff. for तर्पण.

142 The verse गर्भाग्ने दे कुर्वति in चतुर्वर्ग. III. 1. 112 is मनु. 2. 36: 'मृतक-स्याप्यको यस्तु स उपाध्याय उच्यते' quoted in स्मृतिच. I, p. 34. in मनु II. 141.

143 'हृषं गृह्णाति राजन्या प्रतोदं वक्ष्या दशार्धं शृङ्गा' quoted in वरा. मा. I. 2. p. 98. Compare मनु 3. 44.

the existence of a Mānava-dharma-sūtra supposed to be the original of our extant Manu.

Some western scholars, particularly Max Müller and Weber, started the ingenious theory that the extant Manusmṛti was a recast or remodelling of an ancient Mānavadharmasūtra. Max Müller went so far as to enunciate the bold generalisation "There can be no doubt, however, that all the genuine dharma-śāstras which we possess now, are *without any exception* nothing but more modern texts of earlier sūtra works on *kuladharma*s belonging originally to certain Vedic *carakas*" (H. A. S. L. pp. 134-135). For this sweeping generalisation there were very few data when it was made, as is admitted by Bühler. This theory of Max Müller was as hasty, as unfounded and as uncritical as several other theories of his such as that about the renaissance of Sanskrit Literature in the early centuries of the Christian era, about the absence of the art of writing in India before Pāṇini and about the uniform employment of the śloka for literary purposes in his so-called sūtra period and earlier. Western Scholars had to give up such theories before the stern logic of facts, but they have tenaciously clung to the theory about the Manusmṛti being a recast of the Mānavadharmasūtra. One of the main planks of Max Müller's edifice was the now exploded theory about the non-employment of the *anuṣṭubh* during the sūtra period (which he tentatively placed between 600 B. C.-200 B. C.) for continuous composition. In spite of the fact that one of the main planks has totally collapsed Bühler makes strenuous efforts to rehabilitate Max Müller's theory by additional *a priori* arguments (S. B. E. vol. 25, pp. xviii-xxiii and xxxi-xxxix). The main points brought forward by Bühler are :- (I) The Vasiṣṭha Dh. S. (IV. 5-8) contains four sūtras, the first of which is 'The Mānava says that one may kill an animal only in honouring the Manes, gods and guests.' There follow two verses and a passage in prose with *iti* at the end. Bühler argues that all the four sūtras are quotations and as the extant Manusmṛti is in verse, they must be regarded as taken from the Mānavadharmasūtra. (II) There are other quotations in Vasiṣṭha attributed to Manu which either contradict the present Manusmṛti or have no counterpart in the latter. Bühler draws special attention to the fact that Vasiṣṭha (19. 37) quotes a Mānava śloka which is not in the *anuṣṭubh* metre and which has nothing corresponding to it in the extant Manusmṛti.

(III) A fragment of Uśanas quotes an opinion of Manu about impurity, which is in prose.<sup>144</sup> Bühler himself points out that here one ms. reads 'Sumantuḥ' for 'Manuḥ'. Therefore this argument is of very little use in establishing the existence of a *Mānavadharmasūtra*. Besides, it is possible that the mutilated passage is not a quotation at all, but a mere summary of Manu's views. There is no 'iti' at the end to show that it is a quotation. (IV) Kāmandakiya-nīṭisāra (II. 3) says that according to the Mānavas the *vidyās* to be studied by a king are three, viz. the three Vedas, Vārtā, and Daṇḍanīti and that what is called *Ānvikṣiki* is but a branch of *ṭrayī*; while the Manusmṛti (7. 43) appears to regard the four as distinct *vidyās*.<sup>145</sup> Kāmandaka (XI. 67) says that Manu prescribed that the council of ministers should consist of twelve;<sup>146</sup> while Manu (7. 54) says that the '*sacivas*' should be seven or eight. Bühler therefore argues that Kāmandaka has in mind the *Mānavadharmasūtra* and not the Manusmṛti and on the word '*Mānavāḥ*' makes the following observations 'It is a very common practice of Indian authors to refer in this manner to the books restricted to special schools. But I know of no case where the doctrines of the *Mānavadharmasūtra* or of any other work, which is destined for all Aryans and acknowledged as authoritative by all, are cited in the same or similar way' (S. B. E. vol. 25, p. XXXVIII). In the first place it has to be noted that Kāmandaka is only paraphrasing the words of Kauṭilya in the above two places.<sup>147</sup> Further it is note-

144 In No. 644 of Viśrambag (I) in the Deccan College there is a fragment of Uśanas where we read उपस्थ... (800) मनुराह । बाले देशान्तरस्थे चान्निके वोरान्वाने (I) अनाशकेभिःपेशे वृद्धने च सयः शोचन्. The words बाले देशान्तरस्थे occur in Manu 5. 78 in the same connection. For the rest, compare Manu 5. 95 and 95. We must probably read देशान्तरस्थे च सान्निके. No. 191 of A 1881-83 is another fragment of Uśanas which contains the same passage, Bühler's ms. read सयः शोचान्नपतिताभितनिन्दिताचारेण सह संवसेत् and he proposes शोचामिष्टमिति.

145 The words of the मनुस्मृति are वेदविदेभ्यस्त्वर्षा विद्यां दण्डनीतिं च शास्वतीम् । आन्वीक्षिकीं चान्नविद्यां वार्तारम्भांश्च लोकाः ॥

146 कामन्दक says 'द्वादशेति मनुः प्राह षोडशेति वृद्धस्पतिः । उद्यना विंशतिरिति मन्त्रिणां मन्त्रिमण्डलम् ॥

147 'अथी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति मालवाः । अथीविशेषो आन्वीक्षिकीति' कोटिल्य I. 2: 'मन्त्रि-परिषद् द्वादशमास्यान् कुर्वीतेति मानवाः षोडशेति वार्तास्पत्याः विंशतिमित्योशनसाः' कोटिल्य I. 15.

worthy that Kāmandaka employs the word 'Manuḥ' while Kautīlya uses the word 'Mānavāḥ' (about the number of ministers). Therefore according to the Kāmandakiyanīṣāra there was no difference between the two, viz. the words 'Manuḥ' and 'Mānavāḥ' denoted the same thing, a work. What Bühler means by his emphasis on the word 'Mānavāḥ' is not quite clear. Early writers like Kumārila and Viśvarūpa employ the word 'Mānavam' with reference to the Manusmṛti just as they use the word Vasiṣṭham to denote the Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra (vide Tantra-vārtika pp. 80, 115, 642 and Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 245 and 257). Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya on Br. Upaniṣad I. 4. 17 applies the word 'mānava' to the Manusmṛti 'mānava ca sarvā pravṛttih kāmahetukyeveti' (referring to Manu II. 4). Besides, there is hardly any conflict between the views of the Mānavas and the Manusmṛti on the point of the number of the *vidyās*. The Mānavas knew that Ānvikṣiki was counted as a fourth *vidyā* but said that it was really comprehended in the study of the Vedas. The Manusmṛti only lays down from whom the *vālyas* were to be learnt. As regards the number of ministers, we cannot afford to forget that the Manusmṛti (7. 60) allows more ministers than seven or eight. Another explanation also is possible. In the final remodelling of the Manusmṛti from its original in verse it is not unlikely that a few changes were made. (V) On the strength of the preservation of the complete set of the sūtra works of Apastamba on śraūta, grhya and dharma (also of Baudhayana and Hiranyakeśin), it is urged that the Mānava *carayit* had a sūtra on dharma. The Mānavaśrautasūtra (parts 1-5 edited by Dr. Knauer and the *chayana* by Miss Gelder at Leipzig in 1921) and the Mānava-grhyasūtra (edited by Dr. Knauer in 1897 and recently in the Gaikwad Oriental Series) are extant. Bühler admits (S. B. E. vol. 25, p. XXXVIII) that the main pillars of his arguments are the quotations ascribed to Manu in the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra.

The four sūtras of Vasiṣṭha (IV. 5-8) which are the sheet anchor of Bühler's argument have been dealt with above under Vasiṣṭha (pp. 53-56). If, as Bühler says, the four sūtras are one quotation, since 'iti' occurs at the end of the 8th sūtra, then we have here a quotation within a quotation, as 'iti' occurs also in sūtra 5. But this would be absurd. Besides sūtra 8 is really summarised from some Brāhmaṇa passage, as indicated above. The proper construction of the four



sūtras is as follows :— The fifth sūtra merely summarises the views of the Manusmṛti to be gathered from Manu V. 41 and 48. The word 'Mānavam' stands for the Manusmṛti just as it does in the Tantravārtika and in Viśvarūpa. Then the two verses of Manu are quoted. In the 8th sūtra a Brāhmaṇa passage is cited in support of the position that sacrificing an animal is not 'killing' (that leads to sin).

As regards the few quotations which cannot be found in the extant Manusmṛti the following points deserve consideration. The Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra contains numerous verses identical with those of the Manusmṛti. Most of the quotations attributed to Manu are found in the Manusmṛti. Hence even if a few quotations are not found in our Manu, we cannot at once jump to the conclusion that Vasiṣṭha had before him not the Manusmṛti, but the Mānavadharmasūtra. Besides Bühler is not right in saying that Vasiṣṭha 11. 23, 12. 16 and 23. 43 either contradict or find no counterpart in our Manu (S. B. E. vol. 25 p. XXXIV). Vasiṣṭha 11. 23 corresponds with Manu 3. 245-246.<sup>148</sup> None of the three contradict anything contained in the Manusmṛti. Vasiṣṭha 23. 43 (about Śiśukṣcra) has nothing corresponding to it word for word in our Manu, but it seems to be an echo of Manu 11. 211.<sup>149</sup> In Vasiṣṭha 12. 16 (paryagnikarāṇaṁ

148 ' प्राकृतस्कारात्ममीतानां स्ववर्णानामिति स्थितिः । भागधेयं मनुः पाद उच्छेदोच्छेपणे उभे ॥ वसिष्ठ 11. 23. Should we not read स्ववर्णानाम्, which would correspond to the word दासवर्गैः in Manu? मनु reads 'असंस्कृतप्रमीतानां त्यागिनां कुलयोषिताम् । उच्छेदं भागधेयं स्याद् दूमेष्टं विकिरभयः ॥ उच्छेपणं भूमिगतमजिह्वास्याशठस्य च । दासवर्गस्य तत्पित्रे भागधेयं प्रचक्षते ॥ ' 3. 245-246. The close correspondence between Vas. and Manu in ideas and phraseology should be specially marked.

149 वसिष्ठ (23. 43) ' अहः प्रातरहर्नक्षत्रमहोक्षमपाचितम् । अहः पराकं तन्त्रैकमेवं चतुरहो परो ॥ अनुप्रहार्यं विप्राणां मनुर्वर्मभूतां वरः । बालानुद्वातुरेखेवं शिशुकृच्छ्रमुवाच ह ॥ ; मनु 11. 245. ' ज्येष्ठं प्रातस्त्रयं सायं ज्येष्ठमयादपाचितम् । ज्येष्ठं परं च नाक्षीयात्यानापत्यं चरद् द्विजः ॥. It would be noticed that the शिशुकृच्छ्र comes to one-third of the प्राजापत्यकृच्छ्र, as the शिशुचान्द्रायण (मनु. 11. 218) is a milder edition of the चान्द्रायण. The प्रायश्चित्त for minors and women was one half or one third of that for adult males (vide यो. ध. सू. II. 1. 51. and आह्निरसंस्मृति verse 33). यो. ध. सू. ( II. 1. 65) describes the four day's observance as the कृच्छ्र for women, minors and old men. याज्ञ. III. 319 calls it पादकृच्छ्र.



hy-etan-manurāha Prajāpatiḥ) there is nothing that contradicts our Manu; that half and the preceding verses bear a close correspondence to Baudhāyana Dh. S. 1. 4. 2. Similarly Bühler's argument about Mānava śloka in the Triṣṭubh metre is not quite sound. The text of Vasiṣṭha is far from satisfactory. On the non-occurrence of that verse or a corresponding śloka in our Manu no superstructure can be built. Vasiṣṭha quotes (4. 37) a sūtra or opinion of Gautama which is not found in the extant Gautamadharmasūtra. Verses ascribed to Vasiṣṭha in the nibandhas are not found in the printed text of Vasiṣṭha (vide n. 108 above.)

The analogy of the works of the schools of Āpastamba and others can furnish no proof. There are on the other hand weighty grounds for discarding that analogy altogether. It is a remarkable fact that excepting the three *śāraṅg* (of the Black Yajurveda) of Āpastamba, Baudhāyana and Hiraṇyakeśin that arose and flourished in the southern portion of India, no *śāraṅg* of any of the other Vedas has an extant dharmasūtra ascribed to the founder of the *sūtra-śāraṅg*. An explanation is suggested in the following lines. The Brāhmaṇas in southern India were in the very early days of their colonisation surrounded by an alien culture and by alien customs. It was necessary therefore to formulate distinctly the rules of general conduct for the Aryan community in southern India, that studied the Black Yajurveda. The same necessity did not exist in northern India, where the members of the *sūtraśāraṅg*s knew their ordinary every day duties very well, and were more or less a homogeneous community with the same ideals and culture. Therefore in the beginning when manuals of śrauta and grhya ceremonies were first composed, it was not thought necessary to compose set treatises on *dharma* for each *śāraṅg*. Some of the rules of conduct were embodied in the grhya sūtras because they were germane to the subjects treated of in them (such as the duties of Brahmacārins and householders, holidays etc.). Works, however, dealing with the general usages prevalent among the Aryan community in various parts of northern India must have been composed early enough. When the knowledge of the existence of the complete set of the sūtra works in the Āpastamba and other *śāraṅg*s of the Yajurveda in southern India permeated to northern and central India, the leaders of the *śāraṅg*s cast about for works that would complete the works of their *śāraṅg*s and bring

them in a line with those of Āpastamba and others. Therefore the various *caranās* seized upon several dharmasūtras and adopted them in their schools for study. This must have occurred at a comparatively early date. For Kumārila, as we saw above, enlightens us as to what dharmasūtras were specially studied in which Vedic schools. The fact that, though Gautama and Vasiṣṭha are said to have been specially studied by the students of the Sāmaveda and the Ṛgveda respectively, there is hardly anything in these dharmasūtras that specially connects them with the two Vedas affords some corroboration of the above hypothesis. This assimilation of independent dharmasūtras into individual *sūtracarāṇas* probably took place before or in the first centuries of the Christian era. Śābara (on Jaimini I. 3.4) seems to make fun of the dharmasūtras when he says that the direction to observe *brahmacarya* for forty-eight years was a device of those who wanted to hide their impotence (Gautama 2. 52, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 11-12, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 1. speak of *brahmacarya* for 48 years). This shows that these dharmasūtras could not have been regarded as very authoritative by all early writers. Jaimini I. 3. 11 (according to Śābara) denies the independent authority of Kalpasūtras. It appears that the Mānava school, which according to the *caranavyūha* was a subdivision of the Maitrāyaṇīya, dwindled in numbers very early. Kumārila, who was a most learned and profound student of the various branches of Sanskrit literature, nowhere mentioned the Mānavadharmasūtra as studied by followers of the Black Yajurveda, though he mentions Baudhāyana and Āpastamba as studied by them. He places the Manusmṛti even higher than the Gautamadharmasūtra and betrays no knowledge of the existence of the Mānavadharmasūtra. Viśvarūpa who is generally identified with Sureśvara, the pupil of Śaṅkara, remarks that the Mānavacarāṇa is not existent (or found).<sup>150</sup>

The foregoing discussion will, it is hoped, induce every impartial critic to endorse the conclusion that on the materials so far available the theory that the Mānavadharmasūtra once existed and that the extant Manusmṛti is a recast of that sūtra must be held not proved.

#### 14. The Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya

This epoch-making work was first published by Dr. Shamasastri in 1909 in the Mysore Sanskrit Series and was also translated by him. Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri of Trivandrum has published the work

150 'न च मानवादिचरणोपलब्धिरस्ति' p. 18 of विश्वरूप's comment on आचार section.

with his own commentary called *Śrīmūla*. Dr. Jolly and Dr. Schmidt edited the text with a valuable introduction and the commentary, called *Nayacandrikā*, of Mādhavayajvan on portions of the text in the Punjab Sanskrit series at Lahore. In this work the edition of 1919 by Dr. Shamasastri has been used. This work has given rise to frequent and furious controversies about its authorship, its authenticity and its age and it cannot be said that we have heard the last of this din of controversy. Moreover this work has inspired besides numerous articles in journals several monographs, some of which have somewhat high sounding titles, such as Narendranath Law's 'Studies in Ancient Indian Polity,' Dr. P. Banerji's 'Public Administration in Ancient India,' Ghosal's 'History of Hindu Political Theories,' Majumdar's 'Corporate Life in Ancient India,' Benoy Kumar Sarkar's 'Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus,' Jayasval's 'Hindu Polity,' Prof. S. V. Visvanathan's 'International Law in Ancient India (1925)'. It is not possible to discuss at great length all the problems about Kautilya here. Only a brief statement can be attempted. For fuller study reference may be made to the following works and papers :—Hillebrandt's 'über das Kauṭilyasastra und Verwandtes' (Breslau 1908), Z D M G vol. 67, pp. 49-96 (Dr. Jolly), Z D M G vol. 68, pp. 345-359 and vol. 69, p. 369 ff; J R A S 1916, pp. 130-137 (Prof. Keith), I. A. for 1918, pp. 157-161 and pp. 187-195 (Dr. Jacobi translated by Dr. Sukthankar), Dr. Kalidas Nag's 'Les Théories Diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne et l'Arthaśāstra' (Paris 1923) and its translation in 'Journal of Indian History' vol. V, Dr. Otto Stein's 'Megasthenes und Kauṭilya' (Vienna 1922), K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar's lectures on Ancient Indian Polity (Madras 1916), Dr. Winternitz in Calcutta Review 1924 and in his history of Indian Literature (vol. III, pp. 509-524), I. A. for 1924, pp. 128-136 and 141-146 (Dr. Jacobi translated by Prof. Utgikar); Dr. Johann J. Meyer's 'Das altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben des Arthaśāstra des Kauṭilya' (Leipzig, 1925) and Prof. N. C. Bandopadhyaya's exposition of the social ideal and political theory of Kautilya. The Indian Antiquary for 1925 (pp. 175 and 201) gives an exhaustive bibliography on the date of Kautilya.

The Kautilya is the oldest extant work on Arthaśāstra. Though Arthaśāstra and Dharmasāstra are often contradistinguished on account of the difference of the two śāstras in ideals and in the

methods adopted to reach them, Arthasāstra is really a branch of Dharmaśāstra as the former deals with the responsibilities of kings for whom rules are laid down in many treatises on *dharma*.<sup>151</sup> For this reason and the further reason that the Kauṭilya contains two sections (called dharmasthīya and kanyakāśodhana) on the administration of justice, the Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya deserves careful consideration in this work. According to the Caranavyūha of Śaunaka, Arthasāstra is an Upaveda of Atharvaveda. The purpose of this Śāstra as stated in the Kauṭilya itself is 'to prescribe means for securing and preserving (power over) the earth'.<sup>152</sup> Yājñavalkya distinctly states (II. 21) that in case of conflict between Dharmaśāstra and Arthasāstra, the rule is that the former prevails.<sup>153</sup> Nārada also (I. 39) says the same thing.<sup>154</sup> From comparatively ancient times Cāṇakya *alias* Kauṭilya or Viṣṇugupta has been credited with the composition of a work on Arthasāstra. The Kāmandakīyanīṭisāra<sup>155</sup> pays a glowing tribute of praise to Viṣṇugupta, who, singlehanded, brought about the downfall of Nanda, bestowed the earth on Candragupta and distilled from the ocean of Arthasāstra the quintessence, his work on politics. Kāmandaka further tells us that he looked upon Viṣṇugupta as his *guru*.<sup>156</sup> The Tantrākhyāyikā (H. O. S. vol. 14) which is certainly not later than 300 A. D. pays homage to Cāṇakya the Great as one of the authors of treatises on Politics.<sup>157</sup> Daṇḍin in his Daśakumāracarita

151 'धर्मशास्त्रान्तर्गतमेव राजनीतिलक्षणमर्थशास्त्रमिदं विवक्षितम्' मित्वा. on Yāj. II. 21.

152 तस्याः पृथिव्या लाभपालनोपायः शास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रमिति । कौ. 15. 1. So also the very first sentence is 'पृथिव्या लाभे पालने च यावन्त्यर्थशास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्यैः प्रस्थापितानि प्रायश्चित्तानि संहृत्येकमिदमर्थशास्त्रं कृतम् ।'

153 अर्थशास्त्रात् बलवद्व्यमर्थशास्त्रमिति स्थितिः ।

154 यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्व्यमर्थशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः । अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्तमं धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ॥

155 दस्याभिचारवज्जेन वज्जवलनतेजसः । पपात मूलतः श्रीमान् सुपर्वा नन्दपर्वतः ॥ एकाकी मन्त्रशक्त्या यः शक्त्या शक्तिधरोपमः । आनन्दार नृचन्द्राय चन्द्रगुप्ताय मेदिनीम् ॥ नीतिशास्त्रामृतं धीमानर्थशास्त्रमहोदधेः । समुद्भूते नमस्तमे विष्णुगुप्ताय वेपसे ॥ काम. I. 4-6.

156 'विद्याभ्यस्तस्व एतेन इति नो गुरुदर्शनम् ।' काम. II. 6; 'यतस्व एव विद्या इति कौटिल्यः' कौटिल्य I. 2.

157 मनवे वाचस्पतये शुक्राय पराशराय ससुताय । चाणक्याय च महते नमोस्तु नृपशास्त्रकर्तृभ्यः ॥ verse 2.

(section VIII, p. 131, 2nd edition B. S. Series) says that the teacher Viṣṇugupta compressed Daṇḍanīti for the sake of the Maurya king into six thousand ślokaś and quotes passages from Cāṇakya.<sup>158</sup> Bāṇa associates the work of Kauṭilya with harsh and cruel expedients.<sup>159</sup> The Pañcatantra identifies Cāṇakya and Viṣṇugupta and speaks of Cāṇakya as the author of Arthaśāstra (vide part I. p. 2 ed. by Kielhorn part II. p. 65 and part III. 50 ed. by Bühler). Kauṭilya figures very largely in the Purāṇas (vide Pargiter's 'dynasties of the Kali age' pp. 69-70 and Viṣṇupurāṇa 4. 24. 26-28). He has a prominent place in the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇaḍhya, as appears from the works of Kṣemendra and Somadeva. The Mṛcchakaṭika (I. 39 B. S. series) refers to Cāṇakya. The Mudrārākṣasa identified Cāṇakya and Kauṭilya and suggests the derivation of the latter name from 'Kuṭila' (crooked).<sup>160</sup> Some of the above items of information are supported by the personal references contained in the Arthaśāstra itself. At the end of the first chapter of the first *adhyāya*, Kauṭilya is said to be the author of the Śāstra and at the end of the 10th chapter of the second *adhyāya* Kauṭilya is said to have laid down the rules for royal edicts for the sake of the king.<sup>161</sup> The last verse<sup>162</sup> tells us that he who impatiently wrested the earth from the Nanda king composed the work and after the colophon a verse tell us that seeing the differing interpretations of bhāṣyakaras on the Arthaśāstra, Viṣṇugupta himself composed the sūtra and the bhāṣya.

The first question that arises for consideration is the authenticity of the work, that is, the question whether it can be the work of the

158 'इयमिदानीमाचार्यविष्णुगुप्तेन मौर्याधेयं षड्विंशतिः श्लोकसङ्ख्येः संक्षिप्ता ।' दशकुमारः VIII; सन्ध्यादौ चणक्यः 'चित्तज्ञानानुवर्तिनोऽनर्था अपि शिवाः स्युः । दक्षिणा अपि तद्वाच-  
बद्धिरुता द्वेष्ट्या भवेयुः' दशकुमार VIII. Compare कौटिलीय V. 4 verses at the end.

159 'येषामतिनृशंसप्रयोपदेशनिर्वृणो कौटिल्यशास्त्रं प्रमाणम् ।' कादम्बरी p. 109 (Peterson).

160 कौटिल्यः कुटिलमतिः स एष येन क्रोधात् प्रसभमदहि नन्दवंशः । मुद्राराक्षस I.

161 सुसूत्रद्वयविशेषं तत्प्रार्थयदन्विषितम् । कौटिल्येन कृतं शास्त्रं विमुक्तमन्धविस्तरम् ॥  
कौटिलीय I. 1: सर्वशास्त्राण्यनुक्रम्य प्रयोगमुपलभ्य च । कौटिल्येन नरेन्द्रार्थे शास्त्र-  
नस्य विधिः कृतः ॥ कौटिलीय II. 10.

162 येन शास्त्रं च शास्त्रं च नन्दराजगता च भूः । अमर्षेणादृतान्याशु तेन शास्त्रमिदं कृतम् ॥  
दृष्ट्वा विपतिपत्तिं बहुधा शास्त्रेषु भाव्यकाराणाम् । स्वयमेव विष्णुगुप्तश्चाकार सूर्यं च  
भाष्यं च ॥

famous minister of Candragupta Maurya, who was a contemporary of Alexander, and who must therefore have flourished about 320 B.C. This question very largely depends upon the age of the work. But other considerations, more or less of a subjective character and depending upon the absence of certain things from the Kautilya, must be dealt with first. Jolly, Keith and Winternitz hold that the extant Kautilya is not the work of the Maurya minister. One argument, viz. that a person like Cāṇakya who had to build a vast empire such as that of Candragupta and who was bent down with the cares of the empire could not have found time to write such a work, may be brushed aside as entirely futile, being a purely subjective argument. Some persons may say that he could have found time, just as Sāyaṇa and Mādhava could find in later days, to write such a work in the midst of all cares, while others may deny the possibility of such a thing. Similarly most of the arguments from the silence of the Kautilya are also quite unconvincing and lead to no certain and universally acceptable conclusion. The non-mention of Pataliputra or of the empire of Candragupta is of very little use in deciding the question of the authenticity of the work. The argument of Stein and Winternitz that in Megasthenes' account of India no great person named Cāṇakya or Kautilya appears and that the former's account of the condition of India does not tally with that presented by the Kautilya is of very little weight. We have no means for finding out what proficiency Megasthenes had acquired in the languages of India so as to be able to hold conversation with all sorts and conditions of men. Besides it is well known that Megasthenes' writings have been handed down in a fragmentary state and that he often spins his own yarns. Megasthenes declares the Indians to be unacquainted with writing. But no Western scholar would now subscribe to the view that writing was unknown in India about 320 B. C. Dr. Jolly himself has to remark that the idealising tendency in Megasthenes greatly impairs the trustworthiness of his statements (p. 40, Introduction to Kautilya). This question of the authenticity of the work is bound up with the question whether it can be the work of an individual author or whether it is the product of a school. Hillebrandt vehemently argues that it is the product of a school and Jacobi as vehemently repudiates that hypothesis. The great stumbling block according to many scholars in the way of regarding Kautilya as the author of the work is the fact that the views of Kautilya are cited by name about 80 times in the work

**B: B: 12:**



itself almost always in opposition to the views of other teachers. But there is nothing specially to be wondered at in this. In order to avoid looking too egotistic, ancient authors generally put their own views in the third person as said by early writers like Medhātithi and Viśvarūpa.<sup>163</sup> It has to be admitted that the first person singular also is used by ancient writers, though rarely.<sup>164</sup> Jacobi (I. A. for 1918 p. 188) and Keith are both wrong in thinking that the view of Kauṭilya is criticized by Bhāradvāja in V. 6. Kauṭilya states his position first and then mentions the view of his predecessor.<sup>165</sup> Dr. Jolly (Intro. to Kauṭilya p. 44) is wrong in his explanation of Apadeśa (in XV. 1.<sup>166</sup>). That word is applied to passages which mean 'this or that author says this or that' and the Kauṭilya cites from his own work a case of the statement of various views on a certain point. These words do not at all indicate that according to the Arthasāstra Kauṭilya was a stranger. Keith thinks (J. R. A. S. 1916 p. 135) that as Kauṭilya is derived from Kuṭila, an author will not cite his own views under such an epithet. It is not unlikely that Cāṇakya acquired the epithet Kauṭilya on account of his methods in dealing with the Nandas and that as he did so from no purely selfish motives but for ridding the country of such tyrants as the Nandas are represented to have been, he might have come to relish the name given to him by the people. It has to be noted in this connection that many of the writers quoted in the Kauṭilya bear nicknames (such as Piśuna, Vātavyādhi, Kauṇapadanta). This leads to the question as to whether the name is Kauṭilya or Kauṭalya. Hillebrandt seems to imply that all mss. employ the first form, while Pandit T. Ganapatiśāstri says his mss. support the latter form though in the first few pages he prints Kauṭilya. Mss. of the Kādambari, the Pañcatantra and other works support the form Kauṭilya and the Mudrārākṣasa does the same by pointedly hinting at the etymology.

163 'प्रायेण ग्रन्थकाराः स्वमतं परापदेशेन कथने' मेघानिधि, on याज्ञ. I. 2 विवरण says 'किं नु भगवतेव परोक्षीकृत्यात्मा निर्दिश्यते स्वपक्षेनानिवेधान्'.

164 वास्क says 'तन्मप्येके समामनन्ति ... तत्समामने' निरुक्त VII. 13; vide याज्ञ. I. 56. (न तन्मम मतं यस्मात् &c.) and II. 133.

165 एवमेकेष्वर्थममात्यः कारयेदिति कीदृत्त्यः। नैवमिति भारद्वाजः।

166 स्वमसावाहस्यपदेशः। 'मन्त्रिपरिषद् द्वादशामात्यान् कुर्वन्ति' मानवाः षोडशेति बार्हस्पत्याः विंशतिमित्योदानताः, यथासामर्थ्यमिति कीदृत्त्यः 'इति.



A com. on the Kāmandakīyanīṣāra styles the Kauṭīlyas as Kuṭāla-bhāṣya and Kuṭāla is said to be a gotra. The form Kauṭālyas is said to occur in an inscription at Ganesar in Dholka dated Vikrama Samvat 1291 ( i. e. 1234-35 A. D. ). Vide Indian Historical Quarterly vol. I. p. 786. It is very difficult to decide between the rival claims of the two forms, but it appears that the form of the name, Kauṭālyas, is due to a later attempt to solve the difficulty of an author parading his views as those of a man nicknamed "crooked". Whether Kuṭāla or Kauṭālyas was known as a gotra ṛṣi in ancient times is extremely doubtful. Neither the Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra ( Uttarasaṁhita, 6th chap., 10th Kaṇḍikā ) nor the Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra ( 24. 5-10 ) mentions Kuṭāla among the several gotra groups. In later works on gotras, we find the name in several forms. In the Pravaradarpaṇa of Kamalākara Kauṭali is said to be one of the Jāmadagnya-Vatsa group of the Bhṛguṣ ( p. 156, edited by P. Chentsalrao, Mysore ) and Kauṭīlyas is assigned to the Yaska group of the Bhṛguṣ ( p. 158 ). The Pravaramaṇjari enumerates the Kauṭīlyas ( p. 32, of the edition by P. Chentsalrao, Mysore ) among the Yaska group of the Bhṛguṣ, also among the Śaradvanta group of the Gautamias, a branch of the Āngirāsas, ( p. 161 ) and Kauṭili as one of the Bhṛguṣ ( p. 42 ). We have to remember that so early a writer as Kāmandaka ( who was well known to Bhavabhūti and Vāmana's Kāvya-lankarasaṁgraha ) who is assigned to the third century A. D., and the Tantrākhyāyikā distinctly assign a work on politics to the minister of Candragupta. No weighty arguments have been advanced so far why this tradition vouched for so early should be disregarded. Keith finds it impossible that in the words 'six thousand ślokas' used by Daṇḍin the word śloka could mean a unit ( in prose ) of 32 letters. But Daṇḍin is evidently repeating the words that occur in the Arthaśāstra itself at the end of the first chapter.<sup>147</sup>

Before proceeding to discuss the age of the Kauṭīliya, it is advisable to say a few words on the form, style and contents of the work. The work is divided into 15 *adhikaraṇas*, 150 chapters, 180 topics and contains 6000 ślokas ( i. e. units of 32 letters ). The work is in prose interspersed with a few verses. Each chapter has

167 शास्त्रसमुद्देशः पञ्चदशाधिकरणानि सपञ्चाशदध्यायवशतः सार्धानिपकरणानां षट्श्लोक-  
सङ्ख्यानीति । These words of the Kaṭṭhiya must mean 6000 units of 32  
letters and nothing else.

at the end at least one verse and sometimes more. A few verses occur also in the midst of some chapters as in I. 8, I. 15, II. 10, II. 24, V. 6, VII. 5, VII. 6, VII. 9, VII. 13, X. 3, XIII. 4. There are about 340 verses excluding *mantras*. Almost all these verses are in the Anuṣṭubh metre, only eight verses being in the classical Indravajrā or Upajāti metres (in II. 9, II. 10 and X. 3). In our utter ignorance about the literature on Arthaśāstra prior to Kauṭilya it is impossible to say how many of these verses are borrowed and how many are of his own composition. There can be no doubt that some of these verses were composed by him (e. g. the two verses in I. 10, where the views of Ācāryas are given, and the words 'etat Kauṭilya-darśanam' occur). It appears that some verses are clearly quotations. For example, the verse 'nāsyā guhyam' at the end of I. 15, and the verse 'sāhivsareṇa patati' at the end of IV. 7 are Manu 7. 105 and 2. 180 respectively. The last occurs in Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 62 and also in Vas. I. 22. The two verses in the Upajāti metre in X. 3 'yān yajñasaṅghaiḥ' and 'navam śarāvam' occur respectively in the Parāśaradharmaśāstra (chap. III. p. 12 of Jivānanda, part II) and in the Pratijñā (IV. 3<sup>168</sup>). It is noteworthy that they are introduced with the words 'apiha ślaṅkau bhavataḥ' and follow a quotation from or summary of a Vedic passage. Twelve verses in VII. 9 are introduced with the words 'tatraitad bhavati' and may be quotations. A few of the verses bear a close resemblance to verses of other works; e. g. the verse 'prṣṭaḥ priyahitam brūyāt' (in V. 4) which is very similar to Manu. 4. 138. In some cases he connects verses with his own words, e. g. the words 'kurvataśca' with 'nāsyā guhyam' (at the end of I. 15) and the last verse of II. 25. The style of the Kauṭilya is simple and direct. It is not concise like that of the Vedānta or Vyākaraṇa sūtras. It resembles the dharmasūtras of Gautama, Hārīta and Śaṅkha-Likhita, but is not as archaic as that of Āpastamba. According to the commentaries the several headings of the prakaraṇas are sūtras and the contents of them the bhāṣya (vide Nayacandrikā pp. 137, 143-44 &c., edited by Dr. Jolly). It abounds in numerous technical and rare terms. It is generally in

168 The manner in which the शब्दसेवक brings in this verse does not show that it is the author's own. The verse is preceded by the words शुभम्बु भवन्तः and is probably put in as a weighty utterance from some ancient source.

accordance with Pāṇini's grammar, though such un-Pāṇinean words as 'pāpiṣṭhatama' (in VII. 11) rarely occur. It employs the word 'avyaya' in the masculine (II. 10), while Pāṇini (I. 1. 37) employs 'avyayam'.

The whole work on account of its careful arrangement of topics and unity of design impresses one as the product of a single brilliant mind. The Kautiliya sheds such valuable light on the social, economic, political and religious life of ancient India and contains information on so many topics that it is not possible to convey any idea of its contents in a brief summary. The subjects of the fifteen *adhyāyāḥ* are :— I. the discipline of the king, sciences to be learnt by him, the place of *Ānvikṣiki* and politics, qualifications of ministers and purohita and their temptations, the institution of spies, council meetings, ambassadors, protection of princes, duties towards harem, king's personal safety ; II. about superintendents of various state departments, founding villages, pastures and forests, forts, duties of the chamberlain (*sannidhātā*), the commissioner for revenues from forts, country, mines, forests, roads &c. ; accountant-general's office ; embezzlement of public funds ; royal edicts ; examination of precious stones for the treasury and mines ; superintendent of gold ( i. e. of coins issued from the mints ) ; superintendent of store-house ( of agricultural produce &c. ), of commerce, of forests, of arms, of weights and measures, of tolls, of weaving, of liquor houses, of slaughter houses, of prostitutes, of shipping, of cows and horses, of the capital and cities ; III. Administration of justice, rules of procedure, forms of marriage, duties of married couples, *stridhana*, twelve kinds of sons ; other titles of law ; IV. removal of thorns, protection of artisans, merchants, remedies against national calamities such as fires, floods, pestilence, famines, demons, tigers, snakes, etc ; suppression of those who live by foul means ; detection of juvenile crime ; arrest of criminals on suspicion, accidental or violent deaths, torture to extort confessions ; protection of all kinds of state departments ; fines in lieu of cutting off of limbs, sentence of death with or without torture ; intercourse with maidens ; punishment of fine for various wrongs ; V. conduct of courtiers, award of punishment for treason, replenishing of treasury in case of emergency ; salaries of state servants, qualifications of courtiers, consolidation of royal power ; VI. constitution of the *maṇḍala*, seven elements of sovereignty, qualities of king, peace and arduous work

as the source of prosperity ; sixfold royal policy ; threefold *lakṣi* ; VII. circle of states is the field for the employment of the six lines of policy ; the six *gūṇas* (sardhi, war, neutrality, marching, taking shelter and dvaidhibhava) ; causes leading to the dwindling and disloyalty of armies ; combination of states ; sardhi for the acquisition of a friend, gold or land ; an enemy in the rear ; recouping of lost strength ; a neutral king and a circle of states ; VIII. about *vyasanas* (vices and misfortunes) of the several elements of sovereignty ; troubles of the king and the kingdom ; troubles of men and of the army ; IX. work of an invader, proper time for invasion, recruitment of the army, accoutrements, internal and external trouble, disaffection ; traitors, enemies and their allies ; X. about war ; encamping the army, march of the army, battle-fields, work of infantry, cavalry, elephants &c. ; array of troops for battle in various formations ; XI. concerning corporations and guilds ; XII. concerning a powerful enemy ; sending an envoy ; intrigues, spies with weapons, fire and poison and destruction of stores and granaries ; capture of the enemy by stratagems ; final victory ; XIII. capture of forts ; sowing dissensions ; enticing of king by stratagem ; spies in a siege ; restoring peace in a conquered country ; XIV. secret means, stratagems for killing an enemy, producing illusive appearances ; medicines and incantations ; XV. division of this work into sections and their illustrations.

It would be interesting to say a few words separately on the chapter about judicial administration. Dr. Jolly has collected together the passages of the Kautiliya on judicial administration that bear a very close resemblance to the several works on ancient Indian Law (vide Z. D. M. G. vol. 67, pp. 51-90). It will be seen therefrom that there is the greatest correspondence between the Kautiliya and Yājñavalkya. It is no doubt true that many passages from Manu and Nārada agree closely with those of the Kautiliya but not to the same extent as those of Yājñavalkya. A few striking examples are quoted below.<sup>169</sup> The question then arises whether there is

169 (a) अभियुक्तो न प्रायमिषुञ्जीग अन्वत्र कलहसाहसार्धसमवायेभ्यः । न चाभियुक्तेऽभियोगोऽस्ति । कौ. III. 1: अभियोगमनिह्नार्य नेनं प्रत्यभियोजयेत् । कुर्यात्प्रायमिषोगं च कलहे साहसे च ॥ याज्ञ. II. 9-10; (b) प्रतिरोधकस्याधितुर्भिस्समयवतीकारे धर्मकार्ये च पत्युः । कौ. III. 2: दुर्भिक्षे धर्मकार्ये च व्याधौ संप्रतिरोधके । गृहीतं क्षीयनं भर्ता न क्षिये दातुमर्हति ॥ याज्ञ. II. 147; (c) सोदर्याणामनेकापितृकाणां पितृतो दासविभागः । कौ. III. 3: अनेकापितृकाणां तु पितृतो भागकल्पना । याज्ञ. II. 150;

borrowing and if so who the borrower is. The agreement in phraseology is so close that it must be regarded as a case of borrowing and in my opinion it is the Yājñavalkyasmṛiti that borrows. The reasons are many. Yājñavalkya represents on numerous points of law a very great advance upon the doctrines of Kautilya. Kautilya does not contain distinct directions upon the four stages of a law suit (plaint, reply, proof and judgment) nor upon the threefold aspects of proof (documents, witnesses, prescription). Yājñavalkya goes into all these matters. The Kautiliya does not recognise the widow or mother as heir to a sonless man; Yājñavalkya does so. Kautilya does not mention the *bandhus* as heirs; he hardly says anything about re-union.<sup>170</sup> The Kautiliya divides the stridhana of a woman dying during her husband's lifetime among her sons and daughters, while Yaj. prefers the daughters to the sons.<sup>171</sup> It is not necessary to multiply examples. It goes without saying that Yājñavalkya represents a far too advanced stage of juristic principles than the Kautiliya and so must be later than the latter by several centuries. The Kautiliya agrees very closely with Manu also, but considerations of space prevent me from going into the points of agreement. There are however numerous fundamental points on which Manu and the Kautiliya disagree.

Kautilya allows *niyoga* even in the case of Brāhmanas (last verse of III. 6 and at the end of I. 17 about kings). Manu first speaks of *Niyoga* and then condemns it (vide 9. 57-63 and 9. 64-68). As Brhaspati refers to this fact in Manu's work,<sup>172</sup> it appears that the

(d) नष्टपट्टनमासाद्य स्वामी धर्मस्थेन ग्राहयेत् । देशकालानिपत्तो वा स्वयं गृहीत्वा गृह्येत् ।  
को. III. 16; नष्टपट्टनमासाद्य इतरं ग्राहयेन्नरम् । देशकालानिपत्तो च गृहीत्वा स्वय-  
मर्पयेत् ॥ याज्ञ. II. 169; (\*) वानप्रस्थयतिष्ठत्सु चारिणामाचार्यशिष्यधर्मभ्रातृसमल-  
तीर्थ्या रिकथभाजः । को. III. 16; वानप्रस्थयतिष्ठत्सु चारिणां रिकथभाजिनः ।  
क्रमेणाचार्यसचिद्विषयधर्मभाविकतीर्थिनः ॥ याज्ञ. II. 137.

170 But see 'अपितृद्वया विभक्तपितृद्वयेः सह जीवन्तः पुनर्विभजेतुः' को. III. 5.  
This contains a reference to reunion.

171 जीवन्ति भर्तारं मृतायाः पुत्रा दुहितरन्व स्त्रीधनं विभजेतुः । अनुवाया दुहितरः । तदभावे  
भर्ता । को. III. 2; अयजःस्त्रीधनं भर्तुर्वासादिषु चतुर्थ्यपि । दुहितृणां मृतना  
चेन्मह्येषु पितृगामि तन् ॥ याज्ञ. II. 145.

172 Yājñavalkya's word are 'उक्तो नियोगो मनुना निषिद्धः स्वयमेव तु', vide कुल्लू on  
मनु 9. 68 for the whole quotation.

passages condemning *niyoga* were put in probably earlier than the first centuries of the Christian era. Though Kauṭilya speaks of almost the same 18 titles as those in Manu (8. 4-7) almost under the same names, there is a slight difference. Manu has no such title as *Prakṛyaka*. Kauṭilya speaks of *upanidhi* and extends the same rules to *Nikṣepa*, while Manu speaks of the title as *Nikṣepa*. The ancient dharma-sūtras do not give the technical names of the eighteen titles of law, though some of them do occur therein. *Vāk-pāruṣya* and *daṇḍapāruṣya* occur in G. Dh. S. (12. 1) and Vas. (17. 61). Baud. seems to have known the term 'Strisaṅgrahaṇa' (Dh. S. II. 2. 54). *Steya* occurs in all. Gautama speaks of *nidhi* (Dh. S. 12. 39). Manu positively says (9. 155) that the son of any member of the first three *varṇas* from a Śūdra woman does not inherit his father's wealth (though the preceding verses 151-154 seem to lay down different rules), while Kauṭilya allows such a son a share when there are sons born to a Brāhmaṇa from wives of higher castes or one third when he has no other sons (III. 6). Manu expressly mentions the mother and paternal grandmother as heirs (9. 217), while Kauṭilya appears to ignore them. Manu prohibits the remarriage of widows (V. 161-165), while Kauṭilya allows not only widows to remarry, but also wives whose husbands have not been heard of for a year or more according to circumstances (III. 4). Kauṭilya allows a wife to desert her husband, if the latter is of a bad character, has become a traitor to the king, endangers her life or has become an outcaste or impotent<sup>173</sup> (last verse of III. 2). Kauṭilya further seems to have allowed divorce which is unknown to any other known lawgiver, but he bases it only on the ground of mutual hatred and says that a marriage in the approved forms cannot be dissolved<sup>174</sup> (III. 3). Manu is very harsh upon gamblers and asks the king to suppress gambling and banish gamblers (9. 221-224), while Kauṭilya only brings gambling under the control of the king for the purpose of detecting thieves &c. (III. 20). Manu first allows a Brāhmaṇa to marry even a Śūdra woman and then condemns such a thing (III. 13-19), while Kauṭilya does not condemn such unions. These divergences and others lead us to conclude

173 नीचत्वं परदेशं वा ग्रसिधतो राजकिल्बिषी । पाणानिहन्ता पतितस्त्वय्यः क्लीबोपि वा पतिः ॥ को०.

174 अमोक्ष्वा भर्तुरकामस्य द्विषती भार्या । भार्यावाभ्य भर्ता । परस्परं द्वेषाम्मोक्षः । अमोक्षो धर्मविवाहनामिति । को०.



that the Kautilya is much older than the extant Manusmṛti, which is in many matters carried away by puritanic zeal, while its older portion is more in harmony with the spirit of the Kautilya. Therefore the Kautilya is long anterior to the time when the extant Manusmṛti took its present form. The Kautilya refers to the opinion of the Mānavas in five places. Two of the views ascribed to the Mānavas by Kautilya are the same as those which Kāmandaka (II. 3 and XI. 67) ascribes to Manu. According to the Mānavas, the *vidyās* to be studied by a prince were three, viz. *trayī*, *vārtā* and *daṇḍanīti*, what is called *ānvīkṣikī* being but a branch of *trayī*; and the council of ministers was to consist of twelve. The Manusmṛti (7. 43) appears to regard the *vidyās* as four and lays down (7. 54) that the Council should consist of seven or eight *śacīvas*. Bühler and others on account of this difference in the views of the Mānavas and the Manusmṛti thought that Kautilya was referring to the Mānavadharmasūtra. In my humble opinion the evidence for the existence of a Mānavadharmasūtra is practically nil, as detailed above in section 13. From the references to Svayambhūya Manu and Prācetasas Manu contained in the Mahābhārata, particularly in the Śānti and Anuśāsana *parvas* it appears that there were two works in verse on *dharma* and politics attributed to these two or there was one work containing both. These works were subsequently recast as the Manusmṛti. It is therefore that some difference is noticed between the views ascribed to the Mānavas and the extant Manusmṛti. Besides there is no real conflict in the matter of *vidyās*. The Manusmṛti does not positively say that the *vidyās* are four and not three; it simply says from whom *trayī* and the other three are to be learnt. The Manusmṛti (in 7. 60) allows more ministers than seven or eight. It is possible that in recasting several changes were made. The third opinion of the Mānavas quoted by Kautilya is about the fine to be imposed upon officers of the state occasioning loss of revenue (II. 7). The other two views of the Mānavas quoted are concerned with the fine to be imposed on false witnesses and for forcible seizure of jewels<sup>175</sup> &c. It must be admitted that in the extant Manusmṛti there is nothing exactly corresponding with these views. But from this fact no one conclusion alone can be drawn. There may be a mistake in quoting, or there may be inter-

<sup>175</sup> कूटसाक्षिणो यमर्थमभूतं वा नाशयेयुस्तद्दशगुणं दण्डं दयुरिति मानवाः । को. III. 11 ;

‘रत्नसारकल्पाकुप्यानां साक्षे मुख्यसमो दण्ड इति मानवाः । को. III. 17.



polations, it may be that some of the verses in the original Manusmṛti have dropped out or that Kauṭilya is quoting not the Manusmṛti itself, but the views of works based on or explanatory of Manu. It is noteworthy that Bṛhaspati<sup>176</sup> contains a verse very similar to the views on sāhasa attributed to the Mānavas. We shall see below that Bṛhaspati's work was more or less a supplement of Manu. The only authors or schools, besides the Mānavas, cited by name in the dharmasūthiya section are the Bārhaspatyas and the Auśanasas. It is remarkable that the well-known and ancient Dharmasūtrakāras like Gautama, Apastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha, Hārta are nowhere quoted by name. It is noteworthy that in the dharmasūthiya section Kauṭilya several times quotes the views of ācāryas and of some others under the word "āpate". Some of these views correspond closely with the discussions in the ancient dharmasūtras. One of these is the question as to whom the child belongs, to the begetter or to him on whose wife it is begotten. Kauṭilya first quotes the view of the ācāryas that it belongs to the husband of the mother of the child, then says that some hold that it belongs to the begetter, while Kauṭilya holds that it belongs to both.<sup>177</sup> It is to be noted here that both Baud. and Āp. say that according to the Brāhmaṇas the sons belong to the begetter, while Vasiṣṭha says there is a dispute on the point, both views being supported by ancient authorities. Gautama speaks of both views and at last (18. 13 "dvayorvā") seems to come to the same conclusion as Kauṭilya. It is not unlikely that Kauṭilya has in mind this discussion in the Dharmasūtras and also in Manu (9. 48-54 where the view is that the child belongs to the husband of the woman). Some of the other views attributed to ācāryas are that a woman could visit the houses of her husband's relations, of prosperous men, of village headmen, of female ascetics &c. (III. 4); that very poor men could divide even waterpots at a partition (III. 5); that the master who did not employ a servant ready to work according to agreement had to

176 स्त्रीपुंगवेहिरत्नानि देवविमर्शनं तथा । यौवेधं चोत्तमं द्रव्यमेवा मूल्यसमो दमः । बृहस्पति  
quoted in व्यवहारमयूख on साहस.

177 परपरिग्रहे धीजमुत्पृष्टं ह्येप्रिज इत्याचार्याः । माता भक्ता यस्य रेतस्तस्यापत्यमित्यपरे ।  
विद्यमानमुभवमिति कौटिल्यः । कौ. III. 7. Compare गौ. ध. सू. 18. 9-13, कौ.  
ध. सू. II. 2. 34-36; आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 5-8 (where the the same  
three verses as in Baud. occur); वसिष्ठ 17. 6-9.

pay the wages agreed upon as if the work had been finished (compare *Viṣṇu* V. 157); he who forcibly confined a man or woman or who by force released another from imprisonment was to be fined between 500 and 1000 (III. 17); that disputes of a remote date shall not be complained of and that he who is the first to complain wins, since one runs (to court) as one cannot bear the pain (III. 19); that in a complaint by one gambler against another, the successful party has to pay the fine called *pūrvasāhasa* and the defeated party the fine called *madhyasāhasa* (III. 20).

The foregoing discussion about the *dharmasthīya* section shows that in the sphere of the administration of justice, Kautilya is far in advance of the *dharmasūtras* of Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana and so is much later than these (though in certain matters such as the rights of women to succeed to males he closely agrees with Gautama and Āpastamba), while he is earlier than the extant *Manusmṛti* (though not earlier than the oldest kernel of the *Manusmṛti*) and very much earlier than Yājñavalkya.

The question of the date of the Kautilya can be settled only approximately and for that we have to rely only on the internal evidence. The external evidence does not carry us far; we can only say that the Kautilya is certainly not later than the 2nd century A. D., since Kāmandaka, the *Tantrākhyayikā*, and Bāṇa, speak of it with admiration. No one claims it to be earlier than 300 B. C. Even Keith who assigns it a late date and cannot place it earlier than 100 B. C. at the most has to admit (J R A S 1916, p. 135) that for a precise date we have no real ground.

The Kautilya quotes five schools by name: *Mānavāh* (five times), *Bārhaspatyāh* (6 times), *Aśvanasāh* (7 times), *Pārāśarāh* (4 times), *Āmbhīyāh* (once) and the following individual authors: *Kātyāyana* (1), *Kiñjalka* (1), *Kauṇapadanta* (4), *Ghoṭakamukha* (1), (*Dirgha*) *Cārāyaṇa* (1), *Parāśara* (2), *Pisuna* (6), *Pisunaputra* (1), *Bāhudantiputra* (1), *Bhāradvāja* (7, once as *Kaṇinka Bhāradvāja*), *Vāṭavyādhi* (5), *Viśālākṣa* (6). He either differs from all these authors or they differ from each other in all the places where they are cited. All the individual authors that are cited only once occur on the same page (except *Bāhudantiputra*). He quotes the views of *ācāryas* over fifty times and in each case differs from them. "Ācāryas" means the ancient authors on the śāstra

collectively. Even the *Nirukta* quotes certain views as those of *acāryas*. Kauṭilya is cited about 80 times. The *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana mentions a *Ghoṣakamukha* and a *Cārāyana*. Whether they are identical with the authors cited by Kauṭilya is extremely doubtful. The *Mahābhārata* mentions among writers on *Dandanīti* the following who occur in the *Kauṭilya* also :—*Brhaspati*, *Manu*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Viśālākṣa*, *Śukra* ( the same as *Uśanas* ) and *Indra* ( probably *Kauṭilya's* *Bāhudantiputra* ), whose abridgment of *Brahmā's* work is called *Bāhudantaka* in the *Śāntiparva* ( chap. 59 ).

According to the *Nayacandrikā*, *Piśuna*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Kaṇvapa-danta* and *Vāṭavyādhi* stand for *Nārada*, *Dronācārya*, *Bhīṣma* and *Uddhava* respectively ( pp. 73, 69, 74, 91 ).

The *Mahābhārata* mentions other writers on politics, viz. *Gaurāśira*, *Kaśyapa*, *Utathya*, *Vāmadeva*, *Vasuhoma*, *Kāmandaka*, ( *Śāntiparva* 123. 11 ) and a few others which are not found in the *Kauṭilya*.

The *Kauṭilya* knows the four *Vedas*, the charms and incantations of the *Atharvan*, the six *śāstras*, includes under *itihāsa*, *Purāṇas*, *Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra* ; it knows the *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga* and *Lokāyata*<sup>178</sup> schools of thought. It mentions *Mauhūrtikas*, *Kārtāntikas* ( astrologers ), *Jupiter* and *Venus*. It refers to *dhātusāstra* ( Metallurgy ). Sanskrit was the official language and in the *Śāsanādhikāra* it mentions such *guṇas* of composition as *mādhurya*, *audārya*, *spāṣṭatva*, which show the beginnings of the *Alaṅkāraśāstra*. There is nothing to wonder at in this. In the second century A. D. we have the inscription of *Rudradāman*, which enumerates the *guṇas* of *kāvya*. The *Kauṭilya* does not mention edicts on stone or copper. It refers to *Vaiśikakalājñāna* ( II. 27 ). The *Kauṭilya* closely agrees with the *Kāmasūtra* in several respects, and the two works contain several identical passages ( such as the list of kings that fell victims to intrigues and about *trivarga* ). Keith argues from this that the *Kauṭilya* and the *Kāmasūtra* are not separated by a long interval and that it is a late work. Dr. Jolly also is of the same opinion ( p. 24 Intro. to *Arthaśāstra* ). If the *Kāmasūtra* held up the *Kauṭilya* as its model, then the two works would certainly look very much alike. There are points of difference

178 लोकायत occurs in the *महर्भाष्य* on *वर्णका ताम्रवे* ( पा. VII. 3. 43 ). Vide Kielhorn vol. III., pp. 325-326.

between the two works, e. g. they differ in their attitude towards flesh-eating and the *Kātyāyana* speaks of planetary influence and *lagna*, while the *Kautiliya* is silent on these points and only condemns in general terms the consulting of stars. We must note here that the *Kautiliya* (IX. 4) speaks of consulting *nakṣatras*, which were known from the earliest Vedic period and some of which were looked upon as auspicious for sacrificial purposes even in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (S. B. E. vol. 44, pp. 1-2) and the *Śrauta* and *Gṛhya sūtras*. The *Kautiliya* follows the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* in the system of a *yuga* of five *samvatsaras*, in prescribing two intercalary months in a *yuga* and in saying that at the end of one *ayana* the variation between the length of the day or the night comes to six *muhūrtas* (vide II. 20). Keith argues that the *ślokas* in the *Kautiliya* are more classical than even those of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and that it contains correct *Triṣṭubh* stanzas which are wanting in the *Bṛhaddevatā* (a work of the 4th century B. C.). But this argument can produce no impression on those scholars who ascribe the *Rāmāyaṇa* to the 3th century B. C. or earlier. Nor is the date of the *Bṛhaddevatā* beyond the pale of discussion. There is no consensus of opinion among scholars as to the exact time when classical *ślokas* and correct *Triṣṭubhs* first came into vogue. It is to be noted that the *Kautiliya* defines *pada* as *varṇasaṅghāta* and not as in *Pāṇini* (sup-tinantaṁ padam).

Among the countries and peoples frequently mentioned by *Kautilya*, several are interesting. He speaks of silks from the land of the *Cīnas*<sup>179</sup> and blankets from *Nepal*. Keith says that the name *Cīna* being derived from the *Tsin* dynasty in China (which began its rule in 247 B. C.) this would show that the *Kautiliya* could not have been composed about 300 B. C. No one however knows how the word *Cīna* was derived and besides as Keith admits the passage may be an interpolation. He speaks of the *Saṅgha* of the *Vṛjṇis* (I. 6) and the *Śrenis* (corporations) of *Kṣatriyas* in the countries of *Kāmbhoja* and *Surāṣṭra* that lived by *vārtā* (agriculture and trade) and by the profession of fighting and the corporations of the *Licchavika*, *Vṛjika*, *Mallaka*, *Madraka*, *Kukura*, and the *Kurupāncālas* that live on the title 'rāja' (XI. 1). Some of these tribes such as the *Licchavis*, *Vṛjis* (Vajjis in Pāli) and *Mallas* are well-known from ancient Buddhist works. What is meant by 'rājasabdopajivinaḥ'

<sup>179</sup> तथा कौशेयं वनिपद्मस्य वनिभूमिना व्याख्यातः । की. II. 11.

is not quite clear. It probably means that the organisation of the Licchavis and others was on democratic lines and that there was very keen competition for the honour of being elected the chief or president of those corporations, the latter being designated 'rāja'.<sup>180</sup> The *Nayacandrikā* explains that they bear the proud designation of 'rāja' but are penniless (and so can be easily employed in military service as mercenaries). We are told that the breed of horses from Kāmbhoja, Sindhu, Āraṭṭa and Vanāyu was the best and that Bahlika, Pāpeya, Sauvira and Taitala breeds were of middle quality. The *Kauṭīliya* speaks of Mleccha tribes and tells us that among them one's own children could be sold or pledged without incurring punishment (III. 13).

There is hardly any distinctive reference to things Buddhist except one passage (III. 20) where a fine of one hundred (*paṇas*) is prescribed for him who invited to dinners in honour of gods or Manes a Buddhist (*Śākya*), an *Ājīvika*, a *sūdra* ascetic.<sup>181</sup> This shows that the work was written at a time when Buddhism was yet not a widespread religion and had not secured an honourable place among the people. The *Ājīvika* was a well-known sect in ancient India, said to have been founded by Makkhali Gosāla (vide V. A. Smith's *Aśoka*, pp. 134, 198 of edition of 1909, I. A. 1912, p. 286, 'Dialogues of Buddha' I, p. 71, n. 1, *Journal of Bihar & Orissa Society*, 1926, pp. 53-62). Aśoka bestowed some caves on them. *Kauṭīliya* says that weights should be made of iron or of stones from Magadha and Mekala (country near the sources of the Narmadā).<sup>182</sup>

It is extremely doubtful whether the *Kauṭīliya* knew the extant text of the *Mahābhārata*. Most of the stories used as illustrations in the *Kauṭīliya* occur in the *Mahābhārata* (e. g. Aila, Duryodhana, Haihaya Arjuna, Vātāpi, Agastya, Ambariṣa, Suyātra i. e. Nala). But in some cases there is slight divergence between the two works, e. g. Janamejaya is said to have perished through having attacked Brāhmaṇas in anger, while the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 150) gives a different version; *Kauṭīliya* says (IV. 8) that Māṇḍavya, though not a thief, declared

180 In the *Jātaka*s (Fausbøll vol I., p. 504 and vol. III., p. 1) reference is made to the 7707 *rājās* of the Licchavis in Vesālī.

181 शाक्याजीवकादीन् वृषलम्बजितान् देवपितृकार्षेण भोजयतः शत्रो दण्डः । कौ. III. 20.

182 प्रतिमानान्वयोमयानि मागधमेकलोलमयानि । कौ. II. 19.

himself to be a thief while the Mahabharata (I. 107. 9) says that he spoke nothing; Kautilya mentions Jayatsena as the opponent of Nala (VIII. 3) in gambling, while the Mahabharata gives his name as Puškara; the Mahabharata and the Rāmāyaṇa do not know that a Jāmdagnya ruled long as a king.<sup>183</sup> Kautilya seems to have known the Purāṇas. He says (III. 7) that *sūta* and *māgadha* of the Purāṇas are quite different<sup>184</sup> from members of the mixed castes called *sūta* and *māgadha* and includes Purāṇa (I. 5) among the subjects of royal study grouped under the head of *itihāsa*.

Kautilya exhibits a wonderful knowledge of herbs and drugs and Dr. Jolly thinks that his *Materia Medica* is more extensive than even Sūśruta's. But the dates of Caraka and Sūśruta are far from being settled and no approximately certain conclusion can be drawn from the drugs mentioned in the Kautilya. Kautilya speaks of 'rasada' (one who administers mercurial poison) and prescribes banishment for those who trade in or administer 'rasa' for money in order to do away with a person secretly (IV. 4.) In II. 13 he speaks of gold that is 'rasa-viddha' (amalgamated with mercury) and in II. 12 of liquids containing gold (rasāḥ Kāñcanikāḥ) and of Hinguluka. Dr. Jolly thinks that this knowledge of metallurgy and alchemy is of Graeco-Syriac origin and so the Kautilya is a work of the third century A. D.

It is of great importance to note that Kautilya lays down (II. 4) that in the midst of the fort were to be constructed the temples of Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, the Aśvins, Lakṣmi and Madirā (Durgā?) and niches were to be set apart for Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta and Vijayanta and that the tutelary deities of the gates were to be Brahmā, Indra, Yama and Senāpati (i. e. Skanda). We know from the Mahābhāṣya<sup>185</sup> (Kielhorn Vol. II. p. 429) on Pāṇini (V. 3. 99 'jivikārthe cāpānye') that the Mauryas set up images out of greed for money and that in its day images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha were worshipped.

183 शत्रुपङ्कजवर्णमुत्सृज्य जामदग्न्यो जितेन्द्रियः। अन्वशीयन् नाम्नामो बुभुजान् (परं महद्) ॥ की. I. 6.

184 पौराणिकस्त्वन्यः सूतो मातृधन्य ब्रह्मक्षत्राद्विशेषतः।

185 'अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति। शिषः स्कन्दः विद्यान् हति। किं कारणम्। मोर्षेर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्थः प्रकल्पिताः। भवेत्तासु न ह्यान्। यास्त्वेताः संयति पूजार्थास्तासु भक्षिष्यति। महाभाष्य.



The foregoing discussion clearly shows that the Kautilya has certainly an ancient atmosphere about it, and that all that has so far been gathered from it agrees with its traditional date of 300 B. C. and no cogent arguments have been yet brought forward that would compel us to assign it a date later than the above by six centuries.

Two commentaries on the Kautilya have been brought to light so far, one composed by Bhaṭṭasvāmin being called *Pratipadapañcika* and the other the *Nayacandrikā* of Mādhavayajvan. Both are fragments. The first was published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (1925-1926, vol. XI and XII) by Messrs. K. P. Jayasval and A. Banerji-sastri. The com. is incomplete and begins with the 8th adhyāya of the 2nd adhikaraṇa and reaches up to the 36th adhyāya of the adhikaraṇa. The commentary on the whole work must have been very extensive, as the portion already printed on a part of the 2nd adhikaraṇa alone occupies 214 pages. This commentary quotes the explanations of previous commentators in the words 'anye', 'apare'. It quotes several ślokaś of Brhaspati on the blemishes of diamonds and on prakāśa-taskaras. The commentary *Nayacandrikā* contained in Dr. Jolly's edition (Lahore) also is incomplete and begins with the 7th adhyāya of the 7th adhikaraṇa and breaks off in the 4th adhyāya of the 12th adhikaraṇa. It also refers to the views of its predecessors in the words 'kecit' &c. (vide pp. 35, 61, 62, 104, 115, 131, 191). It discusses various readings (pp. 136, 183, 188, 193 &c.).

Dr. Shamasastri includes in his edition 571 sūtras attributed to Caṇakya. Their relation to the Kautilya is a subject which requires careful investigation. In my own opinion they are later than the Kautilya. It would be beyond the scope of this work to enter into details. Vide Dr. Jacobi's article in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. III., pp. 669-676.

There are several *niti* collections attributed to Caṇakya and published several times in different parts of India. All of them are later than the Kautilya and are compilations of maxims and fine sayings. One of them the *Caṇakya-rājanitisāstra* (published in Calcutta Oriental series, 1921, 2nd edition) contains 660 verses and was compiled under Bhojarāja. Several other compilations pass under the names *Vṛddha-Caṇakya*, *Laghu-Caṇakya* &c. All these are passed over here from considerations of space and utility.



15. *Vaikhāṇasa-dharma-praśna*

This work has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series by Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri (1913).

Mahādeva in his commentary called *Vaijayanti* (Ānandaśrama ed.) on the *Satyāśāḍha Śrautasūtra* speaks of six Śrauta sūtras of the Black Yajurveda, viz. Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba, Hiranyakeśin, Vādhūla and Vaikhāṇasa, and frequently cites passages from the Vaikhāṇasa-śrautasūtra. In the *Carapavyūha* of Śaunaka, Vādhūla and Vaikhāṇasa are not mentioned. But that Vaikhāṇasa was a very ancient writer follows from the references contained in the ancient dharma works. In Gautama the word 'Vaikhāṇasa' occurs (Dh. S. III. 2) as the name for the order of forest hermits (*vānaprastha*) and in another sūtra (III. 26) he lays down that fire was to be consecrated according to the *Śrāmanaka*,<sup>186</sup> which latter is explained by Haradatta as *Vaikhāṇasa Śāstra*. Baudhāyana (Dh. S. II. 6. 17) has the same sūtra<sup>187</sup> and defines a Vaikhāṇasa as one who follows the rules of conduct laid down in *Vaikhāṇasa Śāstra* (Dh. S. II. 6. 16). The *Vasiṣṭha Dh. S.* (9. 10) also has the same sūtra as Gautama (Dh. S. III. 26). The *Manusmṛti* (VI. 21) speaks of the *Vānaprastha* as one who abides by the views of Vaikhāṇasa (*Vaikhāṇasamate sthitāḥ*).

The *Vaikhāṇasadharma-praśna* is divided into three *praśnas*, each *praśna* being subdivided into *khaṇḍas*. There are in all 41 *khaṇḍas*. The work is a small one. The contents of the work are :- 1. the four *varṇas* and their privileges, and the four *āśramas*; duties of *brahmachārin*; four kinds of *brahmachārin*; duties of the householder; four kinds of *grhastha*, *vartavṛtti* (subsisting by agriculture), *śālina*, *yāyāvara* and *ghorācārika*; forest anchorites; *vānaprasthas* are either *sapatnika* (accompanied by their wives) or *apatnika* (not so accompanied); *Sapatnika* are of four sorts, *Audumbara*, *Vairiṇca*, *Vālakhilya* and *Phenapa*; *apatnika Vānaprasthas*; of four kinds of *bhikṣus*, viz. *kuṭīcaka*, *bahūdaka*, *hamsa* and *paramahamsa*; *sakāma* (performed with desire of wordly gain) and *niṣkāma* (not so performed) *karma*; *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*; three kinds of

<sup>186</sup> 'आवणकेन (आमणकेन) अभिमाधाय' गो. ध. सू. 3. 26 and गो. ध. सू. II. 6. 17.

<sup>187</sup> गोविन्दस्वामी, the commentator of Baud. says 'वेदान्तोपि वानप्रस्थ एव । संज्ञान्तरकरणं तु संव्यवहारार्थम् । विज्ञानसा ऋषिणा मोक्षे वेदान्तशालम् । तत्र हि बहवो वानप्रस्थस्योक्ता ग्रीष्मे पञ्चतपा इत्यादयः समुदाचाराः'.

Yogins and their subdivisions; II. the details of the śramaṇaka rites of the vānaprastha (khaṇḍas 1-4); duties of the forest hermit; details of joining the order of saṁnyāsins (khaṇḍas 6-8); age for saṁnyāsa (above seventy or when childless or widower); every day duties and observances of saṁnyāsins; about *acamana* and *Samdhya*; saluting (*abhivādana*) of all relatives, male and female; holidays for study (*anadhyāya*); bath and *Brahmayajña*; rules about taking food; forbidden and permitted food; III. rules of conduct for grhastha (khaṇḍas 1-3), rules of the read; purification of golden and other metallic things; purification of other things; about vānaprastha; *bhikṣu*; burial of a saṁnyāsin; Nārāyaṇabali on the death of a saṁnyāsin, *tarpaṇa* in the case of saṁnyāsins with twelve names of Viṣṇu, Keśava &c. and with water; *auloma* and *pratiloma*; the intermediate castes; *Pratyas*, their origin; name and means of subsistence (khaṇḍas 11-15).

The *Vaiṣṇānasadharmapraśna* appears by its style and its contents to be a work of comparatively later date than the dharmasūtras of Gautama and Baudhāyana. It is probably a recast of older materials. It contains the names of more mixed castes than the dharmasūtras and than even some of the later smṛtis. The present work seems to have been either written or retouched by a devotee of Viṣṇu. Faith in and devotion to Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa loom very large here (I. 5. 3 nārāyaṇa-parāyaṇaḥ, I. 7. 6 and 9; II. 4-5 bhaktiā Viṣṇuḥ dhyāyan, III. 7. 3 Nārāyaṇaparaṁ brahmeti smṛtaḥ, III. 9. 3 Viṣṇurālayapāśive). It speaks of the eight *āṅgas* of Yoga (I. 10. 9), of the Ayurveda with its eight *āṅgas* and of some treatise on evil spirits (*bhūtatantra* III. 12. 7). It refers to the views of some in the word 'eke' (I. 7. 4. and II. 9. 10). It speaks of the Śtāmaṇaka fire (in I. 6. 2 and I. 7. 3-4). It does not allow *saṁnyāsa* to Kṣatriyas (I. 1. 11). *Vaiṣṇānas* is cited as an authority (II. 5. 9 and III. 15. 14).

Bühler found a ms. of the *Vaiṣṇānasasūtra*, consisting of a grhya in seven prāśnas, three prāśnas of dharma (the same as described above) and a fourth on pravara. In the grhya a reference to Budhāvāra occurs (R. and S. p. 9). Dr. Caland in his paper on *Vaiṣṇānasasūtra* holds that the *Manusmṛti* borrows from *Vaiṣṇānasagrhya* and that the author of the latter was saturated with the idiom of Dravidian languages (vide Prof. Keith's review in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 1927, p. 623). Dr. Caland's

view about Manu is entirely wrong as will appear from the section on Manu. Vide Th. Bloch in 'über das Grhya-und Dharmasūtra der Vaikhanasa' (Lipzig, 1896).

### Other Sūtra Works on Dharma.

It will be proper to say a few words about some other sūtra works on dharma that are only available in mss. or are to be reconstructed from quotations in the digests. It is by no means to be supposed that these works that will be spoken of here were composed as early as those of Gautama, Āpastamba and others or were composed before the extant Manu and Yājñavalkya. But as the chronology of all ancient works on dharma is somewhat in a nebulous state, it is best to treat here of all works written in the sūtra style, even though in individual cases they may really belong to a later age than the works composed entirely in verse. They will be taken up in alphabetical order (Sanskrit).

### 16. Atri

That Atri was an ancient writer on *dharma* follows from a reference to him in Manu (III. 16) as holding the view that a *śūdrā* taking as wife a *śūdrā* woman became fallen (*patita*). In the Deccan College collection there are several mss. (Nos. 185-187 of A 1881-82) of the Ātreya dharmasūtra in nine *adhyāyas*. They treat of gifts, prayers (*yajña*) and *tapas* by which men are freed from all sins. Some of the chapters are in mixed prose and verse. The first three chapters are entirely in verse and some of the verses (such as *ekākṣaraṁ param brahma*) occur in the Manusmṛiti. The fourth opens with a long sūtra, which, in style, resembles later bhāṣyas and commentaries.<sup>188</sup> The 5th also is in verse and contains several verses found in Vāsiṣṭha (Dh. S. 28. 1, 4, 6). The sixth speaks of the specially holy hymns and verses of the Veda. Some of the verses here are the same as Vāsiṣṭha (28. 10-11). The seventh refers to secret *prāyaścittas* and the very first sūtra after the opening words speaks of several non-Aryan tribes such as the Śakas, Yavanas, Kām-

<sup>188</sup> अर्चिर्माषाभ्युत्तानां यमवचनरकयातनानि च (!) पतितानां यदि कदाचिन्मानुष्यै भवति तदेतच्चिद्ब्रह्मिन्शरीरा जायन्ते । तद्यथा । अनुत्तरी सती महाहा कुष्टी ॥००॥

<sup>189</sup> अथातो रहस्यानि व्याख्यास्यामः । नटनर्तकगायन-गान्धर्विक-शपाककारुकराशोत्कट-वीणाशास्त्र-शक-मयन-काम्बोज-बाह्लीक-सप्त-द्रविड-वह-पारश-पौत्वातदीनां (!) मुक्ता पतिगृह्य च, छीगमने सहभोजने रहस्ये रहस्यानिपकाशे प्रकाश्यानि चोत् ।

bhojas, Bāhikas, Khasas, Vaṅgas and Pāraśa ( Persians ? ) &c. It is to be noted that the same sūtra ( with slight variations ) is quoted as Atri's by Aparārka ( on Yāj. III. 266 p. 1123 ). The 7th and 8th chapters are in mixed prose and verse. The 9th is in verse and speaks of Yoga and its *āṅgas*. It refers to the fact that Śiśupāla, son of Damaghoṣa, because in his hatred of Govinda he always thought of the latter, went to heaven. The same sūtra work is noticed in I. O. Cat., pp. 380-81, Nos. 1305 and 1306.

There are several works styled Atri-smṛti or saṁhitā in the mss. One of them is in six chapters on secret prāyaścittas, gifts, pitṛmedha and ācāra ( vide I. O. Cat., p. 381, No. 1308 ). There is another work styled Atrisāṁhitā printed in Jivananda's collection ( part I. pp. 13-46 ). It contains about 400 verses and deals with the following topics :— importance of honouring *guru*, duties of four castes ; purifications of several *malas* ; virtues of Brāhmaṇas such as śauca, anasūyā ; definition of *igṛa* and *parā*, ten yamas and niyamas ; importance of sons ; adopted sons, prāyaścittas for taking forbidden food or drink and for other transgressions, impurity on birth and death ; cāndrāyana, Kṛcra, Śāntapana ; gifts ; purifications from avoidable contacts with rajasvalā &c. ; Śraddha and the Brāhmaṇas to be invited for it.

In this work Atri is himself cited as an authority. Other authors and works quoted are : Āpastamba ( p. 30 ), Yama ( p. 41 ), Vyāsa ( p. 24 ), Śāṅkha ( pp. 22, 35 ), Śātātapa ( p. 35 ). The Vedānta, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Purāṇas, Bhāgavatāḥ ( p. 45 ) are mentioned. It contains ( on p. 14 ) the verse ' sadyaḥ patati mānsena ' which is found in Vasīṣṭha Dh. S. ( 2. 27 ) with the words ' athāpyudāharanti '. There are other verses also which occur elsewhere e. g. ' atha cenmantravid ' occurs in Vasīṣṭha 11. 20, ' tryaharṇ śāyārṇ tryaharṇ prātaḥ ' ( p. 23 ) is also Manu XI. 211. On p. 26 occur the words ' atrāpyudāharanti ' and so what follows is a quotation. On p. 32 there are three verses in another metre.

Atri's verse about adoption <sup>190</sup> is quoted as the first authority on adoption in the Dattakamīmāṃsā. He mentions the seven *antyajas* to be the washerman, the shoemaker, *naṭa*, *burnḍa*, *kaivarta*

190 अपुत्रेण कर्तव्यः पुत्रमतिनिधिः सदा । पिण्डोदकक्रियाहेतोर्यस्मात्तस्मात्तन्तः ॥ अत्रि  
p. 17.

(fisherman), meda, and *bbilla* ( p. 29 ). He further says<sup>191</sup> that there is no question of untouchability in fairs, marriage seasons, in Vedic sacrifices and in all festivals. He says that Brāhmaṇas from Magadhā, Mathurā and three other places are not honoured ( at a śrāddha ) though as learned as Bṛhaspati.<sup>192</sup>

The work mentions the signs of the Zodiac, Kanyā and the Scorpion ( p. 43 ), and hence was not composed before the first centuries of the Christian era.

In Jivananda there is a Laghu-Atri ( part I, pp. 1-12 ) in 6 chapters and about 120 verses, dealing with the means of being freed from sins ( such as prāṇāyāma, sacred formula, gifts &c. ), with purifications from impurity on death and birth, with gifts. It mentions Manu. In the fourth chapter there are about ten lines in prose. There are numerous verses that occur also in the Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra, e. g. Vas. 26. 8-9 and 16-18 occur on p. 3 ; Vas. 28. 11-16 occur on pp. 4-5. It is difficult to say who the borrower is.

There is a Vṛddhātreyasṁṛti in Jivananda ( part I, pp. 47-59 ) in five chapters and about 140 verses. This closely resembles the Laghu-Atri-ṁṛti described above. In the commencement both have the same six verses beginning with 'bhagavan kena dānena' and the works have many verses in common. In the fourth chapter of both the same prose passages occur.

Viśvarūpa on Yaj. ( III. 257 ) quotes two verses from Atri on prāyaścitta which are found in none of the three works described above.<sup>193</sup>

In the Mahābhārata ( Anuśāsana 65. 1 ) Atri is credited with the view that those who make a gift of gold give ( practically ) all

191 देवयानाविषादेषु यज्ञाभरणेषु च । उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु सृष्टासृष्टिर्नि विद्यते ॥ P. 33.

192 मागधो माधुर्येव कापटः कीटकानुजो । पञ्च विधा न पूज्यन्ते ब्रह्मसूत्रसमा यदि ॥ ( p. 45 ). What is कापट ? Should we read कीटकाङ्गजो ( residents of the countries of कीटक and अङ्ग ) ?

193 The verses are भुक्त्वा तु मलिनोमानां सूतादीनामकामतः । माजापर्यं चरेत्कच्छं त्रिरात्रं स्वाह्मताशनः ॥ चण्डालवर्जिते पात्रे सृष्टा चेन्न विशेषतः । भुक्त्वा कच्छ-मविज्ञाने ज्ञात्वा चान्द्रावर्णं चरेत् ॥

objects. This bears a close resemblance to two verses that occur in *Laghvatri* (*Jivananda* part I, p. 5) and *Vṛddhatri* (part I, p. 51).<sup>191</sup>

### 17. Uśanas.

That Uśanas wrote a work on politics follows from several circumstances. The *Kautiliya* quotes the *Auśanasāḥ* seven times. It is almost certainly referring to a work. That work contained directions on the administration of justice also, as *Kautilya* speaks of *Auśanasa* method of partition (in allowing a tenth additional share to the eldest son, III. 6), as *Auśanasāḥ* prescribed fines in cases where witnesses proved stupid &c. (III. 11) and fines for forcible seizure of jewels &c. (III. 17). The *Mahābhārata*, *Śāntiparva*<sup>192</sup> (chap. 56, 29-30 and 57. 3) refers to a work on politics by Uśanas and quotes three verses, the last being found in *Sabhā* 55. 14. In other places also we have a *Nitiśāstra* ascribed to *Bhārgava* (*Śānti* 210. 20) and certain verses are ascribed to him (*Śānti* 57. 40-41 and 139, 70-71). *Viṭe* also *Anuśāsana* 39, 8-9 and *Sabhā* 62. 11-12. The *Nitiprakāśikā* of *Janamejaya* refers to a succession of teachers of politics from *Brahmā* down to *Janamejaya* and says that *Śukra* was

191 सर्वान् कामान् मयच्छान्तिं च प्रयच्छान्तिं काञ्चनम् । इत्येवं भगवानात्रिः पितामहसुतोऽवर्षत् ॥

*अनुशासन* 65. 1. The verses in the two *Atris* are अत्रैरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूवर्ण्यवी  
सूर्यसुताश्च गावः । लोकास्तयस्तेन भवन्ति दत्ता यः काञ्चनं वा च मह्यं च दद्यात् ॥  
सर्वं यामैव दानानामेकजन्मानुगं कलम् । हादकक्षितिषेनूनां सप्तजन्मानुगं कलम् ॥  
The first verse occurs in *Vas.* 28. 16, in *Vanaparva* 200. 28, in the *Rajim*  
plate of *Tivaradeva* (*Fleet's Gupta inscriptions* No. 81).

192 श्लोको चोशनसा गीतो पुरा तात महर्षिणा । तौ निबोध महाराज त्वमेकायमना नृप ॥  
उद्यम्य शस्त्रमायान्तमपि वेदान्तगं रणे । निगृह्णीयात्स्वधर्मेण धर्मपिक्षी नराधिपः ॥ विनश्य-  
मानं धर्मं हि यो निरक्षेत्त धर्मपितृ । न तेन धर्महा स स्यान्मन्युस्तं मन्युमुच्छति ॥  
*शान्तिपर्व* 56. 28-30; भगवाननुशना चाह श्लोकमत्र विशांपते । तदिहैकमना राजन्  
गदतस्तं निबोध मे ॥ द्वाविमौ यस्ते भूमिः सप्तौ बिलशयावि ॥ राजानं चाविरोद्धारं  
माह्व्यं चापवासिनम् ॥ *शान्ति* ॥ 57. 2-3; श्लोकश्चायं पुरा गीतो भार्गवेण महत्तमना ।  
आरूपाने रावचरिते नृपतिं प्रति भारत ॥ राजानं प्रथमं विन्देत् ततो भार्या ततो  
धनम् ॥ राजन्यसति लोकस्य कृतो भार्या कुतो धनम् ॥ *शान्ति* ॥ 57. 40-41; निश्चयः  
स्वार्थशास्त्रेषु विश्वासश्चासुसौदयः । उशना चैव गाथे द्वे पृष्ठादायामवीपुरा ॥  
*शान्ति* ॥ 139. 70.

one of those who abridged the enormous extent of *rajaśāstra*.<sup>195</sup> The *Mudrārākṣasa* (I. p. 71 Telang's ed.) also speaks of Auśanasi Daṇḍaniti. Viśvarūpa (on Yaj. I. 307) asks the king to appoint ministers in accordance with the views propounded in the *śāstras* of Brhaspati and Uśanas and quotes a long passage in prose from Brhaspati in which the *śāstras* of Manu, Brhaspati and Uśanas are joined together. This work on politics probably contained verses also. Medhātithi on Manu (7. 15) quotes two verses speaking of eight activities of a king.<sup>196a</sup> So also on Manu 8. 30 Medhātithi cites from Uśanas the words 'prakṛtīnām balaṁ raja,' which are an *Anuṣṭubh pāda*. This *sūtra* work on politics by Uśanas has not yet been discovered. The *Taṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa* says that Kāvya Uśanas was the purohita of the Asuras (7. 3. 20).

In the Deccan College collection there are two mss. of an *Auśana-dharmaśāstra* in prose with a few verses, viz. No. 644 of Visrambag (i) and No. 191 of A 1881-82. The first contains only two folios (2 and 4) and the available portion begins in the midst of the 2nd chapter. In the second ms. also the first folio is wanting and there are gaps in the fourth chapter. It is noteworthy that the second folio of the second ms. begins just at the beginning of the 2nd folio of the first. The work is a brief one (8 folios) in seven *adhyāyas*. Their contents are:—II. impurity on birth and death; purification of certain things in certain ways such as with water, ashes &c.; III. the four *varṇas* and the mixed castes such as *Rathakāra*, *Ambaṣṭha*, *Sūta*, *Ugra*, *Māgadha* &c., the *Veātyas*; IV. no bodily injury to be done to *Brāhmaṇa*; *prāyaścittas* for killing a *Brāhmaṇa* or a man of the other *varṇas* and for other *Mahapātakas*, *prāyaścitta* for eating

195 ब्रह्म महेन्द्रः स्कन्दमेन्द्रः प्राचेतसो मनुः । सुहस्पतिश्च शुक्रश्च भारद्वाजो मह-  
त्तपाः ॥ वेदव्यासश्च भगवान् तथा गौरिशरो मुनिः । एते हि राजशास्त्राणां प्रणेताः  
परंतपः । लक्षव्यासाश्चो ब्रह्म राजशास्त्रं महत्तमम् । पञ्चाशच्च महत्वाग्निं यद्वः  
संक्षिप्य चञ्चविन् ॥ It is further said that Skanda, Indra, Prācetasas Manu,  
Brhaspati, Sukra, Bhāradvāja, Gaurasīras and Veda-Vyāsa abridged  
respectively to 25000, 10000, 6000, 3000, 1000, 100, 500 and 300 *adhyāyas*  
and that Janamejaya abridged even the last.

196a आदौ च विसर्गे च तथा प्रेषनिषेधयोः । पञ्चमे चार्धवचने व्यवहारस्य चेक्षणे ॥ दण्ड-  
शुद्ध्योः सदा युक्तस्तेनादगतिको नृपः । अष्टकर्मो दिव्यं याति राजा शत्रुभिरर्पितः ॥  
These are quoted also by कुल्लुक, on Manu VII. 154.



the flesh of certain animals and for eating certain plants like garlic, *prāyaścitta* for adultery; discussion whether a Brāhmaṇa could marry a śūdra woman; *prāyaścittas* for killing various beasts and birds; fourteen *vidyās*; V. *śrāddhakalpa*; what Brāhmaṇas are *paukti-pāvana*; details of *śrāddha*, food and flesh at *śrāddha*; who are unfit to be invited at *śrāddha*; VI. what things a Brāhmaṇa could not sell; VII. punishments for the Mahāpātakas; what are pure things at all times. Some of the views of the Auśanasa-dharmaśāstra are worth special notice. The son of a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya from a wife of the varṇa immediately next to it belonged to the caste of the father.<sup>197</sup> No sin or punishment attached to one if one killed an *atlatayi* armed Brāhmaṇa. The fourteen *vidyās* are said to be the six *aṅgas* and the four Vedas, Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, dharmaśāstra and Purāṇa.<sup>198</sup>

The work very often quotes the views of others with the words 'eke'; for example it says 'the impurity on birth is ten nights for the parents of the child, but according to some only for the mother.'<sup>199</sup> The son of a Brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman is called *paraśava*, but according to some he is *nīṣāda*. The whole of the portion in the ms. about the mixed castes bears a very close resemblance to Baudhāyana ( Dh. S. I. 9 ) except in a few particulars.<sup>200</sup> At the end of all chapters from the second ( except the third ) there are verses and also in the midst. There are verses introduced with the words 'there is a śloka on this point' ( *bhavati eṣa ślokaḥ* ) or with the words 'api codāharanti'.

197 ब्राह्मणेन क्षत्रियायां जातो ब्राह्मण एव सः । chap. III folio 3 a.

198 चतुर्दश विद्यास्थानानि पुनः षडङ्गान्तरां वेदा मीमांसा न्याय एव च । धर्मशास्त्रं पुराणं च विद्या होतृश्रुतदंष्ट्रः ॥ . It will be noticed that there is a śloka from षडङ्गाः which is almost the same as Yāj. I. 3.

199 दशरत्रं मातापितृभ्यः सूतकं मातृस्थिके । folio 2 a ; compare मी. ध. सू. 14. 14 'मातापित्रोस्तमातृत्वां' ( and हरदत्त's comment thereon for various views ); यो. ध. सू. I. 5. 105-109, where Baudhāyana's own view is that both are impure for ten days, but according to some the mother and according to others the father has to observe impurity for ten days.

200 The ms. ( 3rd chap. ) has तत्र सवर्णासु सवर्णाः । ब्राह्मणेन क्षत्रिया ... सः । वैश्यायाम्बुधः । शूद्रायां पारशवो निषाद इत्येके । क्षत्रियेण वैश्यायां क्षत्रियः शूद्रायामुच्यः । वैश्येण शूद्रायां वैश्यः । शूद्रेण वैश्यायामायोगवः क्षत्रियायां क्षत्त ब्राह्मण्यां चण्डालः &c.

There are about 45 verses in the work, the 7th and last chapter being almost entirely in verse. As the mss. are corrupt and full of gaps, it is often difficult to find out whether a particular passage is prose or verse. In several verses the words 'Manu abravīd' occur and in one place 'tan manu anusāsanam'. The latter closely agrees with Manu. Several verses are common to Manu and Uśanas. The verse 'gurutalpe bhagaḥ kārṇaḥ' (Manu 9. 237) occurs in the ms. So also the verse 'yena yena cidāṅgena' occurs in both.<sup>202</sup> The words of Manu (V. 78) 'bale desāntarasthe' are expressly quoted with the words 'Manu-aha'. There are many other verses which, though not cited expressly as from a particular author, are found in other ancient works. For example, the verse 'āpaḥ śuddhā bhūmī-gataḥ' is Manu 5. 128 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 57. The half verse 'kāruḥastah śucir nityam' is Manu 5. 126 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 48. The verse 'yadekarātreṇa karoti pāpam' occurs in Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 27. 11) and Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 42. The verse 'tryaḥam prātas tryaḥam naktam' is Manu XI. 211. It is a remarkable fact that some of the verses in this dharmaśāstra agree closely with the verses in the Uśanas-smṛti in verse, published by Jivananda, e.g. the verse 'dattvā tu Vedāntayartham' occurs on p. 525 and the verse 'nimantritastu yo viprō adhvānāṁ satiprapadyate' on p. 527. Even the prose passages bear a close resemblance to the versified smṛti on many points, e.g. the prose passages about the duration of the satisfaction of the Manes by the offerings of the flesh of various animals occur almost in the same words in the versified smṛti of Uśanas (Jivananda, part I, p. 522).

The Auśānasa-dharmaśāstra contains several passages in prose which are the same as some verses in Manu.<sup>203</sup> The sūtra

201 The ms. reads 'दशस्थानानि दण्डस्य चात्मनो (तन्मनो?) लुप्ताननम् । त्रिषु वर्णेषु सामान्यं ब्राह्मणस्त्वक्षरतो भवेत् ॥', while मनु (8. 124) is दश ... दण्डस्य मनुः स्वायम्भोवर्षात् । त्रिषु वर्णेषु यानि स्वरक्षभो ब्राह्मणो वजेत् ॥

202 The ms. reads येन येन हि चण्डेन (चिद्वेनेन ?) हिंस्याचक्षेयांसमन्वयजः । तदेव तस्य लेखनं छिन्ने निर्दिष्ये भवेत् ॥ ; in मनु (8. 279) the last pāda is तन्मनो-लुप्ताननम्.

203 The ms. has (in chap. II) रहःसु स्त्रीमुखं शुचिः । शुचया कल्पलने पक्षिणः । मत्स्ये वस्तः । शुक्ल (मृग ?) मृगगे श्वा । ऊर्ध्व नाभिः पुरुषः । गोमेष्या वृद्धतः । पुरस्तादङ्गः । स्त्रियाः सर्वतः । हृदयमास्तामशुचि । Compare मनु I. 92. बो. प. सू. I. 5. 49 and वसिष्ठ 3. 45.

quotes in one place the divergent views of Vasistha,<sup>204</sup> Hārīta, Śaunaka, and Gautama on the question whether a Brāhmaṇa could marry a śūdra woman. The view of Vasistha (as quoted in the ms.) is that a Brāhmaṇa could take to wife girls of all the four castes, but in the printed text of Vasistha (I. 24) a Brāhmaṇa is allowed to marry girls of the three higher castes only. It is possible that the ancient reading of Vasistha's text was 'catasrah' (as quoted in the Auśanasa) which was changed into 'tisrah'. The passage reminds us of Manu III. 16 (Śūdrāvedī patatyatreḥ), but the views ascribed to Śaunaka and Gautama in the ms. differ from those ascribed to them in Manu. In another passage Vasistha's views seem to be quoted.<sup>205</sup>

From quotations in Haradatta's commentary on Gautama and from the Smṛticandrikā it appears that they had access to a sūtra work of Uśanas dealing with all branches of *dharma*, viz., ācāra, vyavahāra and prāyaścitta. For example, the Smṛticandrikā quotes prose passages of Uśanas on *anadhyāya* (I. p. 59), on *dantadhāvana* (I. p. 106) and Haradatta quotes a prose passage on *anadhyāya* (on Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 1) and a prose passage on the fine for a kṣatriya abusing a śūdra (on Gau. Dh. S. 12. 10) and on *Niyoga* (on Gau. Dh. S. 18. 5). These passages are not found in the ms. But there are others that are found. For example, the Smṛticandrikā quotes two passages, which occur in the mss.<sup>206</sup> It

204 The ms. (chap. IV) has पतिः वृषलीपतिरित्यपहृतं । न पतनीत्येके । ब्राह्मणस्य कल्पविहितमवतस्त्रो- (स्त्रो!) नुपूर्वेण भार्या भवन्तीति वसिष्ठ आह । पतति न पततीति संशयः । वृषलीं पतीति (वृषलीं गत्वा पततीति!) हारीतः । जनमात्यनतीति शौनकः । तदपत्यः पततीति गौतमः । The words of वसिष्ठ are 'तिस्रो ब्राह्मणस्य भार्या वर्णानुपूर्वेण द्वे राजन्यस्य एकैका वैश्यशूद्रयोः । शूद्रमप्येकं मन्ववर्जं तद्वत् । तथा न कुर्यात् । I. 24-26. It should be noted that one ms. of वसिष्ठ omits the words 'वर्णानु... कुर्यात्'.

205 यस्तु पुनर्ब्राह्मणो धर्मपत्नीमुक्तेन नैमुनं सेवेत स दुष्यतीति देवस्वतः (वै वसिष्ठः ! ) प्राजापत्येन शुष्यतीति हारीतः (chap. 4) ; compare वसिष्ठ 12. 23. and Manu XI. 67 and 173. The reading देवस्वतः also is explicable. देवस्वन् may stand for मन्.

206 The passages are 'तत्र गोमयोदकेर्भूमिभाननभाण्डशोचं कुर्यात्' (chap. V, about śrāddha) and 'श्वविद्वराहनाजरीकुक्कुटनकुलशूद्रजस्वलाशुद्धीभर्ताभ्य दूरमनपा- वितव्याः (मनपेतव्याः)'. They occur in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (III. p. 409 and p. 411).

appears therefore that the mss. either contain a portion only of the complete Auśanasa-dharma-sūtra or an independent sūtra work. The former alternative looks more probable. The foregoing discussion has shown that the sūtra work is later than the dharma-sūtras of Gautama and Vasiṣṭha and also than the Manusmṛti, which it probably knew in a very ancient version slightly differing from the extant one.

In Jivananda's collection of smṛtis there is an Auśanasa-dharma-śāstra in 51 verses (part I. pp. 497-501). It deals with mixed castes and their avocations, such as sūta, māgadha, cāṇḍāla, śvapaca, pulinda &c. The same work occurs in the Ānandaśrama collection, pp. 46-48. The Mit. (on Yāj. 1. 94) remarks that the means of livelihood for the mixed castes should be sought for in the works of Uśanas and Manu.<sup>267</sup> It is probably this smṛti that is meant. Kullūka on Manu X. 49 says that the sale of hides and working on hides were the means of livelihood for Dhigvaṇas according to the Auśanasa.

In the same collection (part. I. pp. 501-554) there is another smṛti ascribed to Uśanas in 9 chapters and about 600 verses. It treats of Upanayana, daily observances like *acamana*, Vedic study, occasions of *anadhyāya*, the dharmas of *śmātaka*; śrāddha, proper Brāhmaṇas for śrāddha, impurity on birth and death, rites after death, *prāyaścittas* for the mortal sins and lesser sins.

This smṛti quotes Uśanas himself, also Manu, Bhṛgu (Bhṛgu-putra III), Prajāpati and speaks of dharmaśāstras, Purāṇas, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta, Pāñcarātras, Kāpālikas and Pāśupatas. Numerous verses from the Manusmṛti are found in it (e. g. Manu II. 42, 49, 50, 125) occur in the first chapter alone. There is a brief prose passage towards the end of the 9th chapter. It speaks of Kāpālikas, Pāśupatas and atheists together (p. 525).

None of these smṛtis in verse contains the passages in verse on *vyavāhara* ascribed to Uśanas that occur in the Mitākṣarā, Smṛti-candrikā and other works.

The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 260) and Aparārka (e. g. p. 158, 192, 255) contain prose passages ascribed to Uśanas and the same works contain numerous verses ascribed to Uśanas most of which are not

<sup>267</sup> एतेषां च वृत्तय औशनसे मानवे च द्रष्टव्याः । मिता.

found in the two *smṛtis* in Jivananda. Some of the verses in Aparārka ascribed to Uśanas are found in the *Aśānasasmṛiti* (e. g. Aparārka p. 418 'kuryād-aharāḥ śrāddham' is Jivananda I. p. 521).

In other cases the verses quoted from Uśanas in Aparārka, though not quite identical, bear a very close resemblance (e. g. the four verses in Aparārka p. 450 closely resemble Jivananda I. p. 525 and have some verses in common).

Among the views on Vyavahāra quoted from Uśanas are some interesting ones. It was he who said that a son was not bound to pay his father's debt, if it was a fine or unpaid toll or what is not *vyāvahārika*.<sup>208</sup> He holds that even blind, deaf or old men, women, minors could be witnesses in charges of *sabasa* (Aparārka p. 671). He is quoted also on ordeals, on *svānipālavivāda* and on *stea*.

A work styled *Śukranītisāra* was edited by Oppert (Madras 1882) and by Jivananda (Cal. 1892) and translated by Benoy Kumar Sarkar in S. B. H. Series. That work is a very interesting one, but is comparatively of a late date.

### 18. Kaṇva and Kāṇva

From the Ap. Dh. S. it appears that Kaṇva and Kāṇva were two distinct writers on dharma. In I. 6. 19. 2 Āpastamba starts the question as to the persons, food at whose house was permitted. He states various views on that point and says that Kaṇva was of opinion that food may be taken at anybody's house provided the latter offered it with a request (I. 6. 19. 3) and that the opinion of Eka, Kuṇika, Kāṇva, Kutsa and Puṣkarasādi (I. 6. 19. 7) was that only that food that was offered by a pure and religious man should be partaken. In another place (I. 10. 28. 1) Āpastamba gives it as the opinion of Kautsa, Harita, Kaṇva and Puṣkarasādi that a man became a thief if in any case whatever he appropriates another's belongings. The Kumbhakonam edition of Pandit Halasyanatha reads Kāṇva for Kaṇva.

Kaṇva is quoted a few times in the *Smṛticandrikā* on *Āhnikā* (daily duties) and *śrāddha*. One of these quotations is in prose (I. p. 97).<sup>209</sup> Haradatta in his commentary on Gautama cites

<sup>208</sup> दण्डो वा दण्डशेषो वा शुल्कं न च उपमेव वा । न दातव्यं तु पुत्रेण यच्च न स्वाहारिकम् ॥  
मिता, and अपराकं on वाद्वा. II. 47.

<sup>209</sup> अन्धो वेवेनिहासपुराणानिति व्यापन् माह्वेन तीर्थनैष्ठयोः सलोमदेशमुप्यजेत् ।

verses of Kaṇva in several places (e. g. Gautama Dh. S. 21, 3, 23, 3 and 11).<sup>210</sup> The first verse bears a close resemblance to Manu XI. 180 and Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 62. Kaṇva is quoted in the Ācār-mayūkha and the Śrāddha-mayūkha.

The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 58) quotes a verse of Kāṇva on the length of the stay of a *sauhyātin* in a village or town. On Yāj. III. 260 the Mit. quotes a verse of Kaṇva stating the *prāyaścitta* for a Brāhmaṇa having intercourse with the Kṣatriya wife of his teacher.

In the Madras Govt. Oriental Library there is a ms. of Kaṇva (vol. V, p. 1929 No. 2624).

### 19 Kāśyapa and Kāśyapa.

Baudhāyana (Dh. S. I. 11. 20) cites a verse which contains the view of Kāśyapa that a woman who is bought cannot be a *patni* and that she is not authorised to take part in religious (daiva) rites or rites for the Manes.<sup>211</sup> This verse is ascribed to Kātyāyana in the *Smṛticandrikā* (I. p. 87). The *Vanaparva* quotes *gāthas* of Kāśyapa on forbearance (29. 35-40). Whether Kāśyapa and Kāśyapa are two different writers of dharmasūtras it is rather difficult to say. Probably they are identical. It appears that the dharmasūtra of Kāśyapa comprised all the usual topics of dharmasūtras, such as daily duties, śrāddha, āśauca, *prāyaścitta*. This sūtra has been quoted by all eminent writers from Viśvarūpa downwards. Viśvarūpa quotes Kāśyapa (in prose) on the *prāyaścitta* for contact with *caṇḍālas*<sup>212</sup> and for killing a cow when the sinner is a Brāhmaṇa or a member of another caste.<sup>213</sup> The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 23) quotes a prose passage from Kāśyapa on freedom from impurity on death.<sup>214</sup>

210 The verse is संवत्सरेण पत्नीति पतिनेन समाचरत् ।

यानाशनास्नेनेति न्यमित्यार्हुषस्यवादिनः ॥

211 क्रीता इव्येण या नारी सा न पत्नी विधीयते ।

सा न देवे न सा पित्र्ये दार्सी ता कश्यपोमवीत् ॥

212 चण्डालव्यापाकपुलकसादितंकरे सख्यवधाले वन्मासात् गोमूत्रपातकाः पञ्चाङ्कालं पानभ्याः ।  
एवं प्रतिमासवृद्ध्या वृद्धिर्वा परिवृत्तेः सूर्यस्य । विम्बरूप ०० याज्ञ. III. 257.

213 प्रायश्चित्तमकामावाप्नोति कामरुतेष्वेके । ... ब्राह्मणेभ्यो निवेदयित्वा सशिशं वपने स्मृत्वा  
प्राजापत्यं रुच्यमाचरत् । चीर्णान्ते धेनुं तिलधेनुं दद्यात् । ... तेन चर्मणा प्रावृत्तो  
मासं गोष्ठे वसेत् । विम्बरूप ०० याज्ञ. III. 262.

214 बालानामदन्तजातानां त्रिरात्रेण शुद्धिः ।

The quotations in the *Smṛticandrikā* on *āhnikā* and *śrāddha* are all in verse. Haradatta on Gautama ( 22. 18 ) quotes a sūtra on the *prāyaścitta* for *govadhā*,<sup>215</sup> which is also quoted by Viśvarūpa. Haradatta ( on Gaut. 23. 26 ) quotes a very long sūtra on the *prāyaścitta* for eating several things and doing several forbidden acts.<sup>216</sup> Haradatta ( on Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 2 ) quotes several verses mentioning the seven kinds of *punarbhū*s. The Hārata quotes a sūtra from Kāśyapa on *āśauca*. Aparārka quotes several sūtras and a few verses under both names Kāśyapa and Kāśyapa ( vide Yāj. I. 64, III. 265, I. 222-25, III. 251, 288, 290, 292 for verses ).

In the Deccan College collection there are two mss. ( No. 200 of 1884-87 and No. 122 of A. 1881-82 ) which contain a Kāśyapa-smṛti in prose ( 4 folios having 8 lines on each side ). It begins ' *āthātaḥ Kāśyapīyān grhasthadharmān vyākhyāsyāmaḥ* '. It deals with the duties of householders, with *prāyaścittas* for doing mischief to wells, dikes, ponds, temples and houses of Brāhmanas, for killing a cow and other beasts and birds, with rules on mourning after death and impurity on birth, with *prāyaścittas* for eating garlic and other similar things, with the five mortal sins, with *prāyaścittas* when such portents as earthquakes, lightning flashes occur, or for such accidental occurrences as the breaking of the milk pot, with purification of vessels of wood, metals, with the visible physical sins of sins committed in previous lives, with the seven *punarbhū*s.

In this work some of the sūtras quoted as Kāśyapa's in the commentaries are found, ( e. g. the quotation No. 216 ' *laśuna* ' &c. above ). So also the verses about *punarbhū*s of seven kinds quoted by Haradatta are found in the mss. In this smṛti, Kāśyapa is frequently cited as an authority.

It is to be noted that Kāśyapa is not mentioned by Yāj. as one of the *dharmaśāstraprayojakas*, though Parāśara ( chap. I ) mentions Kāśyapa *dharmāḥ*. The *Smṛticandrikā* ( I. p. 1 ) and the *Sarasvatī-vilāsa* ( p. 13 ) speak of 18 *Upasmṛtis* in which Kāśyapa's is included.

215 ना इत्या तर्धर्माणा परिवृतो मार्तं गोष्ठेशयस्त्रिषवणस्वायी नित्यं पञ्चगव्याहारः ।

216 लघुनपल्लवदुग्धजनकुक्कुटभक्षणे मेदःशुक्रपानेऽप्याज्ययाननेऽभोज्यभोजनेऽभक्ष्यभक्षणेऽ-  
गम्यागमने चर्वे प्रायाश्चित्सं ग्राहणभ्यो निषेय पट्टात्रोपोषितभ्रीणान्ते प्राच्यामुद्विष्या  
दिधि गत्वा यत्र प्रायश्चर्यानां शब्दो न श्रूयते तस्मिन्देशेऽग्निं प्रज्वाल्य ग्राह्यासनमासीर्य  
तत्पणीतेन विधिना पुनःसंस्कारमर्हति ।



## 20. Gārgya

Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 4-5) quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya in which Gārgya is enumerated among the expounders of Dharma (dharmavaktarāḥ). He quotes two sūtras, one from Gārgya (on Yāj. I. 72<sup>217</sup>) and the other from Vṛddha-Gārgya<sup>218</sup> (on Yāj. I. 195). Therefore it seems that a sūtra work of Gārgya on dharma did exist. The Mit. (e. g. on Yāj. III. 326), Aparārka and the Smṛticandrikā quote several verses of Gārgya on ahnikā, śrāddha and prāyaścitta. Parāśara also mentions Gārgya among writers on dharma. Aparārka contains (pp. 124, 190, 368, 544) verses from Gārgya on topics of dharma. It seems that the two writers are identical. Aparārka also quotes several verses from Gārgya of astronomical import (e. g. p. 547 on the nomenclature of the months as *Caitra* in connection with the signs of the zodiac). This was probably an independent work. Fragments of a Gārgi saṁhita on astronomy and astrology have been recovered and it contains valuable historical information (vide Kern's preface to Brhad-saṁhita pp. 33-40 and Mr. Jayasval in JBORS. vol. 14, p. 397 ff.). A Jyotiṛ-Gārgya and a Brhad-Gārgya are quoted in the Smṛticandrikā. The Nityacārapradīpa (p. 20, BIS) mentions Garga and Gargya separately as smṛtikāras.

## 21. Cyavana

The Mit., Aparārka and other works cite several sūtras and some verses from Cyavana. Aparārka quotes a very long prose passage from Cyavana (on Yāj. I. 207) about the procedure of making the gift of a cow and about the *mantras* to be recited in that ceremony. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 30) and Aparārka both cite a sūtra of Cyavana on the prāyaścitta for coming in contact with a dog, a śvapaka, a corpse, smoke from a funeral pyre, wine, wine-vessel &c. Aparārka cites prose passages of Cyavana on the prāyaścitta for killing a cow (on Yāj. III. 264-265), for touching, carrying or burning the corpse of one who commits suicide (on Yāj. III. 292), on the method of the purification of houses, vessels, articles of food when touched by cāṇḍālas (on the same verse).

## 22. Jātukarnya

Viśvarūpa on (Yāj. I. 4-5) quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya in which Jātukarnya is mentioned as an expounder of

217 वनिताः क्षियन्त्याम्ना भर्तृवधपतिहारा च ।

218 अनेकोद्धार्ये काष्ठशिले मूमिसने ।

dharma.<sup>219</sup> The name is variously written as Jātukarpi or Jātukarṇya or as Jātukarṇa. The Smṛticandrikā quotes a passage from Āṅgiras in which Jātukarṇya is enumerated among writers of Upasmṛtis. Viśvarūpa quotes prose passages from Jātukarṇya a number of times.<sup>220</sup> On Yaj. I. 1, he gives a sūtra about "pratilomas"; on Yaj. I. 2 there is a sūtra saying that a pupil should not all of a sudden put a question to his teacher in an assembly of people, on Yaj. I. 29 about a Kṣatriya and Vaiśya wearing an Upavita of hemp and wool when initiated for sacrifice, on Yaj. I. 37 as to the age when a Brāhmaṇa became a vrātya, about the prohibition of marrying another wife of a different caste when one has already married a savaṇṇa wife (on Yaj. I. 79), about the time for śrāddhas (on Yaj. I. 215). These quotations show that Jātukarṇya composed a sūtra work on ācāra and śrāddha, which was comparatively ancient. The quotations of Jātukarṇya in Mitākṣarā Haradatta, Aparārka, and later writers are in verse and so it appears that by that time the work had been lost or forgotten. Aparārka (p. 423) quotes a verse of Jātukarṇya which refers to the zodiacal sign Virgo. This would place the verse Jātukarṇya not very much earlier than the 3rd or 4th century A. D.

### 23. Devala

In the Mit. there are several prose passages quoted from Devala, e. g. on Yaj. I. 120 there is a sūtra on the dharmas of the śūdra and the avocations open to him;<sup>221</sup> on Yaj. I. 128 there is a sūtra dividing householders into Yayāvara and Śalina and describing each of them.<sup>222</sup> In Aparārka and the Smṛticandrikā there are several

<sup>219</sup> मूयान्तो धर्मवक्ता उत्यन्ता भाविनस्तथा। निधानं सर्वधर्माणां वेद एव हि शाश्वतः॥

नारदः पुलहो गार्ग्यः पुलस्त्यः शौनकः क्रतुः। योधाचनो जातुकर्णो विश्वामित्रः पितृमहः॥

<sup>220</sup> 'शतिलोमास्तन्तापसायिनः', 'नाकस्मात्समवाये गुरुं पृच्छेत्', 'दीक्षितौ चेद्वाजम्वयैर्यो श्राणाधिकं कुर्यात्ताम्', 'द्विगुणा गायत्रीमतिक्रम्य ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मः स्यात्', 'सर्वर्णया कृतदारो नाभ्यामिच्छेत्सन्तानस्यान्वगामित्वात्', 'अथ श्राद्धमपरपक्षे सर्वत्रादिशेषात्। नमस्य एव वा सामर्थ्येपपत्तिभ्याम्'.

<sup>221</sup> तानि च देवलोकानि । शुद्धधर्मो द्विजातिशुश्रूषा पापवर्जनं कलत्रादिवेषाचमं कर्षणपशुपालनमारोहद्वन्द्वपण्यव्यवहारादिचक्रमर्गत्वगीतवेणुवीणामुरजमृदङ्गमादनादीनि ।

<sup>222</sup> यथा हि देवलः । द्विविधो गृहस्थो पाथावरः शालीनश्च । तयोर्वापावरः मपरः पाजनाभ्यापनमतिपहरिषधस्तपवर्जनात् । षट्कर्माधिष्ठितः श्रेष्ठचतुषदङ्गहृषामधमधान्वयुक्तो लोकगुपती शालीन इति ।

prose quotations from Devala. On Yāj. III. 58 Aparārka quotes a long prose passage on the rules of conduct for a yati; on Yāj. III. 109 Aparārka cites a very long passage, in which Sāṅkhya and Yoga are defined, reference is made to extensive *Tantras* on the two systems and a brief résumé is given of the Sāṅkhya system, which greatly resembles the *Tattva-samāsa*. On Yāj. III. 227 Aparārka has a prose quotation from Devala about *patitas*. In the *Smṛticandrikā* (I. p. 63) there is a lengthy passage from Devala on the daily duties of the *brahmacārin*, a *sūtra* (I. p. 52) is quoted about *brahmacārya* for 48 years and in another place there is a prose passage about the wife's duties.<sup>213</sup>

In the *Mit.*, in Haradatta, Aparārka and the *Smṛticandrikā* there are numerous quotations in verse from Devala on *ācāra*, *vyavahāra*, *śrāddha*, *prāyaścitta* and other topics. That seems to have been an independent work. In the *Anandaśrama* collection of *smṛtis* there is a *Devalasmṛti* in 90 verses dealing with purification and *prāyaścittas* for contact with *Mlecchas*. This appears to be a late compilation. Some of the verses contained therein are ascribed to other authors, e. g. verses 17-22 are ascribed to Āpastamba by Aparārka (on Yāj. III. p. 1200) and verses 30-31 are ascribed by the *Mit.* (on Yāj. III. 290) and Aparārka to Viṣṇu.

The *Mahābhārata* ascribes the view to Devala that in man there are three *jyotis*, viz. offspring, *karma*, and learning.<sup>214</sup>

Aparārka and the *Smṛticandrikā* cite verses from Devala on partition, inheritance, on woman's power over *stridhana*. These show that Devala, the jurist, flourished about the same time as the great jurists *Brhaspati* and *Kātyāyana*.

#### 24. Paiṭhīnasi

Though not enumerated in *Yājñavalkya*, *Paiṭhīnasi* seems to have been a comparatively ancient *sūtrakāra* on dharma. On Yāj. III. 262 Viśvarūpa quotes a *sūtra* of *Paiṭhīnasi* on the *prāyaścitta* for killing a cow. Dr. Jolly (R. und S. p. 12) following Dr. Caland (Ahnencult &c. pp. 99, 109) thinks that *Paiṭhīnasi* belongs to the *Atharva-veda* as the prose quotations on *śrāddha* agree with the ritual of

<sup>213</sup> पतिशुभूषा सहधर्मचर्या तत्तज्ज्वमालपुनम् ।

<sup>214</sup> प्राणि ज्योतीषि दुह्य इति वै देवलोजिवात् । अत्ययं कर्म विद्या च यतः सृष्टा मजस्ततः ॥  
सभाषणं 72. 5.

the Atharvans. The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 53) quotes a sūtra of Paiṭhīnāsī to the effect that a person should marry a girl who is beyond the third degree on the mother's side and beyond the fifth on the father's side.<sup>225</sup> On Yāj. III. 17 the Mit. quotes two sūtras relating to impurity on death.<sup>226</sup> The Smṛticandrikā, Aparārka, Haradatta and other writers quote numerous sūtras of Paiṭhīnāsī. The Smṛticandrikā has a prose quotation on the duties of women.<sup>227</sup> In another place the Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 263) cites a sūtra on partition.<sup>228</sup> Aparārka (p. 112) quotes two verses of Paiṭhīnāsī recommending the practice of *sati* to women of all castes except Brāhmaṇa women. Aparārka (p. 239) quotes a sūtra saying that the food of astrologers, bell-makers and grāmakūṭas is poison.<sup>229</sup> Aparārka quotes (on p. 744) a sūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita and Paiṭhīnāsī about inheritance to a deceased soulless man.<sup>230</sup> Aparārka quotes another important prose passage<sup>231</sup> "the wealth of (a heirless) *śrotriya* goes to the *pariśad* and not to the king, the king should not appropriate the wealth of temples and guilds, deposits and the wealth of minors and women." Then the sūtra quotes a verse on the same topic, which seems to refer to Mānu 9. 194 in the word 'of sixfold origin' (*ṣaḍāgama*). Another sūtra quoted by Aparārka (p. 754) says 'when an appointed daughter dies, her husband does not take her wealth; if she be issueless, her mother or mother-in-law should receive it.' Aparārka quotes a verse of Paiṭhīnāsī (p. 921) "at the time of marriage, famines, sacrifices, fairs and pilgrimages there is no impurity due to birth or death."

225 श्रीनर्गत्य मातुः पश्चात्पुत्रस्तु पुत्रं पुत्रं हस्ति च पेठीनस्तिना &c.

226 निम्नानि विनिवर्तन् पितृपुत्रं श्रद्धां चक्रे । सावित्र्या चात्रलिं श्रद्धिष्व प्रदक्षिणं कृत्वा सूर्यं ध्यायेन्ननश्कुप्यत् ।

227 स्त्रियो गृहदेवतास्तासां न शौर्यं न क्लृप्तं नोपवासः । पतिशुश्रूषयेव स्त्रियो गच्छन्ति परमां गतिम् ॥ स्मृतिष्व० II. p. 252.

228 पितृकै विभज्यमाने दायाये श्रान्तां समो विभागः ।

229 सांस्तारिकपाण्डिकग्रामकृद्वात्रं विभम् । . The word ग्रामकृद् (a village officer) is well known from inscriptions.

230 अपुत्रस्य स्वर्धत्तस्य श्रान्त्यामि धनं तदभावे मातापितरौ लभेतां पत्नी वा ज्येष्ठा ।

231 "परिषद्गामि वा श्राद्धियद्द्वयं न राजगामि । न हार्यं राज्ञा देवतागणसंस्थितं न निक्षेपो-  
पनिर्धिकायकमागतं न बाहस्त्रिधनानि । एवं त्स्याह । न हार्यं स्त्रीधनं राज्ञा तथा बाल-  
धनानि च । नार्याः षड्भागं पितुं बालानां पितृकं धनम् ॥". This whole passage is ascribed to शङ्ख in वि. र. p. 298.

25. *Budha*

This *sūtrakāra* is not mentioned by Yāj. nor by Parāśara. He is very rarely cited. Aparārka on Yāj. 1. 1-5, Kalpataru (quoted in *Vira-mitrodaya*, *Paribhāṣā* p. 16), Hemādri,<sup>232</sup> Jimūta-vāhana's *Kalaviveka* are probably the earliest writers to mention him. In the Deccan College Collection there are two mss. of a *Budha-dharma-sāstra* in prose (No. 507 of 1881-82 and No. 145 of 1895-1902, 2 folios). The work is very brief<sup>233</sup> and speaks of *upanayana*, marriage, eight forms of marriage, the *sāhskāras* from *garbhādhāna* to *Upanayana*, the five daily great *yajñas*, *śrāddha*, *pākayajñas*, *haviryajñas*, *somayāga*, the means of subsistence for a *Brāhmaṇa*, the duties of *Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras*, the orders of forest hermits and *sannyāsins*, removal of thorns by the king, administration of justice, king's duties.

The work does not produce the impression of being early. It is in the nature of a summary of larger works on *dharma*. All quotations in Hemādri cited from *Budha* are not found in the mss.

26. *Brhaspati*

That *Brhaspati* was an ancient teacher of *Arthaśāstra* follows from the *Kautiliya*, wherein the *Bārhaspatyas* are cited six times. In the *Mahābhārata* (*Śānti*, chap. 59. 80-85) *Brhaspati* is said to have compressed into 3000 chapters the work on *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* composed by *Brahmā*. The *Vanaparva* (32. 61) speaks of *Brhaspati-niti*. The *Mahābhārata* several times cites verses (*gāthas* or *ślokas*) said to have been sung by *Brhaspati*<sup>234</sup> (vide *Śānti*. 23. 25, 56. 38-39, 57. 6-7). *Vide*

232 चतुर्वर्गः (दानसूत्र p. 52) says 'आदिशब्दाच्च बुधदेवसोमयजापतिर्बृहशालावप-  
पेदीनसिद्धागलेयच्यवनमरौचिचत्सपारस्करपुलस्त्यपुलहकृत्कश्यपश्चक्रवर्ज्याणां षडणम्'.

233 The *Budha sūtra* opens as follows:—अथानो बुधधर्मशास्त्रं व्याख्यास्यामः ।  
श्रेयोभ्युदयसाधनो धर्मः । गमांश्चैव ब्राह्मणो वसन्त आत्मानमुपनयेत् । एकादशे  
क्षत्रियो घोष्णे । द्वादशे वैश्यो वषांसु । मेसलजिनदण्डकमण्डलूपवीतानि धारयेत् । &c.  
हेमाद्रि (परिशेष, काल, p. 309) quotes this as *Budha's* from *स्मृति-  
महर्षि*.

234 भूमिरतो निगिरति सर्पो विलशयाम्निव । राजानं चाविरोद्धारं ब्राह्मणं चामवासिनम् ॥  
शान्ति. 23. 15. This verse (with the reading द्वाविमो घसने भूमिः सर्पो &c.)  
is ascribed by शान्तिपर्व 57. 3. to *Uśanas*; vide note 195 above. बार्हस्पत्ये च

also Śānti. 58. 13-16, 69. 23-24. The Anuśāsana (39. 10-11) speaks of the Arthaśāstra composed by Brhaspati and others. In some of these places there are distinct references to a śāstra or *mata* of Brhaspati and sections of his work are referred to (as e.g. *rājadhikāra*). The Śānti-parva (170. 12) describes how a king could, according to Brhaspati's views, secure his goal in four ways.<sup>235</sup> In the Vanaparva (150. 29) men are said to be upheld by the *nayas* proclaimed by Brhaspati and Uśanas. Vide also Sabha 50. 9, 55. 6, 73. 7-8, Udyoga 33. 71-72, 55. 66. The Kāmasūtra repeats the tradition that Brāhmā composed a work in one hundred thousand chapters on *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* and that Brhaspati dealt with a portion of that work, viz. on *artha*.<sup>236</sup> Vide note 196 above. Aśvaghoṣa (Buddhacarita I. 46) speaks of the *rājaśāstra* of Śukra and Brhaspati. According to the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya some of the special views of Brhaspati's school were that there were only two *vidyās* for kings viz. *vārta* and *daṇḍanīti* and that the council of ministers should comprise 16 members. According to Kāmandaka and the Pañcatantra (II. 41) 'aviśvāsa' was the sheet-anchor of royal policy according to Brhaspati. The Yaśastilaka (p. 13) says that the *nīti* of Brhaspati had no place for Gods.<sup>237</sup> The commentary on the Nītivakyāmṛta gives the first verse of Brhaspati.<sup>238</sup> Viśvarūpa contains several prose quotations which from their context must have been taken from Brhaspati about the qualifications of a *senāpati*, *pratihāra*, *dāta*, &c. It is somewhat strange that in this quotation the *mantriya* is required to be deeply conversant with the śāstras of Manu, Brhaspati and Uśanas. For similar prose quotations, *vide*

शस्त्रे च श्लोको निगदन्तः पुरा । ... क्षेममर्थं नृपं जित्वे नोचः परमदेवजनः । इत्य-  
यन्ता गजस्येव शिर एवाहस्यति ॥ शान्ति 56. 38-39: महत्तन हि रक्षा ये मातः  
श्लोकाः पुरातनः । राजाधिकारे राजेन्द्र बृहस्पतिमते पुरा ॥ पुरेऽस्य शक्तिरस्य कार्य-  
मजनतः । उत्पद्यमतिपन्नस्य दण्डो भवति शाश्वतः ॥ शान्ति 57. 6-7.

235 चतुर्विधा सूर्यसिद्धिर्बृहस्पतिमते यथा । पारम्पर्यं तथा देवं काम्यं मित्रमिति प्रभो ॥  
शान्ति 170. 12.

236 प्रजापतिः प्रजाः सृज्य तासां दिव्यनिषन्धेन त्रिवर्गस्य सचननप्ययानां शासकत्वे-  
णाद्ये प्रोवाच । तस्यैकदेशिकं मनुः रसायनभुवो धर्माधिकारिकं पृथक् चक्र ।  
बृहस्पतिरर्थाधिकारिकम् । 5-7

237 बृहस्पतिवनिष्य इवादेशमत्काः ।

238 वाचा कवेन मनसा प्रणम्याङ्गिरसे मुनिम् । गतिशस्त्रं मन्त्र्यानि भूपतिनां सुखावहम् ॥

*Viśvarūpa* on *Yāj. I. 323, II. 154*. That *Bṛhaspati* also wrote a *sūtra* work on *vyavahāra* and other topics of *dharma* follows from the quotations contained in *Viśvarūpa* and *Haradatta*. For example, *Viśvarūpa* cites a prose passage from *Bṛhaspati* (on *Yāj. II. 38*) about the duty of the king to restore property stolen from his subjects if he could not recover it from the thief, about the rising scale of the rates of interest according to the castes, about the debts of a deceased man being payable by those who took his wealth, by his wife or by his son, about a surety being made to pay when the principal died, about the illegitimate son of a *śūdra* getting a share on his father's death and about his taking the whole estate with the king's permission if there were no legitimate issue of the *śūdra*.<sup>238</sup> *Haradatta* on *Gautama 22. 18* quotes a prose passage from *Bṛhaspati* on the *prāyaścitta* for killing a cow. These quotations establish that *Bṛhaspati* wrote a *sūtra* work on *dharma* also (i. e. at least on *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta*). *Viśvarūpa* also quotes a few verses from *Bṛhaspati* on *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta* and in one place at least indicates that the verse he attributes to *Bṛhaspati* occurred in the same work in which a prose passage quoted by him occurred.<sup>239</sup> From this it follows that the *sūtra* work of *Bṛhaspati* on *dharma* contained verses also in *Viśvarūpa*'s time. Whether the two works on *arthaśāstra* and *dharma* were composed by the same *Bṛhaspati* cannot be determined. It looks probable that they were composed by different authors. *Yāj. (I. 4-5)* mentions *Bṛhaspati* among the expounders of *dharma*. He is probably referring to the *sūtra* work on *dharma* disclosed by quotations from *Viśvarūpa*.

<sup>238</sup> तथा च बृहस्पतिः चारुपटुनं तु सर्वेभ्योऽन्येभ्यः परेण यत् । अलभे स्वकोशं ह्य । अद्दचचार-  
किंयथो ह्यत् ।' on *याज्ञ. II. 38*; तथा च बृहस्पतिः—पदोपवपात् कमेणे-  
तरेषाम्—इति on *याज्ञ. II. 39*; बृहस्पतिश्च धनस्त्राहारिपुत्राणां पुत्राभावे पथोत्तर-  
माधमर्ण्यं तद्भावे कमशेन्येषां रिक्तभाजाम् । on *याज्ञ. II. 47*; तथा च बृहस्पतिः  
उपस्थाप्य विपत्तापुपस्थाप्यश्च पुनः शान्तभूदप्यः इति । on *याज्ञ. II. 55*; तथा च  
बृहस्पतिः—'कामतश्च शुद्रवरोधजस्य धातुरेशं समानमार्चं प्रेते पितरं दद्युः शुभ्र-  
भ्येत्' इति । on *याज्ञ. II. 138*.

<sup>239</sup> on *याज्ञ. III. 262* विश्वरूप says 'बृहस्पतिना तु द्वादशाङ्गेन, गोघाती तस्वत्वापन्न-  
मुच्यते । स्त्रीराहरो भवेत्तत्र स्त्रीरद्वयशनीपि वा ॥ तथेदमन्वद् 'ग.यज्या दशाहासं  
&c. (two verses)'. तथेदं तत्रैवान्वद् 'द्वादशार्चं पञ्चगव्यहारः पटुरर्चं वा याव-  
काहरो गच्छे वसेत् । ... याज्ञगन्तु भोजयेत्वा शुभेदेत्यङ्गं बृहस्पतिः' इति ।

The words *द्वादशार्चं पञ्चगव्यहारः* are attributed to *बृहस्पति* by *हरदत्त* also.



In the *Mit.* and other commentaries and *nibandhas* over seven hundred verses on *vyavahāra* and a few hundred more on *ācāra* and *prāyaścitta* are cited from *Bṛhaspati*. That seems to have been an independent work composed between 300 and 500 A. D., which will be discussed later on ( vide sec. 37 ).

In *Jivananda's* collection ( part I. pp. 644-651 ) and in the *Ānandaśrama* collection there is a *Bṛhaspatismṛti* in 80 verses in which *Bṛhaspati* is represented as instructing *Indra* about gifts. Several mss. in the *Deccan College Collection* contain this *smṛti*, but in an abridged form in 70 and 49 verses ( No 130 of 1884-86 and No 147 of 1895-1902 ). Vide also I. O. cat. p. 386 No. 1324, 1325-1328. *Aparārka* quotes ( p 1225 ) verse 7 of this *smṛti* ( in verse ) and the *Dānaratnākara* quotes verses 6 and 7 as from *Dāna-Bṛhaspati*.

The *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra* edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas (Lahore, 1921) is a later work and does not deserve more than a passing notice. In six chapters it deals with the conduct, duties, studies of kings, omens, rules of policy &c.

### 27. *Bharadvāja* and *Bhāradvāja*

There is a *Śrauta sūtra* and a *Gṛhya sūtra* attributed to *Bhāradvāja*. The Ms. of the *śrauta* in the *Bombay University Library* contains nine *prāśnas* and a portion of the 10th and begins 'darśapaurṇamāsau vyākhyāsyāmah'. It quotes *Ālekhaṇa* and *Āśmarathya* frequently. The *Gṛhya* has been edited by J. W. Salomons. It appears from quotations in *Viśvarūpa* and other early commentators that a *sūtra* work on *dharma* attributed to *Bharadvāja* or *Bhāradvāja* was in existence. The forms *Bharadvāja* and *Bhāradvāja* probably refer to the same work. On *Yāj.* (I. 15) *Viśvarūpa* quotes a prose passage from *Bhāradvāja* prohibiting the learning of *mlecchā* tongues and calling upon the preceptor to teach his pupil pure words, observance of *Saṁdhyā* and the kindling of fire;<sup>239a</sup> on *Yāj.* I. 32 *Bhāradvāja* is quoted as prescribing a penance for even thinking of causing harm to beings;<sup>239b</sup> on *Yāj.* I. 185 a lengthy *sūtra* of *Bharadvāja* on the purification of certain things is quoted, wherein is cited the view of some that boys are purified by a mere bath

<sup>239a</sup> तथा च भारद्वाजः—न म्लेच्छभाषां शिक्षेत । म्लेच्छो इ वा एष यदपश्यत् इति विज्ञा-  
यते । तस्माच्छिष्यमुपनीय साधुशब्दाश्च शिक्षयेत् सम्प्रशोषसनाग्नीध्नानि ।

<sup>239b</sup> तथा च भारद्वाजः—'ननसा माणिर्हिसायां विद्वेषदानापर्ययेत्' इति ।

when touched by *antyaajas*; <sup>240</sup> on Yāj. I. 236 a prose passage of Bhāradvāja forbids in śrāddhas the use of certain cereals as food.<sup>241</sup> Aparārka quotes a long prose passage (p. 1155) from Bhāradvāja in connection with the *prāyāścitta* for cessation of *grhya* fires for various periods.

In the *Smṛticandrikā*, in Haradatta and in several other works verses of Bhāradvāja are quoted, which appear to be taken from a *smṛti* in verse.

That Bhāradvāja was an ancient writer on *arthaśāstra* follows from the *Kauṭīliya*, wherein the views of Bhāradvāja are cited seven times and of Kaṇvika Bhāradvāja once. Some of the views of Bhāradvāja as described in the *Kauṭīliya* are that a king should choose his ministers from amongst his fellow-students, that the king should consider his line of policy alone in secret, that the princes should be punished secretly when they manifest no love for the king their father, that the minister should set one prince against another when the king is on his death-bed, that when calamities befall the king and the minister, the former is the lesser of two evils, that one should bow down before the strong. This last view occurs in the *Mahābhārata* in the same words.<sup>242</sup> The *Sāntiparva* (chap. 140) contains a dialogue between Bhāradvāja and king Śatruñjaya of Sauvira in which *danḍa* is said to be the most pre-eminent among the expedients. The same parva (chap. 58. 3) mentions Bhāradvāja in a list of writers on *rajaśāstra*. The *Yasastilaka*<sup>243</sup> (4th Āśvāsa p. 100, *Nirṇayasāgara* ed.) quotes two verses of Bhāradvāja from his treatise on the topic of the six *guṇas*. This shows that Bhāradvāja's work on politics was available in the 10th century and contained verses (probably intermixed with prose).

<sup>240</sup> यत्तु भारद्वाजः—'न शौचं शयनासनकटपस्तरयानप्रसनरगण्डोपधानकणितुकम्बलकुण्डभा-  
न्यमणिकलक्रियासहस्रेष्णामनिसानानां च काष्ठानां तृणपल्लवदाभां कुमारानामप्यत्र  
शोक्षणादन्वेष्यशने स्नानं कुमारणामेके' इति । .

<sup>241</sup> माषाङ्कीमुद्रवर्जं विदलानं न दद्यात्—इति भारद्वाजः ।

<sup>242</sup> कौटिल्य says (12.1) इन्द्रस्य हि स प्रणमति यो बलीयसो नमति—इति भारद्वाजः;  
शान्तिपर्व 67. 11. has 'इन्द्राय स प्रणमते नमते यो बलीयसे ।'

<sup>243</sup> अवशेषेण हि सतामसतां प्रघहेन च । तथा सखेष्वाभिद्रोहादधर्मस्य च कारणम् ॥  
निमाननाच्च मान्यानां विभ्वस्तानां च घातनात् । प्रजानां जायते लोपो नृपतेभ्रायुषः  
क्षयः ॥ इति कथमिदमभाषत पाद्गुण्यपस्तवे भारद्वाजः ॥

The Parāśara-Mādhavīya (vol. III. p. 231) quotes a verse of Bharadvāja which divides a pledge into four varieties. A few quotations from Bharadvāja on matters of vyavahāra are cited in other works. For example, the Sarasvatī-vilāsa cites a verse of Bharadvāja that a compromise, an exchange and a partition, if fair and equal, could be annulled only for ten days, but could be annulled till the 9th year, if unfair.<sup>244</sup> It appears that the verses of Bharadvāja on vyavahāra are taken from a work other than the ancient work on politics.

## 28. Śātātapa

Śātātapa is enumerated among the expounders of dharma by Yāj. (I. 4-5) and by Parāśara. Viśvarūpa, Haradatta and Aparārka quote several prose passages of Śātātapa on prāyaścitta. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 236) tells us that Śātātapa spoke of only eight upapātakas and that without dealing with śrāddha as a principal topic he spoke of some of the subsidiary details of śrāddha.<sup>245</sup> The latter passage quoted from Śātātapa is a half verse. So Viśvarūpa had a prose work of Śātātapa before him, mixed with verses. Haradatta on Gaut. (Dh. S. 22. 18) quotes a prose passage of Śātātapa about the penance for killing a cow. In the Mit., the Smṛticandrikā and other works numerous verses of Śātātapa are quoted on ācāra and śrāddha. This work of Śātātapa in verse is most probably a different one from the sūtra work. It appears that there are several smṛtis ascribed to Śātātapa. In Jivananda's collection there is a smṛti of Śātātapa called Karmavivāka in six chapters and about 231 verses. Its contents are : certain diseases are concomitants of certain sins; gifts of land, cows &c.; eulogy of Brahmanas; penances for killing a Brāhmaṇa, a cow &c., penances for drinking wine, for incest and forbidden sexual intercourse of various sorts, for thefts; rites for those who meet with violent and accidental death. The last verse declares that the Smṛti was promulgated by Śātātapa to his pupil Śarabhaṅga. It is a late production. It prescribes the reading of the Harivaṃśa ( II. 30 ) as a penance for infanticide.

244 सन्धिस्थं परितुल्यं विभागश्च समा यदि । आदर्शाहं निर्वर्तेत विषमे नववत्सरत् ।  
सरस्वतीविलास pp. 314, 320.

245 यथा शातातपः ब्राह्मणमुक्तयेव तद्रतान्मुणानाह—'विना यज्ञोपवीतेन गन्धर्वेभ्यः समालभेत्'  
इति । निबन्ध on वाङ्म. I. 4-5.

No. 1362 of the I. O. catalogue (and cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol. V. pp. 1994-96) is a Śātātapa-smṛti in twelve chapters dealing with prāyaścittas for mahāpātakas, prāyaścittas for injuries to various beings, marriage, vaiśvadeva, śrāddha, pītṛtarpaṇa, rules about taking one's dinner, prāyaścitta for dogbites and similar matters; impurity on birth and death, rules of conduct (ācāra).

No. 1361 of the I. O. catalogue is a treatise in mixed prose and verse on prāyaścittas for the Mahāpātakas and Upapātakas. Several verses of Manu (such as III. 8, 11, 171) occur therein. It contains 139 verses. In Mitra's Notices (II. p. 4) there is a ms. called Karmavipāka in 87 chapters and 2376 verses, of which the work in Jivananda's collection seems to be a part or abridgment.

Aparārka in several places quotes the views of Śātātapa immediately followed by quotations from Vṛddha-Śātātapa or *vice versa* (e. g. on Yaj. I. 190, on III. 292 p. 1195 and p. 1201).

No. 205 of A. 1882-83 of the Deccan College Collection is a Vṛddha-Śātātapa smṛti in 64 verses on prāyaścittas for doing various things, on śrāddha, on washing the teeth. I. O. Cat. No. 1360 p. 398 is a Vṛddha-Śātātapa-smṛti in 97 verses on defilement and purifications. The Anandaśrama collection contains a Vṛddha-Śātātapa smṛti in 68 verses (pp. 232-235) on prāyaścittas, purification from various defilements and other miscellaneous matters. There are two prose passages therein.

Hemādri mentions a Vṛddha-Śātātapa along with several other smṛtikāras (vide note 232 above). In the Vyavahāramātrkā of Jimūtavāhana (p. 305) Vṛddha-Śātātapa is cited on the six kinds of *uttara* (defendant's reply).<sup>146</sup> This shows that Vṛddha-Śātātapa wrote on Vyavahāra also.

The Mit. (on Yaj. III. 290) cites a Bṛhat-Śātātapa.

Hemādri (III. 1. 801) speaks of a bhāṣyakāra of Vṛddha-Śātātapa.

#### 29. Sumantu.

From Viśvarūpa, Haradatta and Aparārka it follows that Sumantu composed a sūtra work on *dharma*, particularly on ācāra and prāyaścitta. Viśvarūpa quotes prose passages from Sumantu on upapātakas,<sup>147</sup>

<sup>146</sup> बृहद्वातातपवचनं तु बहुलाजीर्णरुतनिबन्धेस्मामिदृष्टं न पुनर्भोजये ।

<sup>147</sup> एवं सुमन्तुः 'क्षीरजतगोस्तेभ्यं बोधे गमनं नाशकं मूयन्तं क्षत्रियैश्च गोघ्नता परित्यजित्वा प्रतिपद्यन्तु विधेःपुनपातकानि' इति । विवरूपे ७० वाक्, III. 229-236.

on *prāyaścitta* for Brāhmaṇa-murder (on Yāj. III. 237), for drinking wine (on Yāj. III. 250), for theft of gold (on Yāj. III. 252), for incest (on Yāj. III. 253-54), for killing a cow and about *ātatāyin* (on Yāj. III. 261). In one quotation from Sumantu cited by Viśvarūpa the views of *ācāryas* and of *Āṅgīrasa* are mentioned.<sup>248</sup> The *prāyaścittas* for Brāhmaṇa-murder and for killing a cow contained in Viśvarūpa occur in Haraḍatta (on Gaut. 22. 13 and 18). Most of the quotations cited by Viśvarūpa occur in Aparārka also. The Haraḍatta (p. 68) quotes sūtras of Sumantu on *āśauca*. One well-known sūtra of Sumantu is 'no *prāyaścitta* (or blame) is incurred by killing an *ātatāyin*, except cows and brāhmaṇas'.<sup>249</sup> Aparārka quotes sūtras from Sumantu condemning marriage with maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter and recommending the abandonment of a young wife in certain circumstances.<sup>250</sup> In the *Sarasvatī-vilāsa* a prose passage of Sumantu is cited on the seven constituents of *raja*.<sup>251</sup>

These quotations from Viśvarūpa and others establish that a prose work on dharma by Sumantu existed early enough. It appears however that the work was not a very ancient one. Neither Yājñavalkya nor Parāśara mentions Sumantu among the propounders of *dharma*. On the other hand the name of Sumantu is an ancient one. In the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (XII. 6. 75 and 7. 1). Sumantu is said to have been a pupil of Jaimini and a promulgator of the *Atharvaveda*. Vide *Śāntiparva* 341. 19 for Sumantu and other pupils of Vyāsa. In the daily *tarpaṇa* the name of Sumantu occurs along with Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana, Paila.

248 न ब्राह्मणस्य पतनमिच्छन्त्याचार्योः किल्बिष्युपगतः पातव्य इत्यादिरसः—इति । विष्णुरूप on याज्ञ. III. 237.

249 विष्णुरूप on याज्ञ. III. 262 quotes it as 'नाततायिवधे शपथिसमन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः,' while the नित्ता. on याज्ञ. II. 21 quotes it as 'नाततायिवधे दोषोऽन्यत्र गो-ब्राह्मणात्'; the स्मृतिमञ्जरी of गोविन्दराज (I. O. ms. No 1736) has 'आत-तायिव्यदोषोऽन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः'.

250 ब्रातुलसुता पतृध्वसेर्या समानर्चिगोत्रा च परिणीय चान्द्रायणे चरेत् परित्यज्येनां विमु-यात् । अपराकं on याज्ञ. I. 53; 'कन्या कुसितान्वजातिफर्मशीला ध्याधुपह्ना परि-णीता यद्यक्षतपोनिः स्वात्परित्यक्तया' अपराकं on याज्ञ. I. 65.

250a अतः समाह्वयि सर्वथा संरक्षणीत्याह सुमन्तुः 'स्वाम्यमात्मना संरक्षेत् । अमात्यान् समनेन । वर्णान् रजनन । जनान् वर्णेभर्मरजनेन । दुर्गं धनधास्यादिसमृद्ध्या । क्रोष्टुमुचितम्ययेन । दुष्टं स्वधर्मेण । निधं सत्यमाचनेन । इति ।' हरश्चरती० P. 46.

Numerous verses on dharma are also cited from Sumantu by Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and other works. This may probably be a different work from the sūtra work of Sumantu. In one verse of Sumantu (Aparārka on Yāj. I. 223) occur the words 'Śaṅkha-sya vacanaṁ yathā' and in another (Aparārka on Yāj. I. 217-218) the Kanyā sign of the zodiac is referred to.

It is remarkable that the Mit. and Aparārka contain no verses of Sumantu on vyavahāra. The Sarasvatī-vilāsa is rich in quotations from Sumantu on vyavahāra. A compromise, exchange or partition, if fair, could be annulled up to the tenth day, but if unfair up to the 9th year (vide note 244 above). 'If even as much as a māṣa went from the buyer to the seller, that would support the sale of the land (sold) just as a small dose of poison permeates the whole body and when no purchase-money is paid or only a portion is paid, then the purchase is called *avākṛaya* and is liable to be set aside if the price is not paid in (good time).' Sumantu prescribes a fine for selling and purchasing land without the consent of the neighbouring members of the family and says that in case of pre-emption, the neighbours on the east are preferred to all and those on the south come last.<sup>252</sup> Sumantu defines a mortgage by conditional sale (called '*uktalābhakṛaya*') and a sale for arrears of revenue by the king's orders (called '*ājñākṛaya*').<sup>253</sup>

### 30. The Smṛtis

The word *smṛti* is used in two senses. It is applied to all ancient orthodox non-Vedic works such as Pāṇini's grammar, to the śrauta, grhya and dharma sūtras, to the Mahābhārata, to Manu, Yājñavalkya and others. In a narrower sense *smṛti* and dharma-

251 प्राचमात्रमपि द्रव्यं केनैविक्रयार्थं स्थितम् । व्याप्राप्तिं सकलं भूमिं कायमल्पं विषं यथा ॥  
अर्धवत्तमदत्तं तु क्रयमाहुरवकथम् । अवकथो निर्वर्तेत यदि काले न दीयते ॥  
सरस्वती० p. 321.

252 ज्ञात्वादीनननुज्ञाप्य समीपस्थानतन्निद्रानाम् । क्रयविक्रयकर्तारो तत्समं दण्डमदंतः ॥  
सरस्वती० p. 322; 'चतुःसामान्तसन्निधौ प्राची दिग्बलवत्तरा । उदीची च प्रतीची च  
सर्वाभावे तु दक्षिणा ॥ p. 323.

253 किञ्चिच्च द्रव्यमादाय काले दास्यामि ते कथितम् । नो चेन्मूलमिदं त्यक्तं केदारस्येति  
यः क्रयः ॥ स उक्तलाभ इत्युक्तं उक्तकालेप्यनर्पणात् ॥ सरस्वती० p. 324; मूल्यस्य  
पादमर्धं वा मूल्यमाज्ञाकथे स्थितम् । मूल्यं तदागमसिलं दत्त्वा क्षेत्रं समाप्नुयात् ॥  
आ विभोगात् ततः केनः परतो ददतामियात् । p. 323.



śāstra are synonyms, as Manu says.<sup>254</sup> The word *smṛti* occurs in Taittiriya Āraṇyaka (I. 2). Gautama (Dh. S. I. 2) and Vasiṣṭha (Dh. S. I. 4) speak of *smṛti* as one of the sources of dharma. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 15. 25) employs the word *smṛti* and has in view Gautama's dharmasūtra according to Haradatta. In the Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra the word *smṛti* occurs (vide VI. 8. 23 and XII. 4. 42).<sup>255</sup> In the Vedāntasūtras the word *smṛti* is employed in a wide sense, in one place as referring even to the sāṅkhya system.<sup>256</sup> In that work the word is used according to Śāṅkara with reference to the Mahābhārata or the Manusmṛti (Vedāntasūtra II. 3. 47, III. 1. 14 and 21, IV. 2. 14).

In ancient times the number of *smṛtis* (i. e. works on dharmaśāstra) must have been very small. Gautama mentions by name no *smṛtikāra* except Manu, though he speaks of dharmaśāstras (XI. 19). Baudhāyana names seven (besides himself) authors on dharma, viz. Aupajāṅghani, Kātya, Kāśyapa, Gautama, Prajāpati, Maudgalya and Hārita. Vasiṣṭha names only five authors, Gautama, Prajāpati, Manu, Yama, and Hārita. Āpastamba mentions a large number, viz. ten, some of whom like Eka, Kuṇika and Puṣkarasādi are no more than mere names to us. Manu speaks of only six (besides himself) viz. Atri, the son of Utathya, Bhṛgu, Vasiṣṭha, Vaikhāṇasa (or rather Vikhanas) and Śaunaka. But in all these works the writers are mentioned only casually and there is no regular enumeration or list of writers on dharma in one place. Aparārka quotes (p. 7) a sūtra of Gautama (not found in the printed G. Dh. S.) in which sixteen authors of dharmaśāstras including himself are enumerated.<sup>257</sup> The same sūtra with slight variations is ascribed to Śāṅkha-Likhita in the Viramitrodaya (Paribhāṣa-prakāśa p. 16). Yājñavalkya is probably the earliest writer who enumerated in one place (I. 4-5) twenty expounders of dharma (including himself and counting Śāṅkha and Likhita as two distinct persons). It will be noticed that Yāj. omits Baudhāyana. Parāśara also gives a list of 19 expounders of dharma (excluding

<sup>254</sup> धृतिस्तु वेदो विज्ञेयो धर्मशास्त्रं तु ये स्मृतिः । मनु II. 10.

<sup>255</sup> स्मृतेषां स्याद् ब्राह्मणानाम् । पृ. मी. सू. XII. 4. 42 (refers to आर्विज्य).

<sup>256</sup> स्मृत्यनवकाशदोषप्रसङ्ग इति चेन्नन्यस्मृत्यनवकाशदोषप्रसङ्गत् । वेदान्तसूत्र II. 1. 1.

<sup>257</sup> अथ गौतमः । स्मृतिधर्मशास्त्राणि तेषां प्रणेतास्तु मनुविष्णुदक्षः क्रौञ्चिपृष्ठस्पत्यशान-  
कापिलम्बगौतमसंवर्तविषकात्यायनशङ्खलिलितपराशरव्यासशानतपस्वतेपाद्मवल्क्यादयः ।



himself), but his list differs slightly from that of Yāj. Parāśara omits Brhaspati, Yama, and Vyāsa and adds Kāśyapa, Gārgya and Pracetas. The Tantra-vārtika ( p. 125 ) of Kumārila speaks of eighteen dharmasamhitās. Viśvarūpa quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya, who adds ten names to the list of Yājñavalkya ( vide note 219 above ). The Caturviṃśatimata is a work which professes to give the views of 24 sages on dharmaśāstra, viz. all those listed by Yāj. ( except Kātyāyana and Likhita ) and six more, viz. Gārgya Nārada, Baudhāyana, Vatsa, Viśvāmitra, Saṅkha ( Saṅkhyāyana ? ). Aṅgīras as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā ( I. p. 1 ), Hemadri ( Dānakhaṇḍa p. 528 ), the Sarasvativilāsa ( p. 13 ) and other works mention Upasṁptis.<sup>214</sup> There is a smṛti called Śaṭtriṃśanmata quoted by the Mit., Aparārka and other works. Paithīnāsī as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā, the Saṁskāramayūkha and other works enumerates 36 smṛtis.<sup>260</sup> Aparārka says that the Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa speaks of 36 smṛtis and his enumeration of them is slightly different from that of Paithīnāsī.<sup>261</sup> The Vṛddhagautamasṁpti ( Jivananda part II. pp. 498-499 ) gives a list of 57 dharma-śāstras. The Prayoga-pārijāta as quoted in the Viramitrodaya enumerates 18

218 वक्तारो धर्मशास्त्राणां मनुविष्णुसंज्ञितोऽङ्गिराः । वसिष्ठदक्षसंवत्सरातातपराशराः ॥ अपस्तम्बो-  
श्चान्वियासाः कात्यायनवृहस्पती । गौतमः शङ्खलिक्षितो हारीतोत्रिहृतथा ॥ याज्ञ. I. 4-5  
( Trivandrum ed. ). The Mit. reads the two verses differently though the  
names are the same.

219 नारदः पुलहो गार्ग्यः पुलस्त्यः शौनकः क्रतुः । बोधायनो जातुकर्णो विष्णुमित्रः श्रिता-  
महः ॥ जाबालिर्नचिकेतश्च स्कन्दो लोकाक्षिकश्चपौ । व्यासः सत्यकुमारश्च शुनमुर्जनक-  
स्तथा ॥ व्यासः कात्यायनश्चैव जानकस्यः कविञ्जलः बोधायनश्च काणादो विष्णुमित्र-  
स्तथैव च ॥ पौनसिर्गोमिलश्चेत्युपस्मृतिविधापकाः ॥ quoted as from प्रयोगपरिनाल  
पृ. ४१ मित्रोदय ( परिभाषाम. p. 18 ). The वीर. adds that these upasṁptis  
were enumerated by the Madanarātra also.

260 तेषां मन्वीन्द्रोऽग्यस्तगौतमाज्यशुनोयमः । वसिष्ठदक्षसंवत्सरातातपराशराः ॥ विष्णु-  
पस्तम्बहारीताः शङ्खः कात्यायनो गुरुः । प्रथेना नारदो योगी बोधायनपितामहो ॥ सुमन्मु-  
काश्चपौ बभूवुः पौनो व्यास एव च ॥ सत्यमनो भरद्वाजो गार्ग्यः कान्नाजिनिस्तथा ॥  
जाबालिर्जमदग्निश्च लोकाक्षिर्बल्लसंभवः । इति धर्मपणेतारः षट्त्रिंशच्च स्मृताः ॥  
quoted in the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and संस्कारमयूख.

261 ताभ्य मनुविष्णुयमदक्षान्विरोचिषहस्पत्युशनपस्तम्बवसिष्ठकात्यायनपराशराभ्यासञ्जलिक्षि-  
तसंवत्सरोत्तमशातातपहारीतपाज्ञवल्क्यमचेतोबुधदेवलसोमजमदग्निविष्णुमित्रपञ्चपनि-  
नारदपौनसिपितामहबोधायनकाणलेयजाबालिच्यवननरीचिकश्चपौ इति षट्त्रिंशदेव  
स्मृत्यन्तरे पठिताः । अपरार्क p. 7.

principal *smṛtis*, 18 *upasmṛtis* and 21 other *smṛtikāras*.<sup>262</sup> If all the *smṛtis* cited in the later *nibandhas* such as the *Nirṇayasindhu*, the *Mayūkhas* of *Nīlakaṇṭha* and the *Vīramitrodaya* be taken into account, the number of *smṛtis* will be found to be about 100.

The *smṛtis* thus relied upon are the products of different and widely separated ages. Some of them are entirely in prose or in mixed prose and verse, while the large majority are in verse. A few of them are very ancient and were composed centuries before the Christian era. Such are the *dharmaśūtras* of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, and the *Manusmṛti*. Some were composed in the first centuries of the Christian era such as the *smṛtis* of Yājñavalkya, Parāśara, Nārada. Most of the *smṛtis* other than the above fall between the period from 400 A. D. to 1000 A. D. The chronology of all these *smṛtis* presents perplexing problems. Some of the metrical *smṛtis* are remodellings of older *sūtras* as in the case of Śaṅkha. There are sometimes as many as two or three different *smṛtis* going under the same name, e. g. Śātātapa, Hārīta, Atri. Then the confusion is worse confounded by the fabrications of sectarian zeal, such as the *Hārītasṁṛti* which is full of Vaiṣṇavaite teachings. There are several works going under the names of well-known *smṛtikāras* with the prefixes *Vṛddha*, *Bṛhat*, *Laghu*. In many cases the works going under these names are different from the *smṛtis* that are without these prefixes and this differentiation took place at a very early date in certain cases, for example, so early a writer as Viśvarūpa distinguishes between Yājñavalkya and *Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya*, Gārgya and *Vṛddha-Gārgya*. Similarly Viśvarūpa quotes (on Yāj. I. 69) *Vṛddha-Manu* and (on Yāj. I. 19) *Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha*, which latter probably was different from the *Vasiṣṭhadharmaśūtra*, as the latter does not contain the details given

262 The 18 principal *स्मृतिकारः* according to the प्रयोगपरिजाल are मनु, बृह-  
स्पति, दक्ष, गौतम, यम, अत्रि, बृहस्पति, ब्रह्म, प्रचेतस्, शातातप, पराशर, संघत, उश-  
नस्, शङ्ख, लिङ्गित, अत्रि, विष्णु, आपस्तम्ब, हारीत. The उपस्मृतिः have been  
enumerated above (in n. 259). The other 21 *smṛtis* are : वसिष्ठो नादश्वेव सुम-  
न्तुश्च पितामहः । विष्णुः काष्ठाजिनिः सत्यव्रजो गार्ग्यश्च देवलः ॥ जमदग्निर्भारद्वाजः  
पुलस्त्यः पुलहः क्रतुः । आत्रेयश्च गोव्यश्च मरीचिर्वत्स एव च ॥ पारस्करश्च-  
र्ष्यश्च वैजयापरतथेव च । इत्येते स्मृतिकर्तार एकविंशतिरिति । वीर०, परिभाषाम०  
p. 18.

by Viśvarūpa.<sup>263</sup> In some cases the works designated Vṛddha or Bṛhat are larger and in all cases later than the works without those prefixes. For example, Parāśara and Bṛhat-Parāśara ( Jivananda part II. pp. 55-310 ), Gautama and Vṛddha-Gautama ( Jivananda part II. pp. 497-638 ). Some of the works with the prefix Vṛddha are versified compilations of prose works, e. g. Mit. on Yāj. III. 267 quotes a verse from Vṛddha-Viṣṇu which is merely the versified equivalent of Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra chap. 50. 6, 12-14. It appears that sometimes the same work is cited with the prefix Vṛddha or Bṛhat, e. g. the Mit. on Yāj. II. 135 quotes a passage from Bṛhad-viṣṇu which is the same as the Viṣṇudharmasūtra 17. 4-7.

As most of the writers of digests quote from memory and had recourse to mss. and not to standard editions, even well known verses are ascribed to different authors in different works. The verses 'bhrātṛṇām-aprajāh' &c. which are quoted as Nārada's ( Nārada 16.25-26 ) in the Vyavahāramayūkha are attributed to Śaṅkha in the Madanapārijāta ( p. 680 ). The three verses about *bandhus* are ascribed to Bauddhāyana by Mādhyama and to Vṛddhaśātātapa by the Madanapārijāta ( p. 674 ).

In spite of all these drawbacks, an attempt will be made in the following pages to arrange some of the leading versified smṛtis in chronological order beginning from the Manusmṛti.

All these smṛtis are not equal in authority. Most of them are obscure and are only rarely cited by ancient commentators. Exclusive of the dharmasūtras hardly a dozen smṛtis have found commentators. If we are to judge of the authority of a smṛti by the commentaries thereon, then the Manusmṛti stands pre-eminent. Next to it is the Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

### 31. The Manusmṛti

So many editions of this work have been published in India since 1813 ( when the Manusmṛti was first published at Calcutta ), that it is not possible to name them. In this work the Nirṇaya-sigara edition with the commentary of Kullūka has been used throughout. Another edition of Manu well known on this side of India is that of the late V. N. Mandlik who published several com-

<sup>263</sup> बृद्धवासिष्ठोपेयमेव मध्ये साम्यमिति तु विशेषः. Vaid. Vasistha, सू. III. 64-68 for the five तीर्थे on one's land.

mentaries such as those of Medhātithi, Govindarāja and others. The Manusmṛti has been translated into English several times. The best known translation is that of Dr. Bühler in the S. B. E. series (vol. 25). Dr. Bühler also added an exhaustive and very scholarly introduction to his translation and dealt with numerous problems connected with the Manusmṛti.

In the R̥gveda Manu is spoken of as the father of mankind (R̥g. I. 80. 16, I. 114. 2, II. 33. 13) and a Vedic poet prays that he may not be led away from the ancestral path of Manu.<sup>264</sup> Another Vedic bard says that Manu was the first to offer sacrifice (R̥g. X. 63. 7). In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā and the Tāṇḍya-mahā-brāhmaṇa it is said 'whatever Manu said is medicine.'<sup>265</sup> Taittirīya-Saṁhitā (II. 1. 5. 6) also says that mankind is Manu's (Mānavyo hi prajāḥ). In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā (III. 1. 9. 4-5) and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (V. 14) we have the story of Manu dividing his wealth among his sons and of the exclusion of his son Nābhānediṣṭha. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 216) gives us the story of Manu and the deluge. In the Nirukta (chap. III) there is a discussion about the rights of sons and daughters. One of the views there propounded is that children of both sexes take their father's wealth and a *ṛk* and śloka are cited in support of that position.<sup>266</sup> The śloka refers to the opinion of Manu Svayambhuva. It is noteworthy that that śloka is opposed to a *ṛik*, which means that the śloka is not Śruti but is Smṛti. So before Yaska wrote there were smṛti texts in verse in which Manu was spoken of as a law-giver. We have seen how Gautama and Vasiṣṭha quote the views of Manu and how Āpastamba connects Manu with the promulgation of śrāddhas (II. 7. 16. 1). The Mahābhārata in numerous places speaks of Manu, sometimes as Manu simply, sometimes as Svayambhuva Manu (Śānti 21. 12) and also as Prācetaso Manu (Śānti 57. 43). In the Mahābhārata (Śānti. chap. 336. 38-46) we are told how the supreme being composed a hundred thousand ślokas

<sup>264</sup> मा नः पुत्रः पित्र्यान्मानुवादिषि' दुरं मेष्ट परावतः । ऋग्वेद VIII. 30. 3.

<sup>265</sup> यद्वे किं च मनुरवदत्तद्वेषजम् । ते. सं. II. 2. 10. 2 ; 'मनुर्वै यत्किंचावदत्तद्वेषजं भेषज-  
ताये' ताण्ड्य २. 23. 16. 17.

<sup>266</sup> अविशेषेण मिथुनाः पुत्रा दद्याद्वा इत । तदेतद्वृक्षोक्तान्यामुक्तम् । अस्मादस्मात्तन्मसि  
हृदयादिभिजायते । आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासि स जीव शब्दः शतम् ॥ इति । अविशेषेण  
पुत्राणां दायो भवति धर्मतः । मिथुनानां विसर्गादौ मनुः स्वार्थमुद्यमयति ॥

on *dharma*, how Manu Svāyambhuva promulgated those *dharma*s and how Uśanas and Brhaspati composed *śāstras* based on the work of Manu Svāyambhuva.<sup>267</sup> In another place the account is slightly different and Manu does not figure therein. Śānti-parva (chap. 59. 80-85) describes how the original work of Brahmā on the three, *Dharma*, *Artha*, and *Kāma*, in 100000 chapters was successively reduced to 10000, 5000, 3000 and 1000 chap. respectively by Viśalakṣa, Indra, Bahudantaka, Brhaspati and Kāvya (Uśanas). The prose introduction to the Nārada-smṛti says that Manu composed in 100000 ślokas, 1080 chap. and 24 *prakaraṇas* a *Dharmaśāstra* and imparted it to Nārada, who abridged it into 12000 verses and taught it to Mārkaṇḍeya, who in his turn compressed it into 8000 ślokas and passed it on to Sumati Bhārgava, who again reduced it to 4000 ślokas. The Nārada-smṛti then gives the first verse<sup>268</sup> of that work which is a combination of the extant Manu I. 5-6 and says that vyavahāra was the 9th *prakaraṇa* out of 24 in the original work of Manu. It will be noticed how this version differs from that of the Mahābhārata wherein Nārada is altogether ignored. The extant Manusmṛti (I. 32-33) narrates how from Brahmā sprang Virāj, who produced Manu, from whom were born the sages including Bhṛgu and Nārada, how Brahmā taught the *śāstra* to Manu, who in his turn imparted it to the ten sages (I. 58), how some great sages approached Manu and sought instruction in the *dharma*s of the *varṇas* and the intermediate castes and how Manu told them that his pupil Bhṛgu would impart to them the *śāstra* (I. 59-60). This appearance is kept up throughout the work. The sages interrupt Bhṛgu's discourse in several places (as in V. 1-2 and XII. 1-2). Manu is said to be omniscient (II. 7) and Manu is mentioned by name dozens of times in the work with the words "Manurāha" (IX. 158, X. 78 etc.), or "Manur-abravid" or "Manor-anuśāsanam".

<sup>267</sup> ऋषीनुपाच तान्तर्धानदृश्यः पुरुषोत्तमः । कृते शतसहस्रं हि श्लोकानामिदमुत्तमम् ॥ लोक-  
तन्त्रस्य कृत्स्नस्य यस्माद्भूमः प्रवर्तते । ... तस्मात्स्वयम्यते धर्मान् मनुः स्वार्थमुक्त्वा  
स्वयम् । ... स्वार्थमुक्तेषु धर्मेषु शास्त्रं पौशानसे कृते । बृहस्पतिमते चैव लोकेषु  
प्रतिचारिते ॥

<sup>268</sup> तत्रायमायः श्लोकः । आसीदिदं तमोमूर्तं न प्राज्ञायत किंचन । ततः स्वयंमूर्धगवा-  
म्नातुरासीच्चतुर्मुखः ॥ Manu I. 5 is quoted as the verse of a स्मृतिकार by  
कमलशील in his comment on शान्तरक्षित's तत्त्वसंग्रह (कारिका 3118) in  
the middle of the 8th century A. D. Vide सुरेश्वर's बृहदारण्यकभाष्यवार्तिक  
p. 487.

(VIII. 139, 279, IX. 239, etc.). That the introductory words in the Nārada-smṛti are not spurious or a later addition follows from the remark of Medhātithi that, according to the Nārada-smṛti, Prajāpati composed a work in 100000 ślokas which was abridged by Manu and others.<sup>269</sup> No one should take very seriously these varying accounts even in the Mahābhārata and in the Nārada-smṛti, as they are intended to glorify some particular text or texts. According to the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa as quoted in Hemādri, the Saṁskāra-mayākha and other works, there were four versions of the Svayambhūva śāstra composed by Bhṛgu, Nārada, Brhaspati and Aṅgiras.<sup>270</sup> So early a writer as Viśvarūpa cites verses from Manusmṛti as those of Svayambhū (vide com. on Yāj. II. 73, 74, 83, 85, where Manu 8. 68, 70-71, 380 and 105-6 are respectively quoted as Svayambhū's), while quotations from Bhṛgu cited by Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 187 and 252) are not found in the Manusmṛti. In the same way most of the verses quoted from Bhṛgu by Aparārka are not found in the Manusmṛti. One verse which Aparārka quotes from Bhṛgu (on Yāj. II. 96) speaks of the view contained therein as that of Manu.<sup>271</sup>

It is almost impossible to say who composed the Manusmṛti. It goes without saying that the mythical Manu, progenitor of mankind even in the Rgveda, could not have composed it. What motives could have induced the unknown author to palm it off in the name of the mythical Manu and to suppress his identity it is difficult to say. One motive may have been to invest the work with a halo of antiquity and authoritativeness. Bühler following Max Müller says (SBE vol. 25 p. XVIII) that the Manusmṛti is based on or is a recast of an ancient dharmasūtra, viz. that of the Mānavacarāṇa. The question whether the Mānavadharmasūtra existed has been discussed above (sec. 13, pp. 79-85). Bühler himself candidly admits (SBE vol. 25, p. XXIII) that the recovery of the writings of the Mānavas has not only not furnished any facts in support of the alleged relation between the Mānavadharmasūtra and the

<sup>269</sup> नारदश्च स्मरति । शनसाहस्रो बन्धः मजापतिना कृतः स मन्वादिभिः क्रमेण संक्षिप्त इति । नेधानिधि ०८ मनु I. १८.

<sup>270</sup> भार्गवीया नारदीया च चाईत्यत्याङ्गिरस्यपि । स्वायम्भुवस्य शास्त्रस्य चतस्रः संहिता मताः ॥ चतुर्वेद ०, दानसङ्घ p. 523, संस्कारमयूख p. 2.

<sup>271</sup> येषु पापेषु दिव्यानि धर्मेभ्योऽज्ञानि बलतः । कारयेत्सज्जनैस्तानि नाभिशास्तं त्यजेन्मनुः ॥ अपरार्क.



Manusmṛti, but on the contrary has raised difficulties as the doctrines of the Mānavagṛhyasūtra (edited by Dr. Knauer) differ very considerably from those of the Manusmṛti. To take only a few examples, Mānava Gr. S. II. 12. 1-2 are opposed to Manu 3. 1; Mānava Gr. S. I. 4. 7 to Manu 4. 95; Mānava Gr. S. I. 20. 1 to Manu 2. 34; Mānava Gr. S. I. 21. 1 to Manu 2. 35; Mānava Gr. S. I. 22. 1 to Manu 2. 36; Mānava Gr. S. II. 12. 1-2 to Manu 3. 84-86. Besides there is nothing in our Manu corresponding to the Vināyakaśānti in the Mānavagṛhya (II. 14) nor to the tests for selecting a bride prescribed in Mānava Gr. S. I. 7. 9, which corresponds to Āśvalāyana Gr. S. I. 5. 5-6. Dr. Caland points out (R. und S. p. 17) that though single verses of the Manusmṛti tally with the Śrāddhakalpa of the Mānava School, yet the descriptions of funeral rites widely differ in the two works. There are no doubt some parallels as pointed out by Bradke (in ZDMG, vol. 36, pp. 417-477). There is one circumstance about the authorship of the Manusmṛti that deserves to be noted. The Mahābhārata seems to distinguish between Svāyambhuva Manu and Prācetas Manu. The former is said to be the promulgator of dharmaśāstra and the latter of arthaśāstra (or politics). For example Śānti 21. 12 speaks of Svāyambhuva Manu and Śānti 57-43 and 58-2 speak of Prācetas as an author on *rajāśāstra* or *rajadharma*. In some places Manu alone without any epithet is associated with *rajadharma* or *arthavidyā*. It is not unlikely that originally there were two distinct works, one on dharma and the other on arthaśāstra attributed to Manu. When the Kauṭīliya speaks of the Mānavas, he probably refers to the work on politics attributed to Prācetas Manu. It is extremely doubtful whether Rājasekhara, when he mentions the several views on the number of vidyās (including that of the Mānavas that they were three), had the Arthaśāstra of the Mānavas before him or only copied a passage from Kauṭīliya (vide Kāvya-mīmāṃsā p. 4). It is not unlikely that the work on *dharma* attributed to Manu may have contained general directions on the duties of kings. It is therefore (i. e. because there were two different works on dharma and arthaśāstra attributed to Manu) that the views ascribed to the Mānavas by the Kauṭīliya are not found word for word in the extant Manusmṛti. One may

272 अश्वोषीस्त्वं राजधर्मान्यथा वे मनुस्मृतिम् । वनपर्व 35. 21; वेदं पद्वत्तं वेदाहमर्थोपधा च मानसीम् ॥ द्रोणपर्व 7. 1.



hazard the conjecture that the author of the Manusmṛti, whoever he might have been, combined in his work the information contained in the two works on *dharma* and *arthasāstra* and supplanted both the earlier works and that this result had not been either accomplished at the time when the Kauṭīliya was composed or was then quite recent. In the extant Manusmṛti, the work is ascribed to Svāyambhūva Manu and then six other Manus of whom Prācetasā is not one are enumerated (I. 62).

The extant Manusmṛti is divided into twelve *adhyāyas* and contains 2694 ślokaś. Dr. Jolly's edition (published in 1895) prepared after collating numerous mss. and printed editions contains only one śloka more. The Manusmṛti is written in a simple and flowing style. It generally agrees with Pāṇini's system, though it contains some deviations from it as in the verse 'sākṣiṇaḥ santi metyuktā' (8. 57). The foregoing pages have sufficiently shown how it agrees closely with the doctrines contained in the Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba. We have also seen how numerous verses are common to the dharmasūtras of Vasiṣṭha and Viṣṇu and the Manusmṛti. The Kauṭīliya also exhibits remarkable agreement with the Manusmṛti in phraseology and doctrines.<sup>273</sup> What conclusions are to be drawn from this will be discussed later on. Some verses are repeated, e. g. V. 164-165 are the same as IX. 30 and 29. The contents of the Manusmṛti may be briefly summarised as follows: (I) Sages approach Manu for instruction in the *dharma*s of the *varṇas*; Manu describes the creation of the world from the self-existent God more or less in the Sāṅkhya manner; the creation of Virāj, of Manu from Virāj, of ten sages from Manu; creation of various beings, men, beasts, birds etc.; Brahṃa imparts dharmasūtra to Manu, who teaches the sages; Manu bids Bhṛgu to instruct the sages in *dharma*; six other Manus sprang from Svāyambhūva Manu; units of time from *nimēṣa* to year, the four *yugas* and

273 Compare अलक्ष्मलामार्थं लब्धपरिरक्षणी रक्षितविषयनी बृहस्प तीर्थेच प्रतिपादनी च। कौटिल्य (I. 4) with मनु 7. 101 अलक्ष्मिच्छेददूष्णेन लब्धे रक्षेदेक्षया। रक्षितं वर्धयेद्बुध्या बृद्धं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत् ॥; 'तस्माल्लोकान्मार्थं नित्यमुयतदण्डः स्यात्' कौटिल्य (I. 4) with मनु 7. 162 नित्यमुयतदण्डः स्यात्; 'असंभाष्ये देशे साक्षि-भिर्मित्रैः संभाषणे' कौटिल्य (III. 1) with मनु 8. 55 'असंभाष्ये साक्षिमित्रैश्च देशे संभाषणे मित्रैः'; 'साहस्रमन्वयवत्समकर्म' कौटिल्य (III. 17) with मनु 8. 338 स्यात्साहस्रं त्वन्वयवत् प्रसभं कर्म यत् कृतम्.

their twilights ; one thousand *yugas* equal a day of *Brahmā* ; extent of *Manvantara*, *pralaya* ; successive decline of *dharma* in the four *yugas* ; different dharmas and goals in the four *yugas* ; the special privileges and duties of the four *varṇas* ; eulogy of *Brāhmaṇas* and of the *śāstra* of *Manu* ; *ācāra* is the highest *dharma* ; table of contents of the whole *śāstra* ; ( II ) definition of *dharma*, sources of *dharma* are *Veda*, *smṛti*, *ācāra* of the good, one's own satisfaction ; who has *adbikara* for this *śāstra* ; limits of *Brahmāvarta*, *Brahmaṛṣideśa*, *Madhyadeśa*, *Āryāvarta* ; why *samiskāras* are necessary ; such *samiskāras* as *jātakarma*, *nāmadheya*, *chūḍākarma*, *upanayana* ; the proper time of *upanayana* for the *varṇas*, the proper girdle, sacred thread, staff and skin for the *Brahmacārī* of the three *varṇas* ; duties of the *Brahmacārī* and his code of conduct ; ( III ) *Brahmacarya* for 36, 18, 9 years ; *samāvartana* ; marriage ; marriageable girl ; *brāhmaṇa* could marry a girl of any of the four *varṇas* ; eight forms of marriage defined ; which form suited to which caste ; duties of husband and wife ; eulogy of women ; the five daily *yajñas* ; praise of the status of householder ; honouring guests ; *madhuparka* ; *śrāddhas* ; who should not be invited at *śrāddhas* ; ( IV ) mode of life and means of subsistence for a house-holder, the code of conduct for a *snātaka* ; occasions for cessation from study ; rules about prohibited and permissible food and drink ; ( V ) what vegetables and meat are allowed ; period of impurity on death and birth ; definition of *sapinda* and *samanodaka* ; purification from contact with various substances in various ways ; duties of wife and widow ; ( VI ) when one should become a forest hermit ; his mode of life ; *parivrājaka* and his duties ; eulogy of *grhastha* ; ( VII ) *rājadharmas*, eulogy of *daṇḍa* ( the power to punish ) ; the four *vidyās* for a king ; the ten vices of kings due to *kāma* and eight due to *krodha* ; constitution of council of ministers ; qualities of a *duta* ; forts and capital ; *purohita* and superintendents of various departments ; code of war ; the four expedients, *sāma*, *dāna*, *bhēda*, and *daṇḍa* ; hierarchy of officers from the village headman upwards ; rules about taxation ; the constitution of a circle of twelve kings ; the six *guṇas*, peace, a state of war, march against an enemy, *āsana*, taking shelter and *dvaiddha* ; duties of victor ; ( VIII ) king's duty to look to the administration of justice ; the 18 titles of law ; the king and judge ; other persons as judges ; constitution of *sabha*, king's duty to look after minors, widows, helpless people ; treasure trove ; king's duty to restore stolen wealth ; creditor's means of recovering his debt ; grounds on which the claimant

may fail in his suit ; qualifications of witnesses ; who were not proper persons as witnesses ; oaths ; fines for false witnesses ; methods of corporal punishment ; Brāhmaṇa to be free from corporal punishment ; weights and measures ; lowest, middling and highest fines ; rates of interest ; pledges ; adverse possession does not affect a pledge, boundary, minor's estate, deposit, king's estate etc. ; rule of *damdupat* ; sureties ; what debts of the father the son was not liable to pay ; fraud and force vitiated all transactions ; sale by one not the owner ; title and possession ; partnership ; resumption of gift ; non-payment of wages ; violation of conventions ; rescission of sale ; dispute between owner and herdsman ; pastures round villages ; boundary disputes ; abuse, libel and slander ; assault and battery and mischief ; whipping only on the back ; theft ; *sāhara* i. e. offences in which force and hurt are an element, such as robbery, homicide etc. ; right of private defence ; when even a Brāhmaṇa may be killed ; adultery and rape ; no sentence of death, but of transportation for a Brāhmaṇa ; parents, wife, children must not be forsaken ; tolls and monopolies ; seven kinds of *dāśas* ; (IX) legal duties of husband and wife, censure of women ; eulogy of chastity ; to whom does the child belong, to the begetter or to him on whose wife it is begotten ; *niyoga* described and condemned ; supercession of the first wife when allowed ; age of marriage ; partition, its time, eldest son's special share ; *putrika* ; daughter's son ; adopted son ; rights of Brāhmaṇa's son from a Śūdra wife ; twelve kinds of sonship ; to whom *piṇḍas* are offered ; nearest *sapiṇḍa* succeeds ; *sakulya*, teacher and pupils as heirs ; king ultimate heir except as to Brāhmaṇa's wealth ; varieties of *strīdhana* ; succession to *strīdhana* ; grounds of exclusion from inheritance ; property not liable to partition ; gains of learning ; reunion ; mother and grandmother as heirs ; impartible property ; gambling and prize fighting must be suppressed by the king ; the five great sins ; *prāyaścittas* for them ; open and secret thieves ; jails ; the seven *āṅgas* of a kingdom ; duties of Vaiśya and Śūdra ; (X) Brāhmaṇa alone to teach ; mixed castes ; *ulucchas*, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas ; rules of conduct common to all ; privileges and duties of the four *varṇas* ; modes of subsistence for a Brāhmaṇa in adversity ; what articles should not be sold by Brāhmaṇa ; seven proper modes of acquisition and the means of livelihood ; (XI) eulogy of gifts ; different views about *prāyaścitta* ; various seen results, diseases and bodily defects due to sins in former lives ; five mortal sins and *prāyaścittas* for them ; *upapātakas* and *prāyaścittas*

for them ; *prāyaścittas* like *Sāntapana*, *Parāka*, *Cāndrāyana* ; holy *mantras* for removing sin ; (XII) disquisition on *karma* ; *kṣetrajña*, *bhutatma*, *jīva* ; tortures of hell ; the three *guṇas*, *sattva*, *rajas* and *taṃas* ; what brings about *nirānyasa* ; knowledge of the self is the highest means of bliss ; *pratyakṣa* and *nirvṛta karma* ; the latter is karma done without an eye to reward ; eulogy of Vedas ; place of *tarka* ; *liṅgas* and *pariṣad* ; reward of studying the *Mānava śāstra*.

The extent of the literature known to Manu was considerable. He mentions the three Vedas and the Atharvaveda is spoken of as the *Atharvāṅgīrasī Śruti* (XI. 33). He refers to *Aranyaka* (IV. 123). The *Vedāṅgas* are said to be six (III. 185) and they are often referred to without stating the number (II. 141, IV. 98). He speaks of *dharmaśāstra* (II. 10) and also knew many *dharmaśāstras* (III. 232). By *dharmaśāstra* (XII. 111) he probably means one who has studied *dharmaśāstras*. He mentions several authors on *dharmaśāstra*, viz. *Atri*, the son of *Uthya* (i. e. *Gautama* according to commentators), *Bṛgu* and *Śaunaka* (all these in III. 16), *Vasiṣṭha* (on the rule of interest in VIII. 140 which agrees with *Vasiṣṭhadharmaśāstra* II. 50), *Vaiṣṇāsanāyaka* (in VI. 21). He mentions *Alkhyānas*, *Itihāsas*, *Purāṇas* and *Khilas* (III. 232). He speaks of *brahṃa* as described in the *Vedānta* (in VI. 83 and 94) and is probably thinking of the *Upaniṣads*. That he knew some generally accepted works opposed to the teaching of the Vedas is quite clear from his reference to '*Vedabāhyāḥ smṛtayaḥ*' (XII. 95). He is probably referring to the writing of the *Bauddhas*, *Jainas* and others. He speaks of heretics and their guilds (IV. 30 and 61). He refers to atheism and calumny of the Vedas (IV. 163) and of various tongues spoken among men (IV. 332). He frequently refers to the views of others in the words "*kecit*", "*apare*", "*anye*" (as in III. 261, N. 70, IX. 32).

Numerous interesting and difficult problems are connected with the *Manusmṛiti*. Bühler in his elaborate introduction (S B E vol. 25) exhaustively deals with these problems. It is not possible to go at great length into those questions here. A separate volume would be required to deal with the problems raised by Bühler and to examine the arguments of Bühler, Hopkins and others who have written on them. Only a brief discussion of some of these problems can be attempted.

Bühler takes considerable pains to refute the claims of Manu to be regarded as the first legislator (S. B. E. vol. 25 pp. XXIII-XXX). But no serious refutation of the claim is really needed. The very extent of the literature known to the Manusmṛti and the mention of several writers on dharmasāstra by name are sufficient to negative that claim.

Bühler devotes a great deal of space to the consideration of the question as to what circumstances led to the substitution of a universally binding Mānava-dharmasāstra for the manuals of the Vedic schools (S. B. E. vol. 25 pp. XLVI-LVI) and as to why the special law schools selected just the Mānavadharmasūtra among the large number of similar works for the basis of their studies (ibid. pp. LVII-LXV). Bühler then considers the question how the Mānavadharmasūtra was converted into the present Manusmṛti. Bühler concedes that the last is a problem of great difficulty and admits of an approximate solution only. The discussion of all these questions by Bühler is extremely thought-provoking and brilliant in many places, though it must be said with great respect that the arguments are often *a priori* and savour more or less of special pleading. As I question the very foundation of Bühler's edifice (viz. the actual existence of a Mānava-dharmasūtra), it would be futile for me to enter into a discussion of the problems referred to above.

I shall now address myself to the discussion of the age of the Manusmṛti from external and internal evidence. That question is bound up with other problems, viz. whether there are earlier and later strata in the extant Manusmṛti, whether the Manusmṛti was recast several times or once only, what relations exists between the Manusmṛti and the Mahābhārata.

First the external evidence may be taken up. The bhāṣya of Medhātithi is the earliest extant commentary on the Manusmṛti and was composed about 900 A. D. as will be shown later on (sec. 36). The text commented upon by Medhātithi was the same (barring a few various readings) as the one we now possess. Therefore long before 900 A. D. the Manusmṛti was the same as now. Viśvarūpa in his commentary on Yaj. quotes over two hundred verses of the Manusmṛti either wholly or in part from all the twelve chapters beginning with the very first verse. The text that Viśvarūpa had before him was the same as the present Manusmṛti and the verses

were arranged in the same order as at present. Viśvarūpa quotes eight verses (Manu XI. 108-115) from Manu (on Yaj. III. 262). Śaṅkarācārya in his Vedāntasūtra-bhāṣya quotes the Manusmṛti very frequently. For example, he quotes Manu I. 5 and 21 (on V. S. I. 3. 28), I. 27 (on V. S. IV. 2. 6), II. 87 (on V. S. III. 4. 38), X. 4 and 126 (on V. S. I. 3. 36), XII. 91 and 105-6 (on V. S. II. 1 and 11). In his bhāṣya on the Br. U. he quotes Manu dozens of times and calls the Manusmṛti<sup>274</sup> 'Mānavam' (on Br. U. I. 4. 17). He looks upon the Manusmṛti as one of the authorities on which the author of the Vedāntasūtra relies.<sup>275</sup> The Tantravārtika of Kumārila stands in a special relation to the Manusmṛti. Vide J B B R A S for 1925 pp. 98-100. He places Manu at the head of all smṛtis, even higher than the dharmasūtra of Gautama. He cites numerous quotations from the first chapter of the Manusmṛti to the last. He looks upon all parts of the extant Manusmṛti as equally authoritative and regards the Manusmṛti as the highest authority on matters of *dharmatā*. The Mṛcchakaṭika<sup>276</sup> (9. 39) refers to the ordinance of Manu that a Brāhmana sinner was not to be sentenced to death, but was to be banished. An inscription of the Valabhi king Dharasena dated in the year 252 of the Valabhi era (i. e. 571 A. D.) speaks of a king as one who obeyed the rules composed by Manu<sup>277</sup> (I. A. vol. 8. p. 303 = Gupta Inscriptions p. 165). Vide also I. A. vol. IV. p. 105 where the same words occur in an inscription from Valabhi dated 216 of the Valabhi era (i. e. 535 A. D.). Śabarasvāmīn, the bhāṣyakāra of Jaimini's sūtras, who cannot be placed later than 500 A. D. and may be a few centuries earlier still, says "Manu and others have given

274 मानवे च सर्वा प्रवृत्तिः कामहेतुव्ययेति. Vide मनु. II. 4.

275 On the sūtra स्मरन्ति च (वेदान्तसूत्र III. 1. 14) Śaṅkara adds 'मनुष्यास्तन्मूलतः शिष्टाः'.

276 अयं हि पातकी विप्रो न बन्धो मनुजवीतु । राष्ट्रादस्मात्तु निर्वास्यो विप्रवैरहर्षतः सह II. Compare मनु 8. 380 न जातु ब्राह्मणं हन्यात्सर्वपापेष्वपि शिष्यतम् । राष्ट्रदेनं बहिः कुर्यात्समपचयनमक्षतम् II. The words राष्ट्र and अक्षत occurring in both may particularly be noted.

277 मन्वादिप्रणीतविधिविधानकर्मा.



instruction<sup>278</sup> and quotes a verse as a *smṛti* passage which is practically the same as Manu IX. 416 and similar to Udyoga-parva<sup>279</sup> 33. 64. Aparārka and Kullūka point out how the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa expounds passages of the Manusmṛti (vide Kullūka on Manu XI. 72, 73, 100 and Aparārka pp. 1071, 1076).<sup>280</sup> It will be shown below that Brhaspati must have composed his work before 500 A. D. Brhaspati says that the Manusmṛti occupies a pre-eminent position because it correctly represents the sense of the Veda and that a *smṛti* which is in conflict with Manu is not esteemed.<sup>281</sup> Brhaspati in numerous places pointedly refers to the present text of the Manusmṛti. One such quotation about *niyoga* has been cited above (note 172). Brhaspati says "Manu has spoken of quantities (units of weights) beginning from the mote in the sun-beam to the *kāṣāpāṇa*."<sup>282</sup> This is obviously a reference to Manu 8. 132-136. Brhaspati says "Manu enumerated thirteen sons and just as in the absence of clarified butter, oil is a substitute, so in the absence of an *aurasa* son or a *putrikā*, the eleven kinds of son are a substitute."<sup>283</sup> This has in view Manu 9. 158-160, 180, 127-130, where Manu speaks of the twelve sons, out of whom eleven are substitutes and

278 उचदिष्टवन्तश्च मन्वद्वयः on पूर्वमीमांसा I. 1. 2 (vol. I, p. 4).

279 एवं च स्मरति । भार्यो दासश्च पुत्रश्च निर्धनाः सर्वे एव ते । यत्ते समधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्य तद्वन् ॥. Manu reads भार्यो पुत्रश्च दासश्च त्रय एवाधनाः स्त्रताः, while उद्योगः reads त्रय एवाधना राजन्मार्यो दासस्तथा सुतः .

280 On मनु XI. 73 कुल्लूक says 'मनुल्लोकमेव लिखित्वा यथा व्याख्याने (तं ?) भविष्यपुराणे', on मनु XI. 100 'अत एव मन्वर्धव्याख्यानपरे भविष्यपुराणे'.

281 वेदार्थोपनिबन्धुत्वात्प्रधान्यं तु मनुस्मृतौ । मन्वर्धविपरीता या स्मृतिः सा न प्रवक्ष्यते ॥ (quoted by अपरार्क on Yāj. II. 21 and by कुल्लूक on मनु I. 1. who adds one more verse from चूडस्पति 'तावच्छास्त्राणि शीभन्ते तर्कव्याकरणानि च । धर्मार्थ-मोक्षोपदेष्टा मनुर्व्यावन्न दृश्यते ॥').

282 संख्या रश्मिरजोमूला मनुना समुद्गृह्णता । कार्यपणास्ता सा दिव्ये निषोल्या विनये तथा ॥ quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 99 and by the स्मृतिच. (vy. p. 211).

283 पुत्राणां षोडश प्रोक्ता मनुना येन पूर्वशः । संतानकारणं तेषामोरसः पुत्रिका यथा ॥ आश्वं विना यथा तैले सद्भिः प्रतिनिधिः स्मृतम् । तथेकादश पुत्रास्तु पुत्रिकोरसयो-र्विना ॥ quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 128-132 and the दत्तकमीमांसा (p. 39).



advocates that a sonless man should appoint a daughter (*putrika*, who then is the 13th kind of son). In another place Brhaspati declares "Manu forbade gambling as it destroys truth, purity and wealth; but others allowed it provided a share was given to the king (in the gains of gambling<sup>284</sup>)." This very aptly describes the attitude of Manu (9. 224) and of Yāj. (II. 201-203). Brhaspati says "If a man kills a cow with a weapon &c., he should perform the penance laid down by Manu, but if he kills a cow by forcible restraint, then he should perform the penance laid down by Āṅgiras or Āpastamba." The reference is to Manu XI. 108-115, Āpastamba Dh. S. I. 9. 26. 1 and Āṅgirasa verse 27 (Jivananda, part I p. 556). In one place Brhaspati seems to criticise Manu (9. 219) when he says "those who declared clothes and other things to be impartible have not considered the position that the wealth of the rich may consist of clothes and ornaments."<sup>285</sup> In another place Brhaspati says "Bhṛgu spoke of sale without ownership after deposit; listen to it attentively, I shall speak of it with more details."<sup>286</sup> This keeps in view Manu 8. 4 and clearly shows that Brhaspati was well aware of Bhṛgu's connection with the extant Manusmṛiti. Āṅgiras as quoted in the *Smṛticandrikā* (I. p. 7) speaks of the *dharmaśāstra* of Manu. In the *Vajrasūci* of Āśvaghoṣa (ed. by Weber) several verses are quoted as from the 'Mānavadharmā' which occur in the extant Manusmṛiti,<sup>287</sup> though it must be admitted that there are others that

284 यत् निषिद्धं मनुना सस्य-(त्य ?) शीघ्रघनापहम् । तत्पर्वलितमन्येऽस्तु राजभागसम-  
न्वितम् । सभिक्षार्थं धनं कार्यं तत्स्वरक्षणहेतुना । It is striking that याज्ञ. uses the  
word तत्स्वरक्षणकारणम् in II. 203.

285 यस्मादयोऽविभाज्या येरुहं तेन विचारितम् । धने भवेत्समुद्गातां यस्मात्कृत्स्नारसंश्लेषम् ॥  
quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 119 and by the व्यवहारमयम्.

286 निक्षेपान्तरं प्रोक्तो भृगुणास्वामिविक्रयः । श्रुत्वा तं प्रयत्नेन सविशेषं धर्मीभ्यहम् ॥  
विवादरत्नाकर p. 100. The words of मनु are तन्पामाद्यनुगादानं निक्षेपोऽस्वामिविक्रयः.

287 a. B. उक्तं हि मानवे धर्मे—सद्यः पन्ननि मासेन त्वाक्षया लब्धेन वा । धनं यत्कृत्स्नं  
भवति ब्राह्मणः क्षीरविक्रयात् ॥ (this is मनु X. 92) ; उक्तं हि मानवे धर्मे  
' वृषलीकेनपीतस्य त्रिःश्वसोपहतस्य च । तत्रैव च प्रसूतस्य निषृण्वनिर्नोपलभ्यते ॥ '  
(this is मनु III. 19) ; उक्तं हि मानवे धर्मे ' अधीत्य चतुरी वेदान् साक्षोपाङ्गेन  
तत्त्वतः । शूद्राप्रतिपद्यद्वाही ब्राह्मणो जायते सः ॥ सरो द्वादश जन्मानि पार्थ-  
जन्मानि सुकरः । श्वानः सप्तजन्मानि हर्षेण मनुस्वरी ॥ ' (this cannot be  
traced in the extant Manusmṛiti) ; इह हि मानवधर्मेभिहितम् । अरणीर्गर्भ-

do not occur. In the Rāmāyaṇa also there are verses cited as from Manu which occur in the extant Manusmṛti; vide Kiśkindhā 18.30-32 (Gujarati Press, 1915-1920) where two verses are quoted as 'sung by Manu' which correspond to Manusmṛti VIII. 318 and 316 respectively.

The foregoing discussion of the external evidence shows that writers from the 2nd century onwards (if not earlier) looked upon the extant Manusmṛti as the most authoritative smṛti. This position it could not have attained unless several centuries intervened between it and these writers. Therefore it must be presumed that the Manusmṛti had attained its present form at least before the 2nd century A.D. Even the Mahābhāṣya contains a verse which is Manu II. 120.<sup>238</sup> But as the verse occurs also in the Anuśāsaṇa (104. 64-65) no chronological conclusion can be drawn therefrom. The Pratimānātaka (after V. 8) speaks of "mānaviṃśadharmaśāstra" and 'Prācetaso śrāddhakalpa,' but as it is in controversy whether that work can be ascribed to the ancient Bhāsa, this reference will serve no useful purpose.

The next question is whether the Manusmṛti contains earlier and later strata. There can be no doubt on this point. On numerous points the Manusmṛti contains conflicting doctrines. In Manu III. 12-13 a Brāhmaṇa is allowed to have a śūdra woman as wife, while in III. 14-19 it is emphatically asserted that a śūdra woman cannot be the wife of a Brāhmaṇa and heavy disabilities are prescribed for him who breaks the injunction. In III. 23-26 there are contradictory statements about the appropriate forms of marriage for the several castes. In one breath Manu seems to permit *niyoga* (9. 59-63) and immediately afterwards he strongly reprobates it (9. 64-69). The lengthy discussion on flesh-eating in Manu V. 27-56 discloses different mentalities. At several places the work seems even to recommend flesh-eating in sacrifice, *śrāddhas* and *madhuparka* (V. 31-32, 35, 39, 41), while elsewhere it recommends total abstinence from meat on all occasions whatever (V. 48-50). In

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संभूतः कठो नाम महामुनिः । तपसा ब्राह्मणो जलस्तस्माज्जातिरकारणम् ॥ This is followed by several verses citing instances of व्यास, वसिष्ठ, कण्वश्च, विश्वामित्र, गार्ग्य and others who though born of women of low class became sages. These verses also are not found in the extant *मनुस्मृति*.

<sup>238</sup> कर्ष्यं प्राणा ह्युक्तामस्ति धूनः रथविर आसति । प्रत्युत्थानानिवादाभ्यां पुनस्ताम्रप्रतिपद्यते ॥ *महाभाष्य* vol. III, p. 58. This verse occurs also in the *उद्योगपर्व* (38. 1).

one śloka (Manu II. 145) the father is said to be equal to a hundred ācāryas, while in the next verse the ācārya is said to be superior to the father. In V. 1 Bhṛgu is said to have sprung from fire, while in I. 35 he is said to be one of the ten sons of Manu Svāyambhuva. Vide also IX. 32-36.

Bühler devotes considerable space to this question (SBE vol. 25, pp. LXVI-LXXIII). He arrives at the conclusion that the cosmological and philosophical portions in the first and 12th books, the philosophical disquisition in II. 89-100, the classifications of *pīlaraḥ* in III. 193-201, the means of subsistence for Brāhmaṇa in IV. 1-24, verses 1-4 of the fifth book, the rules about mixed castes (X. 1-74) and the duties of castes that are repeated in X. 101-131 were put in when the work was versified from the Mānavadharmasūtra. Though one may not agree with all the details of Bühler's examination and with his theory about the versification of the Mānavadharmasūtra, it may be admitted that most of the passages pointed out by him have rather the flavour of comparative modernism about them. My own position is that the original Manusmṛti in verse had certain additions made in order to bring it in a line with the change in the general attitude of people on several points such as those of flesh-eating, *niyoga* &c. But all these additions must have been made long before the 3rd A. D., as the quotations from Brhaspati and others show.

Another problem is whether the Manusmṛti has undergone several recasts. This does not seem likely and the evidence adduced in support of the theory that the Manusmṛti suffered several recasts is quite inadequate for the purpose. The occurrence of several conflicting passages can as well be explained on the theory of a single recast and it has also to be borne in mind, as Bühler points out, that Sanskrit writers down to the most recent times are in the habit of placing side by side conflicting opinions without actually preferring a particular view to others. The tradition of the Nārada-smṛti that the śāstra of Manu was successively abridged by Nārada, Mārkaṇḍeya and Sumati Bhārgava is, as has been observed above, not worth much, since it is merely intended to glorify Nārada's work. The other traditions given above either ignore Nārada altogether or assign him a secondary position. The present Manusmṛti is put into the mouth of Bhṛgu. Nārada's smṛti is clearly based upon Manu, though the former diverges from the latter on many points. Brhaspati

generally takes Manu as his text and amplifies the dicta of the Manusmṛti (as the verses quoted above in notes 281-86 show) and so his work may by analogy be regarded as a Vārtika on Manu, as Dr. Jolly puts it. Āṅgīras also looks upon Manusmṛti as most authoritative. It is therefore that the Paurāṇic account (note 270 above) regards Bhṛgu and other works as the redactions of the original Manusmṛti. The quotations cited from Vṛddha-Manu and Brāhmaṇ-Manu do not establish that the original Manusmṛti underwent many recasts. Quotations cited under these names are later than the Manusmṛti. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 69) quotes the views of Vṛddha-Manu on *niyoga*, who allows it only to śūdras. The Mitākṣarā quotes a verse from Vṛddha-Manu about the widow of a sonless man being entitled to all her husband's wealth, while Manu is silent on that point.<sup>289</sup> The Mitākṣarā quotes a verse from Brāhmaṇ-Manu also (on Yāj. III. 20). Mādhave quotes a verse from Brāhmaṇ-Manu about *sapinda* and *samānodaka* relationship which are expansions of Manu<sup>290</sup> (V. 60). The fact that many quotations ascribed to Manu in several works are not found in the extant Manusmṛti is explicable in several ways and not only by the theory of several recasts. For one thing the authors quoting from memory may be found tripping. For example, in an inscription of the Badami Cālukyas of the 7th century two verses that occur in most grants of lands are ascribed to Manu, but are not found in the extant Manusmṛti.<sup>291</sup> No one can for a moment doubt that the extant Manusmṛti was an authoritative work in the 7th century. Therefore there is hardly any reliable evidence to support the theory that the Manusmṛti suffered several recasts.

Turning now to the internal evidence, the extant Manusmṛti seems to be much older than Yājñavalkya, since the rules of judicial procedure are incomplete and awkward in Manu as compared with Yāj., since there is no reference to documents as evidence in Manu,

<sup>289</sup> अपुत्रा शयने भर्तुः पालयन्ती मने स्थिता । पत्न्येव द्यात्तत्पिण्डं कृत्स्नमंशं लभेत च ॥  
मिता on वाङ्म. II. 135.

<sup>290</sup> तद्वक्तृं बृहन्मनुना—सपिण्डता तु पुरुषे सप्तमे विनिवर्तते । समानोदकमावस्तु निवर्तेता-  
वस्तुर्दशात् । जन्मनामस्मृतेरेके तत्परं गोत्रमुच्यते ॥ पराशरभाष्यीय vol. III,  
part 2, p. 528.

<sup>291</sup> मनुगीतं श्लोकमुदाहरामि—बहुभिर्वसुधा मुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । and स्वदत्ता  
वरदत्ता वा यो हरेत वसुधराम् । &c. I. A. vol. VIII. p. 97.

as ordeals are not treated of in Manu, as legal definitions are almost absent in Manu, while frequent in Yāj. and as Manu is silent about the widow's rights, while Yāj. gives her the first place among the heirs of a sonless man. So the Manusmṛti will have to be placed some centuries earlier than the third century A. D., the latest date to which the Yājñavalkya smṛti can be assigned with any show of reason. In X. 44 Manu mentions the Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Śakas, Pahlavas and Cīnas<sup>292</sup> and in X. 48 Medas and Āndhras. This shows that the extant Manusmṛti could not be much earlier than the 3rd century B. C. The Yona, Kāmboja and Gāndhāra people are mentioned in the 5th rock edict of Aśoka. Manu forbids Brahmanas to dwell in the kingdom of a Śūdra ( IV. 61 ) and condemns the appointment of a śūdra as a judge ( VIII. 20-21 ). The former is possibly a reference to the Mauryas, though one cannot be certain of it. Mr. Jayasval ( Calcutta Weekly Notes, vol. 15, p. CCC ) goes too far in supposing that in the word 'senāpatya' occurring in Manu ( XII. 100 ) there is a reference to Senāpati Puṣyamitra. The extant Manusmṛti in its arrangement and doctrines is much in advance of the ancient dharmasūtras, such as those of Gautama, Baudhayana and Āpastamba. Taking all these things into consideration Bühler ( S B E vol. 25 p. CXVII ) was certainly right in saying that the extant Manusmṛti was composed between the second century B. C and 2nd century A. D. But the question of the date when the original Manusmṛti to which additions were made between the 2nd century B. C. and 2nd century A. D. was composed presents very great difficulties. That question is largely bound up with the relation of the Mahābhārata to the Manusmṛti.

This question is an extremely intricate one. The late V. N. Mandlik ( Intro. to the Vyavahāramayūkha XLVII ) held that the Manusmṛti borrowed from the Mahābhārata. Bühler after an elaborate examination of the question ( S B E vol 25, pp. LXXIV-XCVIII ) came to the conclusion that it was indisputable that the 12th and 13th *parvas* of the Mahābhārata knew a Mānavadharmasāstra which was closely connected with but not identical with the present Manusmṛti. Bühler expresses himself very cautiously and it seems to me that the great scholar was unduly prepossessed

292 योण्डकाश्चोड्गविशः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः । पारश्याः पल्लवाश्चिनाः किराता द्रव्याः

in favour of the Mahābhārata as against the Manusmṛti. Bühler somewhat contradicts himself when he says that the author of the epic only knew the dharmasūtras (S B E vol. 25, p. XCVIII). Hopkins (Great Epic of India p. 21-22) seems inclined to hold that the 13th book which alone, according to him, recognises the śāstra declared by Manu, knew the present Manusmṛti, though the earlier books cannot be held to have known a śāstra of Manu even when they employ such expressions as "Manu said." He thinks that there was a floating mass of verses containing philosophical and other lore attributed to the mythical Manu on which the earlier books of the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti both drew and that the matter that is common to both works was not borrowed from any systematic treatise. Bühler accepts this view with the slight modification that the floating mass of verses was not all attributed to Manu (S B E vol. 25 p. XC). Before giving my individual views on this vexed question as against the array of such eminent scholars as Bühler and Hopkins some facts must be clearly set forth. The Mahābhārata is nowhere mentioned by name in the Manusmṛti though the word "itihāsa" (in the plural) occurs in Manu (III. 232). The Manusmṛti mentions many historical and legendary personages, about most of whom the Mahābhārata contains similar stories. The following are the persons so mentioned in the Manusmṛti. Aṅgīrasa (in II. 151-152, addressing his elders as 'putrakāh'), Agastya (V 22, in connection with sacrificing animals), Vena, Nahuṣa, Sudāsa Paijavana and Nimi (all in VII. 41, coming to grief through insolence), Prthu, Manu, Kubera and the son of Gādhi (VII. 42, benefiting by their good conduct), Vasiṣṭha (in VIII. 110, taking an oath before king Paijavana), Vatsa (in VIII. 116, undergoing fire ordeal), Akṣamā and Śaraṅgi (in IX. 23, though of low birth respectively were united to Vasiṣṭha and Mandapāla), Dakṣa (in IX. 128-129, gave his daughters to Dharma, Kāśyapa and Soma), Ajigarta (in X. 105, who was ready to sacrifice his own son), Vamadeva (in X. 106, desired dog's flesh to save his life), Bharadvāja (in X. 107, who accepted the gift of many cows), Viśvāmitra (in X. 108, who took from a cāṇḍāla's hand a dog's leg). Prthu is also mentioned (in IX. 44) as the husband of the earth and in IX. 314 Brāhmaṇas are credited with having made fire all-devourer, the ocean undrinkable and the waning (pithical) moon to wax. Most of the names mentioned here go far back into Vedic antiquities.



For example, Vasistha's oath occurs in Rgveda (VII. 104. 15<sup>293</sup>) and the Brhaddevatā (VI. 32-34), Ajigarta figures in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (VII. 16) and Āṅgīrasa's story occurs in the Tāndya-mahā-brāhmaṇa (13. 3. 24). Besides the Manusmṛti does not say that the stories are taken from the great epic. The Mahābhārata also was not the first to originate these stories but is only a storehouse and encyclopaedia of the numerous popular traditions that were current in ancient India. When our Manu (9. 227) says that gambling was seen to have produced in former ages deep-rooted enmities, it is unnecessary to suppose that there is a reference to the Mahābhārata, for from Vedic times the evil effects of gambling were known (vide Rgveda X. 34) and even the Mahābhārata contains the same verse (Udyoga 37. 19), though this fact was not noticed by Bühler. On the other hand there are numerous passages in the Mahābhārata scattered over almost all the *parvans*, where occur such expressions as, 'Manu-abravīd,' 'the rājadharmas of Manu,' 'the *śāstra* of Manu' etc. Some of these passages agree with the extant Manusmṛti, while some do not. Besides there are hundreds of verses in the Mahābhārata that are identical with the verses of the Manusmṛti, though they are not expressly attributed to Manu. Dr. Bühler says that in the Vana, Śānti and Anuśāsana *parvans* alone he could identify either wholly or partly 260 verses with those of our Manu. What then is the conclusion? *Prima facie* it should be, on account of all these abovementioned facts, against the Mahābhārata and in favour of the Manusmṛti being the earlier of the two. Hopkins at all events holds that the Anuśāsana-*parva* knew a Manusmṛti essentially the same as we have now. Bühler expresses himself more cautiously and says that the Śānti and Anuśāsana *parvans* knew a Mānava-dharmaśāstra closely connected with the extant one, though not identical. Both are agreed that the earlier books when they speak of Manu are either referring to the Mānava-dharmaśūtra or to the floating mass of popular verses, but not to our Manu.

We must now closely examine the data. The Anuśāsana-*parva* distinctly speaks of 'a śāstra declared by Manu.'<sup>294</sup> In the Śānti-*parva*

<sup>293</sup> अथा मुनीष यदि' धातुधानो अस्मि &c.

<sup>294</sup> मनुनाभिहितं शास्त्रं यच्छापि कुरुनन्दन । अनु. 47. 35.



are quoted two ślokas 'sung by Manu in his own dharmas,' one of which is identical with Manu<sup>295</sup> (9. 321). In another place the Śāntiparva speaks of the 'rājadharmas of Prācetasā Manu' and quotes two verses therefrom.<sup>296</sup> In the Dronaparva (7. 1) 'Mānavī artha-vidyā' is referred to (vide note 272 above) and in Vanaparva the rājadharmas as proclaimed by Manu are referred to (vide note 272 above). In another places, the words 'Manu Svāyambhuva said' occur (e. g. Śānti 21. 12, Anuśāsana 114. 12, Vanaparva 180. 34-35, Ādiparva 73. 9, 120. 32-36, Udyoga 37. 1-6). In most cases the words 'Manu said occur' without the appellation 'Svāyambhuva' or 'Prācetasā' (e. g. Śānti 78. 31, 88. 14-16, 121. 10-12, 152. 14, 152. 30, 266. 5; Anuśāsana 44. 18 and 23, 65. 1 and 3, 67. 19, 68. 31, 88. 4, 115. 52-53; Vanaparva 32. 39, Udyogaparva 40. 9-10, Ādiparva 41. 31, 74. 39). The words 'Manor-anuśāsanaṁ' occur in a few cases as in Anuśāsana 61. 34-35. Hopkins says that the words 'the śāstra of Manu' occur only in the Anuśāsana-parva and so only that *parvan* knew the Manusmṛti, while in the other *parvans* we have the expression 'Manu said,' and therefore these other books did not know the Manusmṛti but are only referring to floating verses attributed to the mythical Manu. This, however, is not a reasonable conclusion. The words 'śāstra of Manu' occur only once even in the Anuśāsana, while in about ten places in the same *parvan* we come across only the words 'Manu said'. If the words 'Manu said' in the Anuśāsana indicate in the Anuśāsana a reference to the extant Manusmṛti, there is no cogent reason why the same words in other *parvans* should not be regarded as referring to the Manusmṛti. Besides in the Śāntiparva also we meet with the words 'Dharmas or rājadharmas of Manu' and in Ādiparva the word 'dharma-darśane' (120. 32). That is obviously a reference to some work of Manu. Hopkins further says (Great Epic of India, p. 21) that all the

<sup>295</sup> मनुना चैव राजेन्द्र गीतो श्लोको महात्मना । धर्मेषु स्वेषु कोरज्य इदि नो कर्तुमर्हसि ॥  
अवभ्योर्मिहृतः क्षत्रमश्वनो लोहमुन्धितम् । तेषां सर्वत्रां तेजः स्वास्तु योनिषु  
शाम्यति ॥ अयो हन्ति यदाश्वानमग्निना वारि हन्यते । मय्य च क्षत्रियो द्वेष्टि तदा  
सिद्धिं ते त्रयः ॥ शान्ति ० 56. 23-25.

<sup>296</sup> प्राचेतसेन मनुना श्लोको चेमावुदाहृतो । राजधर्मेषु राजेन्द्र तावद्विक्रमनाः शुभ ।  
षडेताम्यरुषो जहाद्विज्रां नावमिवाम्भसि । अमवकारमाचार्यमनधीयानमृत्विजम् ॥  
अरक्षितारं राजानं भार्या चापियवादिनीम् । घामकामं च गोपालं वनकामं च नापितम् ॥  
शान्ति. 57. 43-45.

express citations of Manu in the Anuśāsana, except one, agree very closely with our Manu, while in the other *partans* the citations agree only up to one-third or one-half. In the first place I demur to the latter statement. The agreements of the citations in the other books are as close and almost as frequent as in the Anuśāsana, e. g. excepting Śānti 21. 12 and 57. 43-45 all citations of Manu therein, referred to above, agree closely with Manu 7. 89, 9. 225-26, 9. 17-19 and 27, 6. 33 and 81, 11. 259-60, 5. 43 and 45 and 48-49. The same is the case with the few citations of Manu in the Vanaparva. Bühler says that the Mahābhārata knew only of the dharmasūtras. But there is positively not one express citation attributed by name to the well-known writers of dharmasūtras, such as Gṛhama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Vasiṣṭha or Śaṅkha-Likhita. That the Mahābhārata knew several dharmaśāstras is clear from over a dozen references to dharmaśāstras, often in the plural (e. g. Śānti 167. 4, 298. 40, 341. 74; Anuśāsana 19. 89, 45. 17-20, Vanaparva 207. 83, 293. 35, 313. 105; Ādiparva 3. 32 and 77 etc.). The only place where a sūtrakāra is cited on matters of *dharma* is Anu. 19. 6; but no name is mentioned.<sup>297</sup> Hastisūtra, Aśvasūtra are mentioned in Sabhā 5. 20, but no dharmasūtra or Nitisūtra occurs any where. On the other hand Bühler is not prepared to admit that the views expressly attributed to Manu in the Mahābhārata are taken from a treatise and refers them to a floating mass of verses the authorship of which was unknown and was fathered upon the mythical Manu. Distrust of ancient Indian authors could go no further. Bühler's assumptions are, to say the least, gratuitous and are prompted by his unwillingness to assign an early date to a versified smṛti of Manu. Not only are there identical verses in Manu and the Mahābhārata, but some verses of the latter (e. g. Udyoga 35. 31 and Śānti 111. 66) occur in the Nārada-smṛti (pp. 103 and 26 respectively). In my humble opinion the following seems to be the relation of the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti. I must state frankly that it is a mere theory, a conjecture which may be taken for what it is worth. Long before the 4th century B. C., there was a work on Dharmaśāstra composed by or attributed to Svāyambhuva Manu. This work was most probably in verse. There was also another work on Rajadharma attributed to Prācetas Manu, which also was prior to the

<sup>297</sup> अनुतः शिष्ये इत्येवं सूत्रकारो ऋक्स्वति । अनु. 19. 6; compare मनु 9. 18 निरिन्द्रिया समम्ब्राथ शिष्योऽनुतमिति सिद्धतिः ।

4th century B. C. It is not unlikely that instead of there being two works there was one comprehensive work embodying rules on *dharma* as well as politics. There is one circumstance that points in this direction. The Mahābhārata quotes a saying (*vacana*) of Pracetasa which is almost the same as our Manu<sup>298</sup> (3. 54). It is to these works (or work) that Yāska, Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Kauṭilya refer whenever they cite the opinions of Manu or the Manavas. The Mahābhārata also (particularly in the earlier portions) probably refers to the same. This work was the original kernel of the present Manusmṛti. Then between 2nd century B. C. and 2nd century A. D. the Manusmṛti was finally recast, probably by Bhṛgu. That work must have compressed the older works in some cases and expanded it in others. This hypothesis would explain why some of the verses and views quoted as Manu's occur in the extant Manusmṛti and why some do not.<sup>299</sup> In my opinion the extant Mahābhārata is later than the extant Manusmṛti. When Nārada mentions the tradition that Sumati Bhārgava compressed the vast work of Manu into 4000 verses, he is somewhat obscurely hinting at the truth. The extant Manusmṛti contains only about 2700 verses. Nārada probably arrives at the larger figure by including the verses attributed to Vṛddha-Manu and Bṛhan-Manu. The influence of the Manusmṛti spread even beyond the confines of India. In A. Bergaigne's 'Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge' (p. 423) we have an inscription in which occur verses,<sup>300</sup> one of which is identical with Manu (II. 136) and the other is a summary of Manu (III. 77-80).

<sup>298</sup> प्राचेतसस्य वचनं कीर्तयन्ति पुराविद्ः । यस्याः किञ्चिन्नादृते ज्ञातव्यो न स विक्रयः ।  
अर्हणं तत्कुमारीणामागृह्यतमं हि तत् ॥ अनुशासन. 46. 1-2.

<sup>299</sup> It is to be noted that so early a writer as शान्तरक्षित in his तत्त्वसंग्रह (कारिका 3584, G. O. S.) expressly attributes the verse (पुराणं मानवो धर्मः सङ्गो वेदभिकसितम् । आज्ञासिद्धानि चत्वारि न हन्तव्यानि हेतुभिः) to मनु which was not commented upon by मेघातिथि and later commentators. शान्तरक्षित flourished about 750 A. D. i. e. a century earlier than मेघातिथि.

<sup>300</sup> आचार्यवद् गृहस्थोऽपि मानवस्यो बहुभुतः । अभ्यागतगुणानां च परा विद्येति मानवम् ॥ वित्तं वन्धुर्वयः कर्म विद्या भवति पञ्चमी । एतानि मानवस्थानानि गरीयो ययदुरासम् ॥ The latter is मनु II. 136 and the former summarises मनु III. 77-80.

The Burmese are governed in modern times by the *dhammathats* which are based on Manu. Vide Dr. Forchhammer's essay on the sources and development of Burmese Law (1885, Rangoon). Dr. E. C. G. Jonker (Leyden 1885) wrote a dissertation on an old Javanese lawbook compared with Indian sources of law like the Manusmṛti (which is still used as a lawbook in the island of Bali).

Manu had numerous commentators. As to Medhātithi, Govindarāja and Kullūka, vide below sections 63, 76, 88. Besides these Nārāyaṇa, Rāghavananda, Nandana and Rāmacandra also wrote commentaries on Manu. Mr. Mandlik published all these commentaries. Dr. Jolly published (in 1885 for Bengal Asiatic Society) extracts from all these commentaries (except Kullūka's and Rāmacandra's) and from an anonymous Kashmirian commentary on the first three chapters. Asahāya seems to have written a commentary on Manu (vide below section 58). The Vivādaramākara quotes a commentary on Manu by Udayakara (pp. 455, 560, 583, 590). The same work seems to suggest that Bhāguri wrote a commentary on Manu.<sup>300</sup> For the predecessors of Medhātithi vide sec. 63. Kullūka on Manu 8. 184 tells us that Bhojadeva arranged the four verses of Manu 8. 181-184 in a particular manner and therefore suggests that Bhojadeva probably commented on Manu. He also names a commentator Dharaṇīdhara on Manu 2. 83 and says that he was later than Medhātithi. He is also referred to elsewhere by Kullūka (on Manu 4. 50).

The commentator Nārāyaṇa is certainly earlier than 1600 A. D. as his commentary is cited by Bhaṭṭoji in his commentary on the Caturviṃśatimata (vide p. 61 of the Benares Sanskrit Series edition, 1907). A ms. of Nārāyaṇa's commentary was written in 1497 A. D. and he appears to have been quoted by Rāyamukuta in 1431 A. D. (Jolly in R. und. S. p. 31). He is later than Govindarāja and flourished between 1100 and 1300 A. D. Rāghavananda mentions by name Medhātithi, Govindarāja, Nārāyaṇa, and Kullūka and so is later than about 1400 A. D. When Nandana flourished it is difficult to say. But he is a late writer. There are several other commentators

300 On मनु 8. 198 the विवादरामकर (p. 104) remarks कल्पतरुकारस्तु अपसरत्य-  
नेन स्वामिनः सकाशाद्भनमिनि मनिष्यहार्दिर्भगोपायः अपसरः स न विशते यस्य  
तथा । एतच्च भागुरिमिथानिधिवृत्तिकारणामनुमतमित्याह ।

mentioned in the catalogues of mss. who may be passed over for want of space.

Viśvarūpa (on Yaj. I. 69), the Mitākṣarā, the Smṛticandrikā, the Parāśaramādhaviya and other works quote dozens of verses from Vṛddha-Manu on *ahnika*, *vyavahara*, and *prayascitta*. The Mitākṣarā (on Yaj. III. 20) and other works cite a few verses from Bṛhan-Manu. No independent works going under these names have yet been unearthed. Those works, if they ever existed independently, appear to have been later than our Manu. For example, our Manu is silent about the widow's right to inherit to her husband, but Vṛddha-Manu recognises the right of a chaste widow to take the entire wealth of her husband (Mit. on Yaj. II. 136); similarly Bṛhan-Manu (according to the Mit.) seems to refer to Manu's view about the meaning of 'samānodaka' (Manu 5. 60) and modifies it. It is not unlikely that those verses which were not recognised as Manu's by ancient commentators like Medhātithi and were yet found in the mss. of the Manusmṛti were regarded as Vṛddha- or Bṛhan-Manu.

### 32. The Two Epics

The two epics, particularly the Mahābhārata, contain in numerous places passages bearing on dharmaśāstra and are relied upon as authoritative Smṛtis in later works. The Mahābhārata is styled a dharmaśāstra in the Ādiparva (2. 83).

The Rāmāyaṇa is pre-eminently a kāvya; yet on account of its noble ideals it was almost as popular as the Mahābhārata and is relied upon as a source of *dharma* in the *nibandhas* though much less frequently than the other great epic. The Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa (canto 100) and the Āraṇyaka-kāṇḍa (33) contain disquisitions on politics and state administration. The Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 57) quotes the well-known verse of the Rāmāyaṇa (Sundara 59. 31) about cessation of study on the first day of a month.<sup>301</sup> The Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 193 and III. p. 416) quotes two verses on *tarpaṇa* and *śraddha* from the Rāmāyaṇa.<sup>302</sup> The Hāralatā (pp. 64 and 152) quotes

301 सा प्रकृतेव तन्वन्ती तद्विधो गन्धं कर्षीषा । प्रतिपद्यताशीलस्य विधेव तनुतां गता ॥

302 वाद्दशोचमनम्यत्नं तिलहीनं च तर्पणम् । सर्वं तत्र जले तुभ्यं यच्च श्राद्धमदक्षिणम् ॥

इह देवर्षिर्देवे रामस्तर्पयते पितुन् । यदन्नः पुरुषो भवति तदन्नरूपस्य देवताः ॥

The second verse is almost the same as Ayodhyā 103. 30 and Ayodhyā 104. 15 calls it लौकिकी युति.

verses from the Rāmāyaṇa. Aparārka on Yaj. III. 8-10 quotes four verses from the Rāmāyaṇa on sorrow for the dead.

For considerations of space it is impossible to enter into any discussion as to the age of these two epics, as to the earlier and later strata in them and other allied questions. These questions are passed over here as more appropriate to separate treatises on the epics. The following works will give some idea of the problems connected with these two great heirlooms of Indian antiquity:—*Das Mahābhārata seine Entstehung, sein Inhalt, seine Form*, by Oldenberg (Göttingen, 1922); *Das Mahābhārata als Epos und Rechtsbuch*, by Dahlmann (Berlin 1895); *Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Mahābhārata* by Holtzmann (Kiel, 1892-94); *Mahābhārata*, a criticism by Mr. C. V. Vaidya (1903); *das Rāmāyaṇa, Geschichte und Inhalt*, by Dr. Jacobi (Bonn 1893); *The Riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa* by Mr. C. V. Vaidya (1906, Bombay).

In these pages the Bombay oblong edition of the Mahābhārata with the com. of Nilakantha has been used.

In the following table an attempt is made, though not exhaustive, to indicate where dharmaśāstra topics occur in the Mahābhārata.

<i>Abhiṣeka</i> (coronation)—Śānti 40.	<i>Dayabhaga</i> —Anu. 45 and 47.
<i>Arajaka</i> (evils of anarchy)—Śānti 67.	<i>Putras</i> (of several kinds)—Anu. 48-49.
<i>Abhinna</i> —Śānti 264 and 266.	<i>Prayascitta</i> —Śānti 34-35, 165 (33ff).
<i>Āśrama-dharmas</i> —Śānti 61, 243-246.	Brahmaṇa's means of subsistence—Śānti 76-78.
<i>Ācara</i> —Anuśāsana 104.	<i>Bhaktiyābhakṣya</i> —Śānti 36, 78.
<i>Āsvamedhika</i> 45.	* <i>Rājavitī</i> —Sabhā 5, Vana 150, Udyoga 33-34, Śānti 59-130 and 298, Āśramavāsika 5-7.
<i>Āpad-dharma</i> —Śānti 131 ff.	<i>Varyadharma</i> —Śānti 60 and 297, mixed castes—Śānti 65, 297 and Anu. 48-49.
<i>Upavasa</i> —Anu. 106-107.	<i>Vivaha</i> —Anu. 44-46.
<i>Gostuti</i> —Anu. 51 and 73.	<i>Śraddha</i> —Śrīparva 26-27, Anu. 87-95.
<i>Tīrtihas</i> —Vanaparva 82 ff, Anuśāsana 25-26, Śālya. 35-54.	
<i>Dayadastuti</i> —Śānti 15, 121, 268, 295.	
<i>Dana</i> —Vanaparva 186, Śānti 235, Anu. 57-99.	

The following table will give some idea of the topics of dharmasūtra that are dwelt upon in the Rāmāyaṇa, though briefly. The Gujarati Press Edition (1915-20) is referred to—

<i>Abhiṣeka</i> —Ayodhyā 15, Yuddha 128.	„ 40 (10-14) „ 41 (1-6)
<i>Arājaka</i> —Ayodhyā 67.	Yuddha 17-18 and
<i>Patakas</i> —Kiṣkindhā 17 (36-37), 18 (22-23) &c.	„ 63.
<i>Rajadharma</i> —Bala 7, Ayodhyā 100, Aranya* 6 (11-14) „ 9 (2-9) „ 33	<i>Śraddha</i> —Ayodhyā 77 „ 103 „ 111 (104-120) <i>Satyapralambā</i> —Ayodhyā 109. <i>Stridharma</i> —Ayodhyā 24, 26-27, 29, 39, 117-18.

### 33. The Purāṇas.

The Purāṇas as a class of literature existed from very ancient times. Tai. Ār. (II. 10) speaks of “Brāhmaṇas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas, and Nārāsaṁsi gāthās.”<sup>303</sup> In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (VII. 1. 2 and 4) “itihāsa-purāṇa” is spoken of as the fifth Veda and the Brhādāraṇyaka (IV. 1. 2) speaks of “Itihāsa and Purāṇa.” The Gautama Dh. S. (8. 6 and 11. 19) refers to “itihāsa” and “Purāṇa.” It is not unlikely that there was originally a single work called Purāṇa. The words of the Matsya that in former ages there was a single Purāṇa probably embody a tradition that has a substratum<sup>304</sup> of truth. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (vol. I. page 9) speaks of Purāṇa in the singular. The Āp. Dh. S. quotes the views of a Purāṇa, twice cites two verses from a Purāṇa, and summarizes the view of a Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa.<sup>305</sup> The quotations show that the Purāṇa or

<sup>303</sup> माह्वर्णानिज्ञानं पुराणानि कल्पाङ्गाश्च नाराक्षसीः &c.

<sup>304</sup> पुराणमेकमेवासीत् तदा कल्पान्तरेण च । मत्स्यपुराण chap. 53 (Ānandāsārānand ed.).

<sup>305</sup> यो हिंसार्थमभिकर्तुं हन्ति मन्त्रुरेव मन्त्रं स्पृशति न तस्मिन् दोष इति पुराणे । आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 29. 7 ; अथ पुराणे श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति । उद्यतामाहूतां भिक्षां पुरस्तादन्वेदिताम् । भोग्यां मेने प्रजापतिरपि दुष्कृतकारिणः ॥ न तस्य पितरोऽश्नन्ति दश वर्षाणि पथ्य च । न च हृष्यं वह्यप्राप्तिर्यस्यामभ्यधिगम्यते ॥ इति । आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19. 13 ; अथ पुराणे श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति । अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि ये प्रजामीपिरर्षयः । दक्षिणेनार्पण्यः पन्थानं ते श्मशानानि भोजिरे ॥ अष्टाशी... प्रजां नेषिरर्षयः । उत्तरेणार्पण्यः पन्थानं तेऽमृततवं हि कल्पते ॥ आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 23. 3 ; पुनः सर्वे बीजार्था भवन्तीति भविष्यपुराणे । आप. ध. सू. II. 9. 24. 6.



Purāṇas contained verses and were composed in a somewhat archaic language. The extant Purāṇas are recasts made of the ancient Purāṇas during the first centuries of the Christian era, when there was a revival and restatement of the ancient Brahmanical religion, philosophy and literature after the onslaughts of Buddhism and Jainism had abated in their strength and fury. The Mahābhārata (Vana. 191. 16) speaks of the Purāṇa promulgated by Vāyu (i. e. the Vāyupurāṇa). Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita refers to the recitation of the Vāyupurāṇa. Kumārilabhaṭṭa in his Tantravārtika (vide J. B. B. R. A. S. for 1925, p. 122) refers to the subjects dealt with by many of the extant purāṇas and quotes passages that occur in the Viṣṇu and Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇas. Thus it is clear that at any rate some of the extant purāṇas, if not all, are much earlier than the 6th century A. D.

The orthodox number of the principal purāṇas is 18 and there are 18 Upapurāṇas also. There is considerable divergence about the names of the 18 principal purāṇas. For example, the Matsya-purāṇa (chap. 53) enumerates them as follows :—Brāhma, Padma, Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Bhāgavata, Nāradiya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Āgneya, Bhaviṣya, Brahmavaivarta, Liṅga, Varāha, Skanda, Vāmana, Kūrma, Matsya, Garuḍa and Brahmanḍa. The Viṣṇu-purāṇa (3. 6) on the other hand omits Vāyu from the above list and adds Śaiva. The Sarasvatīvilāsa (p. 14) follows the Viṣṇu-purāṇa. Vide Bhāgavata-purāṇa XII. 13. 4-8 and commentary thereon for the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas.

Among comparatively early commentators and writers of digests, it is Aparārka, Ballālasena and Hemādri that quote most profusely from the purāṇas as sources of dharma. We saw above (p. 146) that Kullūka describes passages of the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa as glosses on Manu. The Matsya-purāṇa is pre-eminently a work containing much dharmasāstra material. For example, chapters 16-22 deal with śrāddha, chapters 55-57 and 59-82 with vratas, chap. 54, 83, 278 with gifts, chap. 93 with śāntis, chap. 102 with tirthas. Similarly in chapters 216-243 the Matsya speaks of rājadharma. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (in III, chap. 8-16) contains a good deal of information on the duties of the varṇas and āśramas, nitya and naimittika acts, good manners for a householder, the five great yajñas, jatakarma and other saṁskāras, impurity on death, śrāddha &c. Viṣṇudharmottara (Venkaṭeśvara Press) in the 2nd khaṇḍa contains several chapters dealing with matters of

dharma, e. g. chap. 24 gives the qualifications of state officers, chap. 65-72 speak of rājadharmā, expedients of policy, punishments, 73-74 deal with prāyaścittas, 75 with impurity on death and birth, 79 with purification of dravyas, 80-81 with the four varṇas and mixed castes, 60 with various purely legal matters. The Agni-purāṇa also in chapters 220-225, 227, 233-242 contains a disquisition on rājadharmā. Almost the whole of the vyavahāra section in the Yājñavalkya-smṛti occurs in chapters 253-258 of the Agnipurāṇa (Anandaśrama edition) and many verses in chap. 253 are identical with verses of the Nārada-smṛti. The Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 93-106) contains about 400 verses that are taken from the first and third sections of Yājñavalkya though not in the same order.

The chronology of the purāṇas is, like that of the epics, a subject full of perplexing problems and is hence passed over here.

The annexed table will give an idea as to what topics of dharmaśāstra are dealt with in the principal purāṇas.

The constitution of the original text of the purāṇas is a Herculean task which has not yet been attempted. Not only is there difference of opinion among the purāṇas about the names of the 18 Mahā-Purāṇas, but there is divergence as regards the extent of the several purāṇas. For example, the commentator Viṣṇucitta of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa says (on III. 6. 20-22) that the extent of the Viṣṇupurāṇa is variously given as 8000, 9000, 10000, 22000, 24000, but that he comments on a text of 6000 ślokas only. The Agnipurāṇa (272. 10-11) says that it contains 12000 ślokas, while the Bhāgavata (XII. 13), the Brahmaparivarta, the Padma (adi. 62) say that it contains 15400 ślokas and the Skanda (V. 3) and the Matsya 53 give the extent of the Agni as 16000. The Kūrma, according to the Bhāgavata contains 17000, according to the Matsya 18000 and only 8000 according to the Agni (272. 19). Though there is a remarkable continuity in India as to religious thoughts and practices, yet the popular religion of modern Hindus is pre-eminently paurāṇic. The purāṇas contain thousands of ślokas on dharmaśāstra matters, they are a rich mine awaiting exploration by careful students of social and religious questions and shed a flood of light on the development of religious beliefs and practices in medieval and modern India. Therefore the re-constitution of the text of the purāṇas is a problem that will have to be tackled in the near future. Besides the several Mahā-

purāṇas, eighteen Upapurāṇas also are enumerated in some of the Purāṇas. Vide Garuḍa (223. 17 ff), Skanda (V. 3. chap. I. 45-62 and VII. I. chap. 2), Padma (Pātala-khaṇḍa chap. 111. 95-98) and Matsya (53. 59 ff) for Upapurāṇas.<sup>305a</sup> Besides the Mahāpurāṇas and Upapurāṇas, there are other works of the purāṇa class such as Gaṇeśa, Maudgala, Devī, Kalki &c. The Padmapurāṇa (Uttarakhaṇḍa chap. 263) divides the 18 purāṇas into three groups, *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa*, and says that the Viṣṇu, Nāradya, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Padma, and Varāha are *sāttvika*. The Matsya (53) also speaks of this division. The Līṅgapurāṇa (39. 63-66) speaks of the twenty expounders of dharma just as Yājñavalkya does and quotes the two verses in the form in which the Mit. presents them (and not Viśvarūpa), while the Padma (Uttarakhaṇḍa 263. 86-89) divides the eighteen smṛtis into three groups of *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa*.<sup>305b</sup> It would be quite clear to any reader of the purāṇas and the smṛtis that most of the former in their extant form are later than the smṛtis of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Parāśara, Nārada &c.

The following table will give some idea as to how the eighteen principal purāṇas are rich in dharma-śāstra material. Besides the eighteen principal purāṇas, the Kālīka-purāṇa (Venkatesvara press ed.) and the Saura-purāṇa (Ānandaśrama ed.) have been drawn upon. The Ānandaśrama edition of the Agni and Padma, the Nirṇayasāgara edition (1905) of the Bhāgavata, the Poona edition (1870 Jagaddhitecchu Press) of the Matsya have been referred to here and the Venkatesvara editions of all the other purāṇas.

305a अन्यान्पुष्पपुराणानि मुनिभिः कथितानि न । आद्यं सनत्कुमारोक्तं नारसिंहमथापरम् ॥  
तृतीयं स्कान्द- (नाम् ?) मुनिद्वयं कुमारैश्च तृतीयतमम् । चतुर्थं शिवधर्मोक्तं स्थान-  
न्दीश्वरभाषितम् ॥ पूर्वसप्तोक्तमाश्रयं नारदोक्तमतः परम् । कापिलं वामनं चैव  
तथैवोक्तसंस्मृतम् ॥ ब्रह्मण्डं वासुदेवोक्तं काशिकाह्वयमेव च । माहेन्द्रं तथा साम्बं  
सौरं सर्वार्थसंचयनम् । पराशरोक्तमपरं भार्गवोक्तमह्वयम् ॥ गरुड. 223. 17-20.

305b नारसिंहं चैव हारीतं व्यासे पाराशरं तथा । भारद्वाजं काश्यपं च सारिषका मुक्तिदाः  
शुभाः ॥ याज्ञवल्क्यं तथैवैतरेति दाक्षमेव च । कात्यायनं वेणुपं च राजसाः  
स्वर्गदाः शुभाः ॥ गौतमं बार्हस्पत्यं च सार्वतं च परमं स्मृतम् । शार्ङ्गं चोशनसं द्वि  
नामसा निरवप्रदाः ॥

*Ācāra*—Brahma 113; Garuḍa 50; Kālika 88; Kūrma (uttarārdha) 13; Liṅga (pūrvārdha) 89; Mārkaṇḍeya 31; Nārada (pūrvārdha) 26; Padma (Ādi 52-56, pātala-khaṇḍa 9, sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 46); Skanda I (Kaumārīkā 41), III. (dharmāranya 6), IV. I (pūrvārdha 38, 40); Śiva (kailāśasatīhitā) chap. 18-20 (on ācāra of yati, making of a disciple; yogapatta); Vāyu 16; Viṣṇu III. 11-12.

*Ātmika*—Agni 155; Brahmapravartā (Brahmakhaṇḍa) 26; Garuḍa 50 and 213-217; Kūrma (uttarārdha) 18-19; Liṅga 26; Mārkaṇḍeya 27; Nārada (pūrvārdha) 27; Padma (sṛṣṭi 46, uttara 233); Skanda IV. I (pūrvārdha) chap. 35 and III. 2 (dharmāranya-khaṇḍa) chap. 5.

*Ālauca*—Agni 157-158 (both kinds, on death and birth); Brahma 113 (on birth); Garuḍa (preta-khaṇḍa) chap. 5, Kūrma (uttarārdha chap. 23); Liṅga (pūrvārdha 89).

*Ātmanadharma*s—Agni 160-161; Bhāgavata VII. 12 and 13, XI. 17; Brahma 114; Garuḍa 49; Kūrma (uttarārdha) 14-16 (brahmacārin and grhastha) and 27-28 (vānaprastha and yati); Mārkaṇḍeya 25-26; Nārada (pūrvārdha 27 and 43); Padma (ādikhaṇḍa 58-60

for vānaprastha and yati, bhūmikhāṇḍa 59 for grhastha, sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 15); Saura 17, 20 (vānaprastha and saṁnyāsin); Skanda IV. I (pūrvārdha) chap. 41 (vānaprastha and yati); Viṣṇu III. 9.

*Bhaksyābhaksya*—Brahmapravartā (brahmakhāṇḍa 27, 4th khāṇḍa, uttarārdha chap. 85); Kūrma (uttarārdha chap. 17); Padma (ādikhaṇḍa 56).

*Brāhmaṇa*—vide under *varṇa-dharmas*;

greatness of—Padma (brahmakhāṇḍa chap. 14 and sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa chap. 45); duties of—Kūrma (uttarārdha chap. 12 and 19); Saura 18; who is a worthy—Padma (sṛṣṭi 15); means of livelihood for—Kūrma (uttarārdha 25), Padma (sṛṣṭi 45).

*Dāna*—vide under *pratiṣṭhā* and *utsarga*.

Agni 209-213 (mahādānas); Bhaviṣya IV. 150 ff; Brahma 109 (specially annadāna); Brahmapravartā (prakṛtikhaṇḍa 27); Garuḍa 51; Kūrma, uttarārdha 26 (4 kinds, nitya, naimittika, kāmya, vimāla); Liṅga, uttarārdha 28 (16 mahādānas); Matsya 81-91, 205-206, 274-289 (16 mahādānas); Nārada (pūrvārdha 13 and 31, uttarārdha 41-42); Padma (ādi 57, bhūmikhāṇḍa 39-40 and 94, brahmakhāṇḍa

- 24, *sr̥ṣṭi* 45 on *godāna* and 75, *uttara* 27 on *annadāna*, 28 and 33; *Saura* 9-10; *Śiva* (*Umāsaṁhitā* chap. 11 and 14); *Skanda* I (*Kaumārikā-khaṇḍa* 2 for names of famous donors), III. 2 (*dharmāranya* 34), VII. I. 5 and 208; *Varāha* 99-111.
- Dravyāluddhi*—*Agni* 156; *Bhāgavata* XI. 21; *Brahma* 113; *Līṅga* (*pūrvār̥dha* 89); *Mārkaṇḍeya* 32.
- Gotra* and *Pravara*—*Matsya* 194-201; *Skanda* III. 2 (*dharmāranya-khaṇḍa*) 9.
- Kalīśvarapa*—vide under *Yugadharma*s.
- Brahma* 122-123; *Brahmāṇḍa* (*anuśaṅgapāda* chap. 31); *Brahmavaivarta* (*prākṛtikhaṇḍa* 7); *Kūrma* 30; *Līṅga* 40; *Nāradiya* (*pūrvār̥dha* 41); *Skanda* I (*Kaumārikā-khaṇḍa* chap. 40 and 218-248), II (*puruṣottamamahātmya* chap. 39), VI. 272; *Vāyu* I. 58.
- Kalīvarjya*—*Nārada* (*pūrvār̥dha* chap. 24).
- Karmavipaka*—*Brahma* 108; *Brahmavaivarta* (*prākṛtikhaṇḍa* 26 and 28 and 4th *khaṇḍa* *uttarār̥dha* 85); *Mārkaṇḍeya* 15; *Padma* (*Brahma-khaṇḍa* 5, *pātālakhaṇḍa* 48); *Vāmana* 12.
- Narakas*—vide under *pātakas*. *Agni* 203 and 371; *Brahma* 20 (25 names given), 105 (22 names); *Brahmavaivarta*, *prākṛtikhaṇḍa* 29 (for names of 86 *narakakhaṇḍas*) and 33; *Padma* (*uttara*, chap. 227 for names of 140); *Śiva* (*umāsaṁhitā* chap. 8 for 28 *narakas* and chap. 16); *Skanda* I (*kaumārikā-khaṇḍa* 39), VI. 226-227, *Viṣṇu* I. 6. and II. 6.
- Niti*—vide under *raja-dharma*. *Garuḍa* 108-114 (summary of *Bṛhaspati-niti*) and 115 (summary of *Śaunaka*).
- Pātakas*—vide under *prāyaścitta*. *Agni* 168 (*mahāpātakas* and lesser sins); *Brahma* 20 and 105-106; *Mārkaṇḍeya* 12-14; *Nārada* (*pūrvār̥dha* 15); *Śiva* (*umāsaṁhitā* 5 for *mahāpātakas* and 6 for *upapātakas*).
- Pratiṣṭha*—*Agni* 38-106 (building and consecration of temples, idols of *Viṣṇu* &c); *Garuḍa* 45-48, *Padma* (*uttarakhaṇḍa* chap. 122 and 127 for *Śalagrāma*); *Matsya* 258-270; *Śiva* I (*vidyeśvara-saṁhitā* chap. 11).
- Prāyaścitta*—*Agni* 170-174; *Brahmāṇḍa* (*upasaṁhārapāda* chap. 8); *Garuḍa* 52 (specially for *mahāpātakas*) and 222; *Kūrma*, *uttarār̥dha* 30-34; *Līṅga* 90 (for lapses of *yatis*); *Nārada*, *pūrvār̥dha* 14 and 30; *Padma* (*brahma-khaṇḍa* 18-19); *Saura* 52; *Varāha* 68

(for *agamyagamana*), 131-136  
(for various lapses), 179;  
Vayu (pūrvārḍha 18 for lapses  
of *yati*).

**Rajadharma**—Agni 220-242; Kā-  
likā 87; Mārkaṇḍeya 24;  
Matsya 216-227, 240

**Saṁskāra**—*vide* under *Vivāha*  
also.

Agni 153-154 and 166;  
Bhaviṣya I (Brāhmaṇapārva  
chap. 3-4 and 7); Nārada,  
pūrvārḍha 25-26; Skanda IV.  
I (pūrvārḍha 36 and 38);  
Viṣṇu III. 10.

**Sānti**—Agni 149, 164, 167, 259-  
268, 290-91, 320-324; Bha-  
viṣya IV chap. 141 ff; Bra-  
hmaivaivarta IV (uttarārḍha  
chap. 82); Matsya 92-93 and  
228-239

**Śrāddhas**—Agni 117 (according  
to Kātyāyana) and 163;  
Brahma 110-113, Brahmāṇḍa  
(upodghātapāda 9-20);  
Kūrma, uttarārḍha 20-22;  
Mārkaṇḍeya 27-30; Liṅga,  
uttarārḍha 45 (jīvat-śrāddha);  
Matsya 16-22; Nārada,  
pūrvārḍha 128; Padma  
(pātālakhāṇḍa 101, sṛṣṭi 9-11  
and 47); Śiva (kailāsa-  
saṁhita 21-23) (about after-  
death rites of *yati*); Saura  
19; Skanda VI. 215-225 and  
VII. I. chap. 205-207;  
Varāha 13-14 and 187-188;  
Vayu (uttarārḍha chap. 10-  
21); Viṣṇu III. 13-16.

**Śrīrddharma**—Bhāgavata VII. 11;  
Bhaviṣya I chap. 11-15;  
Brahmaivaivarta (brahma-  
khāṇḍa 9 about greatness  
of *pati*, 4th khāṇḍa,  
uttarārḍha 83 (about *pati-  
vratā*); Padma (bhūmikhāṇḍa  
4, pātāla 102, sṛṣṭi 47 and 49,  
uttara 234 (duties of wife and  
co-wives); Śiva (rudrasaṁ-  
hita, Pārvatikhāṇḍa 54);  
Skanda III. 2. (dharmāranya-  
khāṇḍa 7).

**Tīrtha**—Agni 109-116; Bhāga-  
vata VII. 14; Brahma 23, 26  
(Kōṇārka in Orissa), 39  
(Ekāmra), 40-48 (Jagannā-  
tha), 54 (Mahākālā at Ujja-  
yīni); Garuḍa 81-86; Kūrma,  
pūrvārḍha 31-35 (Benares),  
36-38 (Prayāga), uttarārḍha  
35-44; Liṅga, pūrvārḍha 92;  
Matsya 179-183 and 188-193;  
Nārada, uttarārḍha 39-40  
(Gaṅgāsnāna), 45-47 (Gayā),  
48-49 (Benares), 50 (Śiva-  
liṅgas), 52-61 (Jagannātha),  
62-81 (numerous tīrthas);  
Padma I. 13-49, Padma,  
bhūmikhāṇḍa 90 and 92,  
sṛṣṭikhāṇḍa 14-15 and 18-19,  
60, uttarakhāṇḍa 2, 20-25,  
113, 129 (numerous tīrthas  
named), 130-169, 193; Saura  
67; Śiva I. 12 (koṭirudra-  
saṁhita 1-2, 8-33); Skanda I.  
(aruṇācala-māhātmya, utta-  
rārḍha 2), II (puruṣottama-

māhātmya 1-49); II. Badarikā-māhātmya 1-8; III. 1; III 2, 31; V. 3 (Revākhaṇḍa is full of tirthas in 232 chapters) and also VI and VII; Vāmana 33-42 and 50; Varāha 141-176; Vāyu, uttarārdha 43-50 (Gayā).

*Tithi*—*vide* under *vratas* also. Brahma 120 (ekādaśī); Nārada, pūrvārdha 29 (what tithi should be taken, *paravi-ddha* or *pūrvavi-ddha*); Nārada, uttarārdha 2; Padma, brahmakhaṇḍa 13 (janmāṣṭami), 15 (ekādaśī); Saura 51; Varāha 23-35 (all tithis from ast to amāvāsya).

*Utsarga*—(works of public utility such as tanks and wells, parks, prapās &c.)—*vide* under *dana* and *pratiṣṭhā*.

Bhaviṣya II; Nārada, pūrvārdha 13; Padma, sṛṣṭi 54-56, uttara 28; Śiva (Vidyeshvarasamhitā 11).

*Varṇadharma*s — Agni 151; Bhāgavata VII. 11. and XI. 17; Brahma 114-115; Garuḍa 49; Mārkaṇḍeya 25; Nārada, pūrvārdha 24, 43, 59, 70; Skanda VI. 242; Viṣṇu III. 8. mixed castes-Brahmavaivarta (Brahmakhaṇḍa 10).

*Vivāha*—*vide* under *samskāra*. Padma, uttara 223 and 232; Skanda IV, pūrvārdha 38.

*Vrata*—Agni 175-200, 204 (upavāsa); Bhaviṣya I. 17 ff, IV (several hundred vratas); Brahma 27 (upavāsa); Brahmavaivarta (4th khaṇḍa, pūrvārdha 8 and 26); Garuḍa 116-137, Liṅga, pūrvārdha 83-84; Nārada, pūrvārdha 17-22, 110-124; Matsya 54-80, 94-100; Padma (bhūmi 87, brahmakhaṇḍa 3-4, 7, 11, 13, 15-16, 21-23, pātālakhaṇḍa 86-96, 108, sṛṣṭi 20-24, 31, 76, 79-82, uttara 26, 31-32, 35-65, 66-71, 78, 85, 97, 125, 170, 240-41, 262; Skanda I. (kedāra 33), II. 4. 1-36, II. 5 and 7, V. I. 60-61, VI. 232-241; Śiva (Kotirudrasamhitā 38-40, Umāsamhitā 51); Varāha 39-65.

*Vyavahāra* — Agni 253-258; Skanda I. (Kāumārikākhaṇḍa) 44 (eight ordeals described).

*Yugadharma*s—*vide* also under *Kalivarapa*.

Garuḍa 223; Liṅga 39; Matsya 141-143, 164; Nārada, pūrvārdha 41; Skanda VI. 272; Vāyu I. 32 and 58.



## 34. The Yājñavalkya-smṛti

This Smṛti has been published dozens of times. In the following the Nirṇayasāgara edition edited by Śāstri Moghe (1892 A. D.) has been used and the Trivandrum edition when speaking of Viśvarūpa.

The name of Yājñavalkya is one of the most illustrious among Vedic sages. He is credited with having promulgated the White Yajurveda. In the Śāntiparva (chap. 312) we are told that there was a rupture between Vaiśampāyana and his pupil Yājñavalkya and that by worshipping the Sun the latter received the revelation of the White Yajurveda, the Śatapatha &c. The accounts in the Viṣṇu (3. 5), the Bhāgavata (XII. 6. 61-74) and other purāṇas differ somewhat from the one in the Mahābhārata, but all agree on the fact of the strained relations between Yājñavalkya and his teacher. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in several places alludes to the dialogues of Yājñavalkya and king Janaka of Videha on agnihotra (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 46). Vide Śatapatha (ed. by Weber) XI. 6. 2. At the end of the Śatapatha we are told that Vajasaneya Yājñavalkya promulgated the bright Yajus formulæ from the Sun.<sup>306</sup> In the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad Yājñavalkya appears as a great philosopher teaching the recondite doctrines of Brahman and immortality to one of his two wives, the philosophically minded Maitreyi (II. 4 and IV. 5). In the same Upaniṣad Yājñavalkya is represented as carrying away the one thousand cows set apart by Janaka for the most learned Brāhmaṇa (III. 1. 1-2) and Yājñavalkya is said to have imparted to Janaka the knowledge of the destiny of the soul after it is released from the bonds of flesh and worldly affections. Katyāyana in his Vartika on Paṇini (IV. 3. 105)<sup>307</sup> speaks of the Brāhmaṇas of Yājñavalkya and very heated controversies have raged round the correct interpretation of the Vartika and the Mahābhāṣya thereon (vide Max Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature p. 360, Goldstücker's Paṇini, p. 132 ff and S. B. E. vol. 12 pp. xxxv-xxxviii). It is to be noted that in the Yājñavalkya-smṛti itself<sup>308</sup> (III. 110) the

<sup>306</sup> आदित्यानीमानि शुक्रानि यजुषि वाजसनेयेन याज्ञवल्क्येनारुयायन्ते । शतपथ XIV. 9. 4. 33.

<sup>307</sup> पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु । वा. III. 3. 105.

<sup>308</sup> ज्ञेयं आरण्यकमहं यदादिभ्यादवाप्तवान् । योगशास्त्रं च मन्त्रोक्तं ज्ञेयं योगमभीप्सता ॥ याज्ञ. III. 110.

author, whoever he may be, claims the authorship of the Āraṇyaka that he received from the Sun and the Yogaśāstra composed by him. This is simply put in to glorify the Yājñavalkya-smṛti as the work of a great and ancient sage, philosopher and yogin. From the style and the doctrines of the smṛti it is impossible to believe that it was the work of the same hand that gave to the world the Upaniṣad containing the boldest philosophical speculation couched in the simplest yet the most effective language. Even orthodox Indian opinion was not prepared to admit the unity of authorship in the case of the smṛti and the Āraṇyaka. The Mitākṣarā says at the beginning that a certain pupil of Yaj. abridged the dharmaśāstra in the form of a dialogue.<sup>309</sup> It will be shown later on that, though the sage who promulgated the Āraṇyaka and the author of the smṛti cannot be identical, yet the Yājñavalkya-smṛti is much more closely connected with the White Yajurveda and the literature particularly belonging to it than with any other Veda.

The Yājñavalkya-smṛti contains (in the Nirṇayasāgara ed. of 1892) 1010 verses, while the Trivandrum edition with the commentary of Viśvarūpa contains 1003 verses and Aparārka gives 1006 (Ānandaśrama edition). The difference in the number is mostly due to the fact that Viśvarūpa in the first section on ācāra omits five verses that occur in the Mitākṣarā.<sup>310</sup> As regards one of them (the verse 'rathyākardamatoyāni' I. 197 according to the Mit.) Viśvarūpa notices it and says that some read it after the verse "mukhajā vipruṣa" and that it adds nothing to what precedes. Aparārka explains that verse. In the second section on vyavahāra Viśvarūpa reads verses<sup>311</sup> which do not exist in the Mitākṣarā nor in Aparārka. On the other hand Viśvarūpa seems to doubt the authenticity of the well-known verse on re-union and reads it also

309 याज्ञवल्क्यशिष्यः कश्चित्श्रोतृत्वरूपं याज्ञवल्क्यमणीतं धर्मशास्त्रं संक्षेपं कथयामास ।

310 Viz. the verses आज्ञासंपादनी (I. 76), रथ्याकर्दमतोयानि (I. 197), यावद्धस्तस्य पादौ (I. 207), two half verses नधाच्छादनं न च (I. 232) and अपहृता इति तिलान् (I. 234), दूधघ्नं (I. 289).

311 For example, the verse आगमेन विशुद्धेन भोगो याति ममागतम् । अविशुद्धागमो भोगः प्रामाण्यं नाधिगच्छति । (Tri. ed. II. 29) and कुलानि जातयः श्रेण्यो यणान् जनपदानपि । स्वधर्माच्चालितान् राजा विनीय स्थापयेत्पथि ॥ (Tri. ed. II. 24) do not occur in the Mit. The first is नारद (कणादान 85) and also occurs in the अमिपुराण 253. 56-57.

differently<sup>312</sup> (*anyodaryasya satīsrsti*). Not only this but in some cases the arrangement of verses is not the same in both *Viśvarūpa* and the *Mit.* For example, verses 14-29 of the *prāyaścitta* section present very different sequences in both. What is verse 29 in the *Trivandrum* edition is verse 19 in the *Mit.* Besides the *Mit.* reads one verse (III. 23 *ā dantañmanah &c.*) which is wanting in *Viśvarūpa* and is also not commented upon by *Aparārka*. *Viśvarūpa* adds two half verses,<sup>313</sup> which do not occur in the *Mit.* and *Aparārka*. There is further a good deal of variance in the readings adopted by *Viśvarūpa* and the *Mit.*, though the meaning is not often affected. For example, the two verses enumerating the names of writers on *dharma* are differently worded in both.<sup>314</sup> But *Medhātithi* favours the reading of *Viśvarūpa*.<sup>315</sup> *Viśvarūpa* reads "*asvattam lokavidviṣtam*" (I. 155) and notices a reading "*asvantam*", while the *Mit.* reads "*asvargyam loka-&c.*". Both the *Mit.* and *Aparārka* read "*pitā pitāmaho bhrātā &c.*" (I. 63), while *Viśvarūpa* reads "*pitā mātāmaho bhrātā*", remarks that "*mātāmaha*" is put in earlier as a guardian for marriage for metrical reasons and then notices "*pitā pitāmaho bhrātā*" as a various reading. Even in the days of *Viśvarūpa* there were various readings in *Yaj.* (*Vide com. on I. 1, 2, 51, II. 119, 179 etc.*).

The *Agnipurāṇa* affords an excellent check for the consideration of the text of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*. A good-sized monograph will be required to deal exhaustively with the questions raised by the comparison of the *vyavahāra* portion of the *Agnipurāṇa* with *Yājñavalkya's* *vyavahāra-kāṇḍa*. I shall only briefly examine the materials and state the conclusions at which I have arrived. We know that *Viśvarūpa*, the first extant commentator of *Yaj.*, flourished about 800-825 A. D. The author of the *Mitākṣara* flourished about 250 years later. Interesting results follow by a comparison of the text that these two commentators had before them with the

<sup>312</sup> अप्रत्यरे पूर्वश्लोकविवरणस्थः नीचमिमं श्लोकं पठन्ति अन्योदर्यस्य संसृष्टी &c. (II. 143).

<sup>313</sup> The two half verses are ब्राह्मणस्य दशार्द्धं तु भवति मेतस्मृतकम् । (19 a) and मायानाशकशस्त्राभिविपादिरिन्दतां स्वयं (24 b) in *Tri. ed.*

<sup>314</sup> *Vide note 258 above.*

<sup>315</sup> अतः स्मर्तृपरिगणना मनुर्विष्णुयमोज्ज्वला इति निर्मूला तथा हि पेटनीति-वीचायन-प्रचेतःप्रभृतयः शिष्टैरेवेषाः स्मर्यन्ते । न च परिगणनायामन्तर्भाविताः । मेधा-  
०० मनु II. 6.

**Agnipurāṇa.** I shall select chap. 256 of the Agnipurāṇa for a detailed examination. It contains 36 verses which all occur in Yaj. II. (verses 118-153 of Tri. ed. and verses 114-149 of the Mit. ). It is found that the Agnipurāṇa agrees with the text of 12 verses word for word as contained in Viśvarūpa and 19 verses as contained in the Mit. Viśvarūpa puts three verses between the two verses 'pitṛdravyāvinaśena &c' and 'kramādabhyāgataṁ dravyaṁ', while the Mit. brings the two verses together. Agnipurāṇa agrees with Viś. In several cases the readings of the Agnipurāṇa agree with Viśvarūpa's text and not with that of the Mit. For example, Agni. reads 'kāryaṁ patnyaṁ samānśikāḥ' with Viś. (119), reads 'bhūryā . . . dravyam-eva vā . . . putrasya cobhayoh' with Viś. (124), reads 'pitṛdravyāvinaśena' (and not 'vyāvirodhena' as Mit. does) with Viś. (122), reads 'dadyāt-cāpaharec-cānśaṁ' with Viś. (142 b), reads 'patitas-tatsutaḥ klībaḥ' with Viś. (144 a), reads 'aprajāya-matitāyām' with Viś. (148). The Agnipurāṇa however in a far larger number of cases agrees with the readings of the Mit. Agni (256. 8) reads with the Mit. (122) 'vibhakteṣu suto jātaḥ savarnāyāṁ vibhāgabhaḥ', Agni. (256. 10) reads 'mātāpyamśaṁ samāṁ hareḥ' with the Mit. (123), while Viś. (127) reads 'mātāpyamśaṁ samāpnuyāt.' Viśvarūpa's reading leaves it undecided as to what the share of the mother is to be, while the Mit. makes it definite by stating that it is equal (to that of a son). Agni (256. 12) reads 'catus-tri-dvyeka-bhāgāḥ syuḥ' and 'vidjāstu dvyekabhāginah' with the Mit. (125); Agni. (256. 21) reads '-rdhabhāgikam' with the Mit. (134). Agni. (256. 27) reads 'andho'cikitsyarogādya' with the Mit. (140), while Viś. (144) reads 'rogī ca.' The reading of the Mit. makes provision by the word 'ādyā' for other persons like deaf-mutes mentioned in other smṛtis as not entitled to inherit, while Viś. has to put a forced interpretation on 'ca' as including such persons. The Agni (256. 33) reads 'vyayaṁ dadyāc-ca sodayam' with the Mit. (146), while Viś. (150) reads 'dāpyaś-ca sodayam'. Agni (256. 36) reads 'vibhāgabhāvanā jñeyā grha-kṣetrāś-ca yautakāḥ' with the Mit. (149), while Viś. (153) reads 'bhāvanādeyagrha-kṣetrakayautakāḥ'. Here the former reading is easy and gives a complete sentence. With Viś. we have to separate 'bhāvanā' and 'ādeya &c.'. Besides no predicate (like jñeyā or kāryā) is expressly mentioned in the verse if we take the reading of Viś. and the 'ka' in 'kṣetraka' is a redundancy. We find that the tendency of the readings of the Mit. is to smooth down

harsh or involved constructions and that the Agnipurāṇa presents most of the changes in the text found in the Mit. but not found in Viś. In the same direction points the fact that Agni (256. 35) reads 'na dattam stridhanam yasyai' with the Mit. ( 148 ) and not 'yasya' as Viś. (152) does, as 'yasyai' is grammatically more regular than 'yasyah' with the form 'dattam'. But as against this we may note that both Viś. and Agni read 'aprajāyāmathāyām', while the Mit. reads 'atitāyāmaprajasi'. The reading 'aprajasi' is correct according to Pāṇini ( V. 4. 122 ) and not 'aprajāyām'. Therefore the conclusion that follows is that the text of Yāj. preserved in the Agnipurāṇa is intermediate between the text of Viśvarūpa and that of the Mitākṣarā. As Viśvarūpa flourished about 800-825 A. D., the Agnipurāṇa represents a text of Yājñavalkya current somewhat later i. e. about 900 A. D. In my 'History of Sanskrit Poetics' ( pp. III-V ) I established, from the fact that the extant Agnipurāṇa quotes Daṇḍin and Bhānuha and knew the theory of *dhvani*, that it was composed about 900 A. D. That date is strikingly corroborated by the evidence derived from the chapters on vyavahāra discussed above. It is no doubt true that the Agni presents some readings that are found neither in Viś. nor in the Mit. For example, it reads ( 256. 4 ) 'tabhya rte 'rpayet', while both Viś. and Mit. read 'tabhya rtenvayah'. It is probable that this is an error of the copyists or the reading may be due to the difficulty of understanding the meaning of 'anvayah' there. Agni reads ( 256. 5 ) 'svayam - arjayet' for 'svayam - arjitam' ( of Viś. and Mit. ), and 'jātopi dāsyām śūdrasya' ( 256. 20 ) for 'śūdreṇa' ( of Viś. and Mit. ). A detailed examination of the other chapters on vyavahāra will yield the same results. But it cannot be undertaken here. A few examples may however be cited. Viś. ( II. 167 ) reads 'pālo yeṣām ca te mocyā daiva- rājapariplutā', Agni ( 257. 14 ) 'pālo yeṣām tu te mocyā daivarājapariplutā', while Mit. ( 163 ) reads 'pālo yeṣām na te . . . tāh'. Similarly Viś. ( II. 179 ) and Agni ( 257. 26 ) read 'svakutumbāvirodhena deyam' while the Mit. ( 175 ) reads 'svam kutumbāvirodhena'. Viś. ( II. 203 ) reads 'galat - sabbhikavṛddhistu', while both Agni ( 257. 49 ) and Mit. ( 199 ) read 'glāhe śatikavṛddhestu', which certainly is an easier reading. Agni 258. 45 occurs in Mit. ( 255 ), but is wanting in Viśvarūpa. Yāj. II. 228 in Viś. becomes in the Mit. verse 263, Agni. following the order of Viśvarūpa.

The total number of verses on vyavahāra in Agnipurāṇa, chap. 253-258, is 315. Out of this the first 31 are not taken from Yāj. All of them except the first half verse and verse 31 (chap. 253) occur in Nārada. Of the remaining 284 verses, only 4½ (Agni 253, 35, 255, 43a, 255, 49b and 50, 258, 83) do not occur in Yāj. (in both Viś. and Mit.). There are also a few verses that occur in the Agnipurāṇa and in Viśvarūpa, but not in the Mit. and also a few verses that are common to the Mit. and Agni but are not found in Viś. The first three verses of Yāj. II are compressed by the Agnipurāṇa into 1½ verses.

The Garuḍapurāṇa affords, like the Agnipurāṇa, material help towards examining the authoritativeness of the text of the first and third sections of Yāj. The Agnipurāṇa does not expressly say that it drew upon Yāj., but the Garuḍapurāṇa is explicit on the point. In chap. 93, 1, it is expressly said that the *dharma* formerly promulgated by Yājñavalkya is being narrated 'Yājñavalkyena yat (yah?) pūrvam dharmam (dharmah?) proktam (‘tab?) katham Hare t tan me kathaya keśighna yathā tattvena Mādhava n'. Chapters 93-106 contain dharmasāstra material more or less taken from the Yājñavalkysmṛti. There are 376 verses in these chapters. Considerations of space forbid any detailed examination of this material. A few salient facts only are brought out here. Chapters 93-102 deal with the several topics (*prakaraṇas*) of the first kāṇḍa in the same order, the only exception being the topic of rājadharmā (I. 309-368), which is omitted in the Garuḍapurāṇa. Chapters 102-106 treat of topics that occur in the third kāṇḍa of Yāj. and contain 121 verses only. In these chapters the order of the *prakaraṇas* in Yāj. is not observed at all, but Garuḍa speaks of them in the following order, vānaprastha-prakarāṇa, yati, karmavipāka, prāyaścitta, āśauca and āpaddharma (the last two being the first two *prakaraṇas* in Yāj.). A feature which strikes one as regards the Garuḍapurāṇa (particularly chap. 102-106) is that a few verses only of Yāj. are repeated word for word, that very often the Garuḍapurāṇa gives only a summary by omitting and transposing the words and phrases of the original and that sometimes it adds verses of its own. This may be illustrated by what the Garuḍa says on vānaprastha and yati (chap. 102-103, 12 verses in all). Chap. 102 begins 'vānaprasthāśramam vakṣye tac-chrovanā maharṣayaḥ t putreṣu bhāryām nikṣipya vanam gacchet sahaiva vā n.' The latter



half is a paraphrase of Yāj. III. 45a. Then III. 45b-46 (Mit.) = Garuḍa 102. 2-3a (with slight variations), III. 47 = Garuḍa 102-4 b-5a; III. 48 = 3b-4a; III. 49-50 = Garuḍa 5b (‘pakṣe māsetha vāśnīyād-dantolūkhaliko bhavet, which summarises and retains some words of the original), III. 71 = Garuḍa 102. 6a (cāndrāyaṇī svaped-bhumau karma kuryāt phalādina, which includes a few words of III. 49b also), III. 52 = Garuḍa 6b-7a (the last pāda in Garuḍa is ‘yogābhyāsāt dinam nayet’, while in Yāj. it is ‘śaktiā vāpi tapaś caret’), III. 53 = Garuḍa 102. 7. Chap. 203 contains only five verses, III. 56, 58-59 = Garuḍa 103. 1b-4a (with variants) and then Garuḍa adds 146 verses which are not found in Yāj. (viz. ‘bhavet-paramahamso vā ekadaṇḍī yamāditaḥ || siddha-yogas-tyajan deham-amṛtatvam-ihāpnuyāt | datātithipriyo jñāni grhī śrāddhepi mucyate ||’). The mere fact that a prakaraṇa is omitted in the Garuḍapurāṇa should cast no doubt on the existence of that prakaraṇa in the original Yāj. We do not know on what principles the borrowing took place. Besides we find that such prakaraṇas as Vināyakaśānti and grāhaśānti are included in the Garuḍa (chap. 100-101), while rājadharmā-prakaraṇa is omitted. We know that ‘rājadharmā’ figures in the sūtras and Manu, but none of the ancient dharmasūtras, nor the Manusmṛti speaks of Vināyaka. Hence conclusions must be drawn only from what positively occurs in the Garuḍapurāṇa and not from the absence of any topic in it. The Garuḍapurāṇa sometimes follows the arrangement and form of the verses presented in Viś., sometimes it agrees with the Mit. and sometimes it is independent. For example, the two verses enumerating the authors of dharmasāstras (Yāj. 1. 4-5 = Garuḍa 93. 4-5) follow the readings of Viś., but not those of the Mit. In the 3rd kāṇḍa, verses 14-19 of the Mit. are differently arranged by Viś., and Viś. omits (as does Aparārka also) one verse found in the Mit. (III. 23) as said above, while the Mit. omits two half verses that are found in Viś. (vide note 313). The verse ‘ā danta &c.’ occurs in the Garuḍapurāṇa and the two half verses in Viś. omitted by the Mit. are also omitted in Garuḍa. So far the Garuḍapurāṇa agrees with the arrangement preserved in the Mit. But it does not agree entirely with the Mit. The verse ‘ādanta &c.’ is III. 23 in the Mit. and occurs before ‘ahastvadatta’ but in the Garuḍa it occurs before ‘trirātram daśarātram vā’ (which is III. 18 in the Mit.). Besides verse 23 of the Mit. is read differently in the Garuḍa (daśa dvādaśa varṇa-



nām tathā pañcadaśaiva ca | trimsad dināni ca tathā bhavati preta-sūtakam ). It must therefore be said that the Garuḍapurāṇa represents an intermediate stage of readings between Viś. and the Mit. As the Garuḍapurāṇa was a popular work read by and recited for the benefit of slightly educated or illiterate people, it often introduces changes to suit their understanding. For example, the Mit. ( I. 296 ) reads ( as also Viś. ) 'sūryaḥ soma mahiputraḥ somaputro bṛhaspatiḥ', while Garuḍa reads ( chap. 101. 2 ) 'sūryaḥ soma maṅgalaḥ ca budhaḥ caiva bṛhaspatiḥ,' thus substituting the well-known words Maṅgala and Budha for mahiputra and somaputra. The verse 'kṛtāgnikāryo bhuñjīta' ( I. 31 in the Mit. ) is placed by Viś. after 'ekadeśam - upādhyāya,' while the Mit. places it three verses earlier. The Garuḍapurāṇa here agrees with the Mit. In some cases Garuḍa strikes an independent path. For example, in Yāj. I. 11 Viś. reads 'māse'to jātakarma ca,' the Mit. reads 'māsyete jātakarma ca' while Garuḍa ( chap. 93. 11 ) gives the easy reading 'prasave jātakarma ca'. Mit. reads ( Yāj. I. 76 b ) 'tyajan dāpyas-trītyātriśam-adrayyo bharaṇaḥ striyaḥ'; Viś. omits the whole verse, while Garuḍa omits I. 76a ( of Mit. ) and reads the other half as 'śuddham tyajamstrītyātriśam dadyadabharanāḥ striyaḥ' ( 95. 23b ). Verses I. 91-92 of the Mit. on the offspring of mixed marriages are differently read by Viś. ( I. 90-91 ), while the Garuḍa ( 96. 1b ) has the same half verse as the Mit. I. 91a and the same half verse ( 96. 3a ) as Viś. ( 91b ) and reads the two half verses between them as 'jato'mbaśthastu śudrayaṁ niśadaḥ parvatopi va || māhiṣyaḥ kṣatriyajāto vaiśyayāḥ mlecchasamjñitāḥ'.

The foregoing makes it clear that the text that the Garuḍapurāṇa had before it could not have been older than that commented upon by Viśvarūpa and that it represents a stage intermediate between Viś. and the Mit.

The above gives rise to an important question whether one can detect several strata in the Yājñavalkya-smṛti. From the fact that the sūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita cites Yājñavalkya among the promulgators of dharmśāstras (vide note 137), while Yāj. himself includes Śaṅkha-Likhita among the propounders of dharma (note 258), it may be plausibly said that Śaṅkha-Likhita refer to an earlier Yājñavalkya-smṛti than the extant one. Beyond this there is no evidence to establish that there was an earlier version of the present smṛti. A comparison of the readings of Viśvarūpa and the Mit.

with those in the *Agni* and *Garuḍa* purāṇas has established that the text of the *smṛti* no doubt underwent slight verbal changes between 800 and 1100 A. D. and that a few verses were added and also omitted during these centuries. But the text remained in the main the same from 700 A. D. What the original *smṛti* contained, whether it was in prose or verse or both and whether it dealt with only *ācāra* and *prāyaścitta* sections are questions on which conjectures may be advanced, but there are no substantial materials for arriving at even tolerably certain conclusions.

Yājñavalkya's work is more systematic than that of Manu. He divides the work into three sections and relegates all topics to their proper positions and avoids repetition. He treats of almost all subjects that we find in Manu, but his treatment is always concise and he makes very great and successful efforts at brevity. The result is that for the 2700 verses of Manu, he requires only a little over a thousand. He often compresses two verses of Manu into one, e. g. Manu II. 243, 247-248 are equal to Yāj. I. 49, Manu III, 46-48 and 50 are concisely put in one verse by Yāj. (I. 79); vide also Manu IV. 7-8 and Yāj. I. 128 (contain almost same words also), Manu IV. 84-85 and Yāj. I. 141. In a few cases Manu and Yāj. convey the same meaning in one verse without compression, e. g. Manu III. 70 and Yāj. I. 102, Manu III. 119 and Yāj. I. 110, Manu VII. 171 and Yāj. I. 348, Manu VII. 205 and Yāj. I. 349. The correspondence of Yājñavalkya's words with the text of Manu is in most cases very close, so much so that one cannot help feeling that Yāj. had the *Manusmṛti* before him and purposely made an attempt to abridge the somewhat loose expressions of Manu. The passages set forth above as examples of compression will also serve as illustrations of this fact. The word *Kāya* (from *Ka*) is used by both in the sense of 'prajāpatya form of marriage' (Manu III. 38 and Yāj. I. 60); vide also Manu II. 109 and Yāj. I. 28, Manu III. 43-44 and Yāj. I. 62, Manu V. 26-27 and Yāj. I. 178-179, Manu VII. 56 and Yāj. I. 312 for further close agreement in phraseology. Yāj. adds some subjects which have either no counterpart in our Manu or which are only noticed in passing by Manu. The *Manusmṛti* contains nothing corresponding to the *Vināyakaśānti* and *Grahaśānti* of Yāj. (I. 271-308). Yāj. gives a detailed treatment of five kinds of ordeals (II. 95-113), while Manu makes only a cursory reference to the ordeals of fire and water (VIII. 114). Yāj.

contains considerable anatomical and medical matter (III. 75-108), which is wanting in Manu. On the other hand there are some subjects on which Yāj. is silent though they are dealt with in detail by Manu. This is the case with the account of the origin of the world.

The whole of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti is written in the classical Anuṣṭubh metre. Though the author's great aim has been to be concise, his verses are hardly ever obscure. The style is flowing and direct. There are not many un-Pāṇinian expressions, though he employs 'pūjya' in I. 293 and 'dūṣya' in II. 296. In the latter case both Viśvarūpa and Aparārka avoid the fault by reading differently. The verse 'kulāni jātayah śrenyo' is ungrammatical (Tri. ed. II. 34), as 'jāti', and 'śreṇi' must be in the accusative case. According to the Mit. Yājñavalkya addressed his words to Sāmaśravas and other sages (vide com. on I. 1. 178 and 330-333). In this the Mit. is probably drawing upon the Br. Up. (III. 1. 2) where Yāj. asks Sāmaśravas to take away the 1000 cows. The sages interpose (vide III. 118, 129) as in Manu, while the great teacher is passing in review one topic after another. The teacher himself addresses his auditors (as in I. 178 'śṛṇuḥsvan').

It is said that the sages approached Yājñavalkya in Mithilā and requested him to impart to them the dharmas of the varṇas, āśramas and others. The contents of the work may be briefly summarised as follows :— Kāṇḍa I. fourteen *vidyās*; twenty expounders of dharma, sources of dharma; constitution of a *pariṣad*, the *samskāras* from Garbhādhāna to marriage, upanayana, its time and other details, every day duties of brahmachāri, persons fit to be taught, what things and actions a brahmachāri was to avoid, period of studenthood; marriage, qualifications of girl to be married, limits of *sapinda* relationship, intercaste marriages; the eight forms of marriage and the spiritual benefits therefrom, guardians for marriage, Kṣetrajña son, grounds of supercession of wife, duties of wife; principal and intermediate castes, duties of householder and keeping sacred domestic fire, the five great daily yajñas; honouring a guest, madhuparka, grounds of precedence, rule of the road, privileges and duties of the four varṇas, ten principles of conduct common to all, means of subsistence of a householder, and solemn vedic sacrifices; duties of *snātaka*, days of cessation from study; rules

about prohibited and allowed food and drink ; rules about flesh-eating ; purifications of various materials, such as metal or wooden vessels ; gifts, who is fittest to accept them, who should accept gifts, rewards of gifts, gift of cow, rewards of other gifts, highest gift is knowledge ; śrāddha, proper time for it, proper persons to be invited at it, unfit persons, the number of Brāhmaṇas to be invited, procedure of śrāddha, various śrāddhas such as pārvaṇa, vṛddhi, ekoddiṣṭa ; sapindi-karaṇa ; what flesh to be offered at śrāddha, reward of offering śrāddhas ; propitiatory ceremonies as regards Vināyaka and the nine grahas ; rājadharmā, king's qualifications, ministers, *purohita*, royal edicts, king's duties of protection, administration of justice, taxation and expenditure, allotment of the day to various duties, constitution of maṇḍala, the four expedients, the six guṇas, fate and human effort, impartiality in punishment ; units of measure and weight, grades of fine ; Kāṇḍa II. members of hall of justice, judge, definition of vyavahārapada, rules of procedure, plaint, reply, taking security, indicia of a false party or witness, conflict of dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra ; means of proof, documents, witnesses, possession ; title and possession, gradation of courts, force, fraud, minority and other grounds of invalidity, finding of goods ; treasure trove ; debts, rates of interest, debts of joint family, what debts of father son need not pay ; devolution of debts ; suretyship of three kinds, pledge ; deposit ; witnesses, their qualifications and disqualifications ; administering oaths, punishment for perjury ; documents ; ordeals of balance, water, fire, poison and holy water ; partition, time of it, wife's share on partition, partition after father's death, property not liable to partition, joint ownership of father and son ; twelve kinds of sons ; illegitimate son of śūdra, succession to a sonless man, re-union, exclusion ; husband's power over wife's *strīdhana* ; boundary disputes ; dispute between master and herdsman ; sale without ownership ; invalidity of gift, rescission of sale ; breach of contract of service ; slavery by force ; violation of conventions ; non-payment of wages ; gambling and prize fighting ; abuse, defamation and slander ; assault, hurt etc. ; sāhasa ; partnership ; theft ; adultery ; miscellaneous wrongs ; review of judgment ; Kāṇḍa III. cremation and burial ; offering of water to various deceased persons ; for whom no mourning was to be observed and no water to be offered ; periods of mourning for various persons ; rules for mourners ; impurity on birth ; instances of immediate purification on death or birth ; means of purification, such as time, fire, ritual,

mud etc ; rules of conduct and livelihood in distress ; rules for forest hermit ; rules for a *yati* ; how the individual soul is clothed in a body ; various stages of the foetus, number of bones in the body, the various organs such as liver, spleen etc. ; the number of arteries and veins ; reflection over atman, use of music in the path of *mokṣa* ; how the originally pure atman is born among impure surroundings ; how some sinners are born as various kinds of animals or inanimate things ; how *yogin* attains immortality ; three kinds of actions due to *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* ; means of *ātmajñāna* ; the two paths, one to immortality and the other to heaven ; the various diseases from which sinners suffer ; purpose of *prāyaścittas* ; names of 21 hells ; the five mortal sins, and other acts similar to them ; *upapātakas* ; *prāyaścittas* for Brāhmaṇa murder or for killing other persons ; *prāyaścittas* for drinking wine, for other mortal and venial sins and for killing animals of various sorts ; greater or lesser expiation according to time, place, age, ability ; ostracising the non-conformist sinner ; secret expiations ; ten *jamas* and *niyamas* ; *Santapana*, *mahāsantapana*, *taptakrochra*, *parāka*, *cāndrāyana* and other expiations ; rewards of reading this smṛti.

Besides the four vedas, Yāj. refers to the Vedāṅgas as six and enumerates fourteen vidyās ( four Vedas, six aṅgas, purāṇa, nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, dharmaśāstra ). He refers to the Āraṇyaka and Yogaśāstra composed by himself. Āraṇyakas in general are spoken of in I. 145 and Śukriya Āraṇyaka in III. 309. The Upaniṣads are mentioned in III. 189, where purāṇas are mentioned in the plural. Itihāsas, Purāṇa, Vākovākya, and Nārāyaṇī gāthās are mentioned in I. 45 ( also I. 101 for purāṇa and itihāsa ). He enumerates at the commencement nineteen authors on *dharma* besides himself. But it is remarkable that in the body of the work not one individual author of a dharma-śāstra is mentioned by name. He speaks of Ānvikṣiki ( Metaphysics ) and Daṇḍanīti ( I. 311 ). He lays down the dictum that where dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra conflict, the former shall prevail ( II. 21 ). He speaks of smṛtis in general ( II. 5 and I. 154 ). In III. 189 he speaks of sūtras and bhāṣyas. What works are intended it is most difficult to say ; the only extant bhāṣya which can be said with certainty to be older than the extant Yāj. smṛti is that of Patañjali. He refers to other writers on dharma in the word ' eke ' ( I. 36 ). The view referred to there occurs in Baud. Dh. S. 1. 2. 4.

Yājñavalkya agrees very closely with the *Viṣṇudharmasūtra*. What conclusions are to be drawn therefrom has been discussed above (see sec. 10). Similarly there is close correspondence between the *Kautiliya* and *Yāj.* If there is any borrowing at all, it must follow from the date above assigned to the *Kautiliya* that it is *Yāj.* who borrows. There are numerous passages in *Yāj.* that show remarkable agreement with the text of *Manu*. But there are several points on which *Yāj.* differs from *Manu* and shows in general a more advanced state of thought and feeling than the *Manusmṛti*. The following are the principal points wherein *Yāj.* differs from *Manu*. *Manu* seems to allow a *Brāhmaṇa* to marry a *śūdra* girl (III. 13), while *Yāj.* emphatically states it as his opinion that this is wrong (I. 59); *Manu* first describes the practice of *niyoga* and then severely condemns it (9. 59-68), while *Yāj.* does not condemn it (I. 68-69). *Manu* enumerates eighteen *vyavahārapadas*; *Yāj.* does not expressly enumerate them in one place, though he defines *vyavahārapada* and adds verses of a miscellaneous character (*prakīrṇaka*) in his section on *vyavahāra*. *Manu* is silent about the rights of inheritance of the widow of a sonless man and gives only a vaguely expressed order of succession, while *Yāj.* places the widow at the head of all heirs and enumerates several classes of heirs in a regular order. *Manu* condemns gambling outright (9. 224-226), while *Yāj.* brought it under state control and made it a source of revenue to the king (II. 200-203). There are several other matters which *Yāj.* treats at much greater length and more systematically than *Manu*, e. g. ordeals (as indicated above), means of proof in courts (*Manu* altogether ignoring documentary evidence, though he knew documents 8. 51-52), rules of procedure in courts (compare *Manu* 8. 53-56 with *Yāj.* II. 5-11 and 16-21), the doctrine of possession and prescription (*Yāj.* II. 24-29 and *Manu* 9. 44 and 54). All these points tend to show that the *Yājñavalkya smṛti* is much later than the extant *Manusmṛti*.

The *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* seems to have taken the section on *Vināyakaśānti* from the *Mānavagrhya-sūtra* (II. 14); verses 281-283 of *Yāj.* (I) occur in the *Mānavagrhya* II. 14, but in a different order.<sup>316</sup> The *Mānavagrhya* takes the *Vināyaka*s to be four, while *Yāj.* says that there is a single *Vināyaka*, whose appellations are *Mita*. &c.

<sup>316</sup> अथातो विनायकान् व्याख्यास्यामः । शालकटकुटश्च कूष्माण्डराजपुत्रश्चोस्मिन् । (दुपुत्रश्च मितश्च) देवयजनश्चेति । मलवगृह्य II. 14. 1-2 : विनायकः कर्नविप्रसिद्धयर्थं विनिर्वाजितः ।



The details of information about Vināyaka in Yāj. (I. 272-276) appear to be versified from the prose<sup>17</sup> of the M. Gr. S. The details of worship also and the *mantra* (Yāj. I. 291) are taken from the same work (vide M. Gr. S. II. 14. 30 for the *mantra*). At one time the section on Vināyakaśānti was thought to be a sure indication of the late date of Yāj. But since the discovery of the Mānavagrhya that position had to be given up. In the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (II. 5. 21) we have Vināyaka and his several appellations (in the *tarpaṇa*). Aparārka on Yāj. I. 275 quotes a long passage from the Baijavāpa grhya which bears a very close correspondence in phraseology to the passage from the M. Gr. S. quoted above and which gives the names of the four Vināyakas as Mita, Saṁmita, Śalakaṭaṅkaṭa and Kūsmāṇḍa-rājaputra.

The Yājñavalkya-smṛti stands in a very intimate relation to the white Yajurveda and the literature that clusters round it. Most of the *mantras* quoted (in part) or referred to by Yāj. occur in the Ṛgveda as well as in the Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā (e. g. in Yāj. I. 22, 24, 229, 230, 238, 239, 247). But there are a few *mantras* that do not occur in the Ṛgveda, but only in the Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā or other saṁhitās (e. g. 'yavosi' in Yāj. I. 230, which is Vaj. S. 5. 26, 'ye samānā in Yāj. I. 254 which is Vaj. S. 19. 45, 'imam deva' and 'udbudhyasva' in Yāj. I. 300 which are Vaj. S. 9. 40 and 15. 54, 'annāt pariśrutah' and 'kāṇḍāt' in Yāj. I. 301 which are Vaj. S. 19. 75 and 13. 20). Verses (Yāj. III. 191-197) are a paraphrase of certain passages of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, so much so that the very words of the latter are used throughout in the former, as the

...मितश्च संमितश्चैव तथा सालकटङ्कुटो । कूष्माण्डराजपुत्रश्च जपेत् स्वाहासमन्वितान् ।  
नामभिर्द्यौलभन्त्रैश्च नमस्कारसमन्वितैः ॥ याज्ञ. I. 267. 281-82 (Tri. ed.). The Mit.  
seems to have read: '०कटङ्कुटो । कूष्माण्डो राजपुत्रश्च.'

- 317 एतैरधिगतानामिमानि रूपाणि भवन्ति । लोष्टं मृद्नाति । तृणानि छिनत्ति । अङ्ग्रेषु लेहान्  
लिङ्गति । अपः स्वप्नं पश्यति । मुण्डान् पश्यति । जटिलान् पश्यति । काषापवाससः  
पश्यति । उग्रान् चुकरान् गर्दभान् दिवाकीर्त्यादीनन्यान्नाप्रपतान् स्वप्नान् पश्यति ।  
अन्तरिक्षं क्रामति । अश्वान् व्रजन्मन्यते वृष्टतो मे कन्विदनुव्रजति । एतः सलु विनावक्ते-  
राविष्टा राजपुत्रा लक्षणवन्तो राज्यं न लभन्ते । कन्वाः पतिकामा लक्षणवत्यो भर्तृन्  
लभन्ते । ... रुषिकराणां रुषिरल्पफला भवति । मानवगृहा II. 14. 3-21  
(ed. by Krauer)



quotations given below will show.<sup>118</sup> Then again Yāj. very closely agrees with the Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra as was pointed out by Dr. Stenzler in his introduction to the edition of Yāj. (1849, Berlin) and in the journal of the German Oriental Society (VII. 527). Viśvarūpa points out that Yāj. I. 142-143 are based upon Pāraskara. The *mantra* 'ayam me vajrah' in Yāj. I. 135 (Trivandrum ed.) is given in Pāraskara-grhya II. 7. 7. In the following also there is close verbal correspondence<sup>119</sup> between Yāj. and the P. Gr. S; Yāj. III. 1-2 and P.Gr. S. III. 10. 1, 5, 8-9 and 12; Yāj. III. 3 and P. Gr. S. III. 10. 16 and 19-20; Yāj. III. 4 and P. Gr. S. III. 10. 46-47; Yāj. III. 16 and P. Gr. S. III. 10. 26-27. Similarly the verses of Yāj. on śrāddha (I. 217-270) offer many points of contact with the śrāddha-kalpa of Kātyāyana edited by Dr. Caland (pp. 127-130 of his work 'Ahnenenk. &c.' From these facts Dr. Jolly concludes that Yājñavalkya's work goes back to a dharmasūtra of the White Yajurveda (R. u. S. p. 21). In another place Dr. Jolly hazards another conjecture based on the close correspondence between Yāj. and the Viṣṇudharmasūtra that he probably belonged to the Kāthaka school of the Black Yajurveda (Journal of Indian History, 1924, p. 7). Yāj. also shows great similarity to the Kāṭīliya and borrows the Vinayaka-śānti from

118 स ह्यश्वमेधोऽजिह्वारयः सप्तर्षिरश्मिर्न तु । द्रष्टव्यसुखे मन्त्रायः श्रोतव्यश्च द्विजातिभिः ॥  
याज्ञ. III. 191; compare सुहृदारण्यक II. 4. 5, and IV. 5. 6 'आत्मा वा अंरं  
द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यः &c.'; य एननेयं विनृन्ति ये चारण्यकमश्रिताः । उपासते द्विजाः  
सत्यं धृष्टया परया वृताः ॥ कमसे समवन्त्यर्चिरहः शुक्लं तथोत्तरम् । अयनं देव-  
लोकं च सवितारं सवेद्यतम् ॥ ततस्तान् पुरुषोभ्येव मानसो ब्रह्मलोकिकान् । &c.  
याज्ञ. III. 192-194; compare सुहृदारण्यक VI. 2. 15 ते य एमेतद्धिदुष्ये चाभी  
अरण्ये धर्त्वा सत्यमुपसते तेर्चिरभिर्गोमर्वाश्च ... तान् देवतापुरुषो मानस एव ब्रह्म-  
लोकान् गमयति.' The next three verses of Yāj summarize सुहृदारण्यक  
VI. 2. 15 using the last words of the latter 'कीटाः पतङ्गा यदिदं दन्दशूकम्'.

119 षोडशस्य रोहिण्यामष्टकायामर्थाय वा । जलभ्यो हृन्दां कुर्यादुत्सर्गं विधिवद् द्विजः ॥  
याज्ञ. I. 142; compare पारस्कर II. 12. 1-2. (Venkatesvara press ed.)  
'षोडश रोहिण्यां मध्यमया षष्टकायामर्थायानुस्मृतेन । उदकान्तां गत्वा &c.'

120 \* इ-सप्तमाद् दशमद्वापि जलपयोभ्युपयन्त्ययः । उपनः शोभुष्यदपमनेन पितृदिहमुखाः ॥  
याज्ञ. III. 3; 'सर्वे ह्यजलपयोभ्युपयन्त्यासप्तमात्पुरुषाद्दशमाद्वा । ... सव्यस्वाननि-  
कषापनोवाप नः शोभुष्यदपमिनि दक्षिणामुखा निमज्जन्ति ।' पारस्कर III. 10. 16  
and 19-20.

the Mānavagrhyasūtra. From these facts one may argue at least with as much logic and force as underlies Dr. Jolly's guess-work that Yāj. probably belonged to the Mānava school of the Black Yajurveda or to the school of Kautilya. If Yāj. knew his business as a writer on Dharmasāstra, he must have consulted the works of his predecessors and his work is bound to show traces of that fact. One may conclude at the most that the author of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti may have possibly been a student of the White Yajurveda and so the *mantras* of the White Yajurveda and the Grhyasūtra of Paraskara were far more familiar to him than the other Vedas, sūtras, smṛtis, and other works. No such conclusions that there was a dharmasūtra of the White Yajurveda and that the Yājñavalkya-smṛti was based thereon are warranted by the facts so far discovered.

For settling the date of Yāj. we need not consider the evidence after the 9th century. For in the first quarter of that century (as we shall see later on) Viśvarūpa wrote his extensive commentary on Yāj. That he was separated from Yāj. by many centuries follows from several considerations. Not only had numerous various readings arisen in the text of Yāj. when he wrote, but various interpretations of the same words and verses of Yāj. had arisen. For example, he gives several meanings of the words 'putronanyaśritadravyah' (in Yāj. II. 47), 'sāmudrāh' (II. 41); he gives different interpretations of I. 265, II. 160, II. 173 &c. He refers to the interpretations of his predecessors in several places by the word 'anye' (I. 3, 25, 155, 169; II. 21, 119, 121; III. 201, 209, 246 &c.). In several places he appears to be referring to two other interpretations than his own (vide on III. 250, the words 'kecittu' and 'anye tu' and the same words on III. 261 and 264). That Viśvarūpa had before him actual commentaries on Yāj. and was not merely giving scholastic interpretations started by himself is made very clear in several cases by his actually citing certain portions from those works. On I. 252 Viśvarūpa says 'others take from somewhere the following śloka (then the śloka is quoted), but this śloka is of no help, as its origin is not known'.<sup>321</sup> Similar words occur in the

321 अन्ये तु कुतश्चिद्गमयन्त्येवं श्लोकं पठन्त- 'याः सविष्टकृतं तेन दूधविपण्डेन योजयेत् । विधिप्लस्तेन भवति पितृहा योजनायते ॥ इति । अयं स्वापष्टमूलत्वादाकाशित्वः । विश्वरूपेण वा, I. 252.

comment<sup>322</sup> on Yāj. III. 222. On II. 193 he styles some predecessor as 'paṇḍitaśmānya' and on III. 257 he ridicules a predecessor who regards the verse of Manu IV. 222 as an arthavāda by saying that that commentator wanted to show off that he knew the technical term arthavāda.<sup>323</sup> It is not unlikely that Viśvarūpa in this last passage refers to some ancient commentator of Manu such as Asahāya. In the *Prāyaścittamayūkha*,<sup>324</sup> Nilakantha (Benares edition of 1879) says that Śaṅkara in his *Bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra* (III. 4. 43) explained the application of Yāj. III. 226. Unfortunately in the printed editions of Śaṅkara I could not find this. But from the *Bhāmati* where Yāj. III. 226 is explained, it is clear that the passage must have occurred in the text of Śaṅkara used by the *Bhāmati*. Dr. Jolly lays great emphasis in assigning a late date to Yāj. on the fact that Kumārila, who cites Manu, Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana frequently, ignores the Yājñavalkya-smṛti altogether. But this silence of the great mīmāṃsaka can only mean that he did not assign the same pre-eminent and venerable position to Yāj. that he assigned to Manu, Gautama and others. Dr. Jolly himself is prepared to place Yāj. three or four centuries earlier than Kumārila. It will be shown hereafter that Nārada and Bṛhaspati cannot be placed later than 500 A. D. and may have flourished two or three centuries earlier still. On a comparison of their doctrines with those of Yāj. it will have to be conceded that they represent a far greater advance in juristic principles and exactitude than Yāj. So the latter cannot be placed later than the 3rd century A. D. As Yāj. is shown above to have followed the Manusmṛti and the Kauṭīliya his smṛti cannot be placed earlier than the first century B. C. We shall not be therefore far from the truth if we place his smṛti somewhere between the first century B. C. and the third century of the Christian era. In the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (ed. by B. Nanjio, 1923,

322 अन्ये तु कुतश्चिदागमस्येवं श्लोकं पठन्ति-रागाद् द्वेषाद् प्रमादाद्वा स्वतः परत एव वा । यो इत्याद्वा माह्वं कश्चित् स सर्वो महाद्वा भवेत् ॥ इति । तत्त्वविज्ञातमूलत्वाद् विचार्यम् । विवरण्य ०० वा. III. 222.

323 अन्ये तु भुक्त्वातोऽन्यतमस्याऽन्मित्येवमादीन्यर्थवादत्वेन व्याचक्षते । ... न चात्र किंचिदर्थवादसाम्यमस्य स्यात् । अतोर्थवादो नाम वाक्यमकारोस्ति तमस्यैव जानामीत्येतावानेवामिमाः । इत्युपेक्षणीयम् । विश्व ० ०० वाङ्. III. 257.

324 श्रीशङ्कराचार्यास्तु कामनोऽव्यवहार्यस्तु इत्यकाराभ्युपेक्षेणैव याज्ञवल्क्यवचो यद्विस्तृतमवधा स्मृतेराधाराच्चेति सूत्रे कृतमाश्रित्यनेनैकमहत्त्वमवधार्यदिपरम् ॥ पावभिन्नम्, p. 7.

Kyoto) gāthas 814-816 are 'Kātyāyanah sūtrakartā yājñavalkastathaiva ca ... Valmīko Masurākṣaśca Kauṭilya Aśvalāyanah t ...'. From the context it appears that the author of the smṛti is referred to as Yājñavalka.

Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 21) following Dr. Jacobi (Z D M G 30, p. 306) thinks that Yāj. shows an acquaintance with Greek astrology. Dr. Jacobi's position amounts to this that the naming of the week days after the planets was established among the Greeks towards the end of the 2nd century A. D. and as the names of the week days and the arrangement of the planets in correspondence with them was borrowed by the Indians from the Greeks, no Indian work which enumerates the week days or arranges the planets in the well-known sequence (of Sun, Moon, Mars &c.) could have been composed before the third century after the Christ. As is very often the case with Western Sanskrit scholars in matters of Indian chronology, this grand generalisation is based upon very slender data. The premises are mere assumptions without hardly any evidence worth the name to support them. No one knows exactly when the week-days were named and who were the people that first employed the current names of the week-days. It is well-known that as far back as the days of Herodotus the Egyptians had a presiding deity for each day and that in the times of Julius Caesar there were days of Saturn (*vide* I. A. vol. 14, p. 1, General Cunningham's article for the Indian origin of week-days). At least from the third century B. C., as vouched for by the 13th edict of Aśoka, India was in close touch with Syria and Egypt, where Buddhist missionaries had been sent by Aśoka while Antiochus and Ptolemy ruled in the two countries respectively. Therefore, if Indians at all borrowed the week-days and the arrangement of planets from foreigners, there is nothing to prevent us from holding that they borrowed them from the Egyptians. The earliest dated Indian record wherein a week-day is mentioned is the Erāp Inscription of 484 A. D. (Gupta Inscriptions p. 89) where we have "Suraguror divase." It is to be noticed that Yāj. does not mention the week-days. In I. 296 he mentions the nine *grahas* in order as the Sun, the Moon, Mars (the son of the earth), Mercury (the son of Soma), Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Rahu, Ketu. No one can gainsay that at least the Sun, the Moon, Brhaspati and Venus were known to the R̥gvedic India. Brhaspati in the highest heaven is

spoken of in the *R̥gveda*<sup>325</sup> and the conjunction of Jupiter and *Tiṣya* ( constellation of *Puṣya* ) is spoken of in the *Tai. Brāhmaṇa*.<sup>326</sup> We know so very little of the ancient astronomical science in ancient India that one must think twice before dogmatising. *Yāj.* nowhere mentions the zodiacal signs (*rāśis*) and probably did not know them. Not only so, in his day the *nakṣatras* were still arranged from *Kṛttikā* to *Bharaṇi* as was the case in the *Tai. S. IV. 4. 10. Vide Yāj. I. 268 ( Kṛttikādi bharaṇyantaḥ )*. We know from *Varāhamihira* that in the 5th century A. D. the signs of the zodiac and the arrangement of *Nakṣatras* from *Aśvini* to *Revati* were established facts in all parts of India. Therefore *Yāj.* who uses the ancient arrangement of *Nakṣatras* cannot be placed so late as the 4th century A. D. When *Yāj. (I. 80)* speaks of " *susthe indau* " we should not, following such commentaries as the *Mit.*, connect the words with the signs of the zodiac or the houses of the horoscope. *Viśvarūpa* does not speak of *rāśis* in this connection, but of *Nakṣatras* only. From very ancient times certain *Nakṣatras* had come to be regarded as auspicious or suitable for particular acts. The *Tai. Br.* directs that one should not finish a thing or begin to sacrifice on a *nakṣatra* with an evil name. The same *Brahmaṇa* says that ploughing was to be begun on the *Maitra* asterism (*Anurādhā*) and consecration of fire on the *Āditya* *nakṣatra*. Even the *R̥gveda* speaks of auspicious days<sup>327</sup> and the *Tai. Br.* speaks of *Deva-nakṣatras* and *Puṇyahas*, and says that a daughter should be given away in marriage on the *Svāti* *nakṣatra* if she was desired to be her husband's favourite.<sup>328</sup> *Vide Baudhāyana Gṛhya (I. 1)* for the marriage *nakṣatras*; also *Āp. Gr. S. II. 15. 12-14, Gobhila Gṛhya 4. 4. 28 and 2. 1. 1. Therefore, when Yāj. speaks of planets being badly placed (I. 307), or of Vyatipāta, Gajacchaya and the passing*

325 बृहस्पतिः प्रथमं जायमानो महो ज्योतिषः परं ज्योतिम् । ऋग्वेद 4. 50. 4.

326 बृहस्पतिः प्रथमं जायमानस्तित्थं नक्षत्रमभिसंबभूव । ते. ब्रा. 3. 1. 1. 5.

327 तस्मादश्लीलानामश्विन्ने नक्षत्रेण यजेत यथा पापाहे कुरुते तादृशेन तत् । ते. ब्रा. I. 5. 2. 6.

328 मेघेण रूपन्ते ... आदित्येन आदधते । ते. ब्रा. 1. 8. 4. 2.

329 स्तोत्रं विप्रः सुदिनस्ये अह्नाम् । ऋग्वेद VII. 88. 4.

330 याम्येष देवमक्षत्रानि तेषु कुर्वति घत्कारी स्यात् पुण्याह एव कुरुते । ते. ब्रा. I. 5. 2. 9;  
या कामयेन कुर्वितं पिबा स्यादिति ना निष्पाया दध्यात् । ते. ब्रा. I. 5. 2. 3.

(saṁkrama) of the Sun (I. 218), we have no right to connect this with the *rāśis*. In III. 171 and 172 he speaks of only the conjunction of planets and of the passage (of them) through *tārās* and *nakṣatras*. The Baud. Dh. S. II. 5. 23 speaks of the nine *grahas* in the same order as that of Yāj. Therefore there is hardly any evidence to show that Yāj. knew more astrology than was current in the days of the Brāhmaṇas and the Grhyasūtras. Yāj. (in II. 240-241) speaks of the fine to be imposed on those who counterfeited "nāpakas" (coins) and on those examiners of "nāpakas" who falsely declared a good coin to be counterfeited and *vice versa*. Mr. Jayasval (Calcutta Weekly Notes, vol. 17, p. CLIX) says that nāpaka is the gold coin of the Kushans bearing the picture of the Goddess Nanaia and that the Kushans did not rise to importance before 78 A. D. This would place Yāj. after 100 A. D. But it must be remembered that this connection between the Goddess Nanaia and the word "nāpaka" is quite conjectural and that the chronology of the Kushans is far from being settled.

Yāj. speaks of the sight of yellow-robed people as an evil omen (I. 273), which is probably a reference to the Buddhists; though it has to be remembered that he prescribes old yellow (kaśāya) robes for his seeker after *mokṣa* (III. 157). He speaks of the founding of monasteries of Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas (II. 185). The philosophical doctrines contained in the third section (verses 64-205) approach that phase of the Vedānta that was taught by Śaṅkara. *Vide* particularly III. 67, 69, 109, 119, 125, 140. He employs in elucidating the philosophy of ātman the well-known examples of ghaṭākāśa and of the reflection of the Sun in water (III. 144), of the various ornaments made from gold, of the spider spinning webs out of his own body (both in III. 147), of the actor representing various parts (III. 162). All these illustrations frequently occur in Śaṅkara's Śārirakabhāṣya (e. g. ghaṭākāśa on II. 1. 14, spider on II. 1. 25). All these points, however, are of very little use in arriving at a definite age for the smṛti of Yāj. The foregoing discussion has established that Dr. Jolly's date (viz. 4th century A. D. in R. u. S., p. 21) is much later than the data warrant. There is nothing to prevent us from holding that the extant smṛti was composed during the first two centuries of the Christian era or even a little earlier.



Besides the Yājñavalkya-smṛti we have to reckon with three other works connected with the name of Yājñavalkya, viz. Vṛddha Yāj., Yoga-Yāj., and Brhad-Yāj. All these three works are comparatively ancient. Viśvarūpa quotes (vide note 219 above) two verses of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya saying that many writers on dharma have been born and will be born and enumerating ten such writers. The Mit. and Aparārka quote Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya frequently. One quotation cited from Vṛddha-Yāj. by Mādhava refers to the means of proof in case of doubt whether there was a partition.<sup>331</sup> So Vṛddha-Yāj. wrote also on Vyavahāra. Most of the quotations occur in the prāyaścitta section. It is interesting to note that one of these quotations in Aparārka<sup>332</sup> regards the touch of Parasikas as on the same level with that of Cāṇḍālas, Mlecchas and Bhīllas. The Dāyabhāga<sup>333</sup> says that Jitendriya cited the words of Brhad-Yājñavalkya (viz. "sodaro nānyamātrjah"). The Mit. cites Brhad-Yājñavalkya on prāyaścitta. So this also is a work that must be held to be earlier than 1000 A. D. Yāj. himself is styled Yogīśvara by the Mit. and other works, but Yoga-Yājñavalkya is a different work from the Yāj. smṛti and existed probably prior to the latter work. Yāj. (in III. 110) claims the Yogasāstra to be his own work. So either Yāj. the author of the smṛti composed such a work or the author of the smṛti in order to glorify it claimed that he was the same as the author of a well-known Yogasāstra ascribed to a Yājñavalkya. At all events Yoga-Yājñavalkya existed certainly much earlier than 800 A. D. Vācaspatimiśra in his commentary on the Yogasūtrabhāṣya quotes a half verse from Yogi-Yājñavalkya.<sup>334</sup> Vācaspati wrote his Nyāyasūcinibandha in 898 (of the Vikram era) i. e. 841-42 A. D. Aparārka quotes profusely from Yoga-Yājñavalkya. One of the quotations (on III. 198-201) is an Ārya

331 विभागधर्मसन्देहं बन्धुसहचरभिलेखितैः । त्वभागभाषना कार्वाणं न भवेद् द्वैतिका क्रिया ॥  
पराशरमाधवीय III, part 2, p. 571; compare याज्ञ. II. 149.

332 चण्डालपुङ्गवस्तृणभिलषपरिसकादिकम् । मद्भाषातस्मिन्नेव स्पृष्ट्वा रमायास्तथैलकम् ॥  
on याज्ञ. III. 29-30.

333 संसृष्टपदमेव वा सोऽदमभिधत्ते । अत एव बृहदाज्ञावल्क्यवचनं सोऽदो नान्यमातृज इति  
जितेन्द्रियेण लिखितम् । दायभाग p. 256 (ed. of 1829).

334 मनु द्विरप्यगर्भो योगस्य वका नान्यः पुरातनः — इति योगियाज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतौः कथं  
पतञ्जलेर्योगशास्त्रकर्तृत्वमित्याशङ्क्य &c. The words द्विरप्यगर्भो &c. occur in  
the ms. of बृहद्योगियाज्ञवल्क्य XII. 5.



(on the duration of a *mātrā*<sup>335</sup>). The quotations refer to *prāṇāyāma*, *Gāyatrī*, bathing, *tarpaṇa* and *jñāna*. His position is that even a householder becomes *mukta* by performing his duties, by contemplating on *ātman* and by knowledge of the Vedānta, that the highest goal is reached by a combination of *jñāna* and *karma* and that the view that *mukṣa* results from knowledge alone is a sign of indolence.<sup>336</sup> The Parāśaramādhyāyī quotes a verse from *Yogi-Yāj.* saying that only the *Brahmaṇas* can pass through the four *āśramas*, the *Kṣatriya* through three (excluding the last), the *Vaiśya* through two and the *Śūdra* only through one (viz. that of householder).<sup>337</sup> *Kullūka* on *Manu* (3. 1) quotes the view of *Yogi-Yāj.* that *Brahmacarya* extended to twelve years or five for each of the four *Vedas*.<sup>338</sup>

In the Deccan College Collection there are two mss. of *Yogi-Yājñavalkya* (Nos. 91 and 388 of 1899-1915) in twelve chapters and about 495 verses. The colophon at the end of the first chapter in the latter ms. describes it in the style of the *Bhagavadgītā*.<sup>339</sup> *Yājñavalkya* is said to have learnt *Yogaśāstra* from *Brahmā* and expounds it to his wife *Gārgī*. The whole work deals with the eight *āṅgas* of *yoga*, their divisions and subdivisions. Out of the several quotations cited above from *Yoga-Yāj.* only one was found in this work. It contains a verse (I. 68 *aṣṭau grāsā munḥ proktāḥ &c*) which is practically the same as *Baud. Dh. S. II. 7.*

335 अङ्गुलिमोक्षप्रितयं जाम्बोः परिमार्जनं वापि । तालव्रजमपि लज्जा मात्रासंज्ञं प्रशंसन्ति ॥  
अपरार्क on याज्ञ. III. 198-201. This is उपनीति, a variety of आर्षा. It occurs in the ms. of बृहद्योगियाज्ञ. VIII. 12, where we read जाम्बोः परिमार्जनमपि । तत्कालव्रजमपि &c.

336 स्वकर्मणामनुष्ठानास्तत्परात्मनिदर्शनात् । वेदान्तानां परिज्ञानाद् गृहस्थोपि विमुच्यते ॥  
quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. III. 57. This occurs in बृहद्योगियाज्ञ. (ms.) XI. 47; परिज्ञानाद्देवमुक्तिरेतदालस्यलक्षणम् । कायक्लेशभयाच्चेव कर्म नैच्छन्ति पण्डिताः । ज्ञानकर्मसमायोगात्परमात्रेति पूरुषः । पृथग्भवो न स्थित्येन उभे तस्माद् समाश्रयेत् ॥  
quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. III. 205; these two are बृहद्योगि. IX. 34 and 28.

337 चत्वारो ब्राह्मणस्योक्तः आश्रमाः श्रुतिप्रोदिताः । क्षत्रियस्य त्रयः श्रेष्ठा द्वयोः के वैश्य-  
शूद्रयोः ॥ quoted in परा. मा. vol. I, part 2, p. 153. This is योगयाज्ञवल्क्य I. 50.

338 यदाह योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः 'प्रतिवेद्यं ब्रह्मवर्षं द्वादशाब्दानि पञ्च वा'.

339 इति श्रीयाज्ञवल्क्यगीतासुपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे याज्ञवल्क्यगार्गिसंवादे प्रथमोऽध्यायः.

22 and another verse (X. 19) which is a quotation from the Bhagavadgītā.<sup>140</sup> There is another ms. (No. 354 of 1875-76) in the same collection called Brhad-Yogi-Yājñavalkya-smṛti in twelve chapters and about 930 verses. Yājñavalkya in Mithilā is asked by Janaka and the sages and then expounds the following subjects:—how *mantras* are to be studied in connection with metre, deity, sage and viniyoga, about *omkāra* or *praṇava*; seven *Vyāhṛtis*; *Gayatri*; *nyāsa* of *Gayatri*; *sandhyopāsana*; *snāna*; *Japa*; *prāṇāyāma*; *dhyāna*; *suryopasthāna*; eulogy of *yoga*; eulogy of *Vedaśāstra*.

From the above it is clear that Yoga-Yājñavalkya and Brhad-yogi-Yājñavalkya are entirely different works and that the latter is comparatively an early work, as quotations from it are cited by Vācaspatimiśra (9th century) and Aparārka. The latter work contains numerous quotations from the Bhagavadgītā and the Manu-smṛti and a few from the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (the verse about the 14 vidyāsthānas is the same in both). So it must have been composed between 200 and 700 A. D.

There are many commentaries on the Yāj. smṛti. Out of these those of Viśvarūpa, Vijnāneśvara, Aparārka and Śūlapāṇi are the most famous. For these see sections 60, 70, 79 and 95 below. On account of the paramount importance of the Mit. in modern Hindu Law as administered by British Courts in the whole of India, the smṛti of Yāj. has indirectly become the guiding work for the whole of India and this position it richly deserves by its concise but clear statement of principles, its breadth of vision and its comparative impartiality towards the claims of both sexes and the different varṇas.

### 35. The Parāśara Smṛti

This work has been published several times, but the edition of Jivananda (part II. pp. 1-52) and that in the Bombay Sanskrit Series with the voluminous gloss of the great Mādhava are the best known. In the following pages Jivananda's edition has been used.

The smṛti of Parāśara must have been an ancient one as Yāj. (I. 4) mentions him among the ancient writers on dharma. But it is doubtful whether we possess the ancient smṛti of Parāśara. The extant smṛti is probably a recast of it as it mentions Yāj. in the first

chap. ( p. 2 ). The Garuḍapurāṇa in chap. 107 gives a summary in 39 verses of the Pārāśara-smṛti. In doing so it takes parts of the latter and pieces them together. For example, verses 2-4 in the Garuḍapurāṇa ( chap. 107 ) are ' śrutiḥ smṛtiḥ sadācāro yaḥ kaścīd vedakartṛkaḥ | vedāḥ smṛtāḥ brahmanādaḥ dharmā Manvādibhiḥ sadā || dānam kaliyuge dharmāḥ kartāraṁ ca kalau tyajet | pāpa-kṛtyaṁ tu tatraiva śāpam phalati varṣataḥ || ācārāt prāpnuvāt sarvaṁ ṣaṭ karmāṇi dine dine | sandhyā snānam japo homo devātithyādi-pūjanam || '. These are taken *verbatim* or with slight changes from the Pārāśara-smṛti ; compare na kaścīd vedakartā ca vedasmarta catur-mukhaḥ | śrutiḥ smṛtiḥ sadācāra nirṇetavyaś ca sarvadā | tathaiva dharmāḥ smarati Manuḥ kalpāntarāntare | tapaḥ paraṁ . . . dānam-ekam kalau yuge || . . . tyajet-deśam kṛtayuge . . . kartāraṁ ca kalau yuge . . . kṛte tu tatkaṣaṇāt śāpaḥ . . . kalau sarhvasareṇa tu || chap. I. verses 20-21, 23, 25, 27 and vide 39 for verse 4 of the Garuḍa-purāṇa. This establishes that the Garuḍa regarded the Pārāśara-smṛti authoritative and ancient. There is another problem to be considered. Kautilya mentions six times the views of Pārāśara or the Pārāśaras on various aspects of politics and state administration. Therefore it appears that there was a work of Pārāśara on politics, in which it is possible that vyavahāra also was dealt with.

The extant Pārāśarasmṛti is divided into twelve chapters and contains according to the last verse but one 592 verses. It deals only with ācāra and prāyaścitta. Mādhava introduced his disquisition on vyavahāra, which forms about a fourth of his extensive gloss, in an indirect way by regarding vyavahāra as a part of the duties of Kṣatriyas on which the Pārāśarasmṛti has something to say.<sup>341</sup>

The name Pārāśara is an ancient one. In the Tai. Aranyaka ( I. 1. 3. 37 ) we have a Vyāsa Pārāśarya. In the Vamśa that occurs in the Brhadāraṇyaka we have a Pārāśarya. The Nirukta

341 क्षत्रियो हि पञ्च रक्षन् शस्त्रपाणिः प्रचण्डवत् । विजित्य वरसेन्यानि क्षितिं धर्मेण पालयेत् ॥ पराशर chap. I. p. 6. (B. S. Series): 'अत एवाचारकाण्डे व्यवहाराणामन्तर्भावमभिप्रेत्य पराशरः पृथग्व्यवहारकाण्डमकृत्वा क्षितिं धर्मेण पालयेदिति सूचनमार्थं व्यवहाराणां कृतवान् । परा. मा. p. 8.

gives an etymology of Parāśara.<sup>342</sup> Pāṇini attributes a *bhikṣusūtra* to Parāśarya.<sup>343</sup>

The introductory verses of the *smṛti* say that sages went to Vyāsa and requested him to instruct them in the dharmas and conduct beneficial to mankind in the Kali age and that the great Vyāsa took them to his father Parāśara, son of Śakti, in the Badarikaśrama, who then propounded the dharmas of the four *yugas*. The first chapter recites the *smṛtis* then known (19 in all) and lays down that in the four ages of Kṛta, Treta, Dvāpara, and Kali, the dharmas proclaimed by Manu, Gautama, Śaṅkha-Likhita and Parāśara were respectively to be the guiding ones. The following are briefly the contents of the Parāśara *smṛti* :—

I. Introductory verses; Parāśara imparts to the sages knowledge of dharma; the dharmas of the four *yugas*; differentiation of the four *yugas* from various points of view; six daily duties, viz. *sandhyā*, bath, *japa*, *homa*, Vedic study, worship of gods, Vaiśvadeva and honouring guests, eulogy of honouring guests, the proper means of livelihood for Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra; II. duties of householder; agriculture; the five unconscious acts of injury to animal life; III. purification from impurity due to birth and death; IV. concerning suicide; punishment for wife deserting her husband though poor, foolish or diseased; definition and rules about Kuṇḍa, Golaka, Parivitti, and Parivitta; remarriage of women; rewards for chaste widows; V. expiation for minor things (such as dog-bite); about a Brāhmaṇa who has consecrated fires dying on a journey or committing suicide; VI. Expiation for killing various beasts and birds, for killing Śūdras, artisans, women, Vaiśyas, Kṣatriyas, sinful Brāhmaṇas; eulogy of Brāhmaṇas; VII. purifications of various articles (such as vessels of wood, metal &c); about a woman in her menses; VIII. Expiations for killing cows and oxen unwittingly in various ways; approaching a *pariṣad* for expiation, constitution of a *pariṣad*; praise of learned Brāhmaṇas; IX. proper thickness of sticks for beating cows and bulls; expiations for using thicker sticks and injuries to them; X. other expiations such as *cāndrāyaṇa* for intercourse with women with whom intercourse is forbidden; the expiation called *Sāntapana*; XI. expiation for partaking food from

<sup>342</sup> पराशीर्षस्य बलिहस्य जज्ञे । निरुह VI. 39.

<sup>343</sup> पराशर्येधिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटश्चर्योः । पा. IV. 3.110.

Caṇḍālas &c.; rules as to whose food may be taken and whose not; purification of wells &c. when animals fall in them; XII. bath prescribed after evil dreams, vomiting, shaving &c.; expiations for drinking wine and nasty things through ignorance; five kinds of bath; when bath at night allowed; what things should always be kept in the house or seen; definition of the unit of ground called *gocarna*; expiations for the deadly sins of *Brahmahatyā*, drinking liquor, theft of gold &c.

Parāśara contains several peculiar views. He speaks of only four sons (*aurasa*, *kṣetrāja*, *datta* and *kṛtrima*) though he does not expressly negative a larger number (chap. 4 p. 14). He eulogises the practice of *Sati* (last two verses of chap. 4). The well-known verse of Nārada (*Śrīpuruṣa-yoga* 97) "naṣṭe mṛte &c." is read at the end as "patir-anyo na vidyate" (p. 15). There are a few verses in the *Indravajrā* metre (e. g. on pp. 11-12 and 36). The Parāśarasmr̥ti quotes the views of several writers on *dharma*. *Manu* is frequently cited in the words "Manu-abraavid." In the 7th chapter alone those words occur four times.<sup>344</sup> None of them corresponds exactly with any verse of the *Manusmṛti*. Yet *Manu* V. 133 may be compared with the first two. Besides these, in the 9th chapter *Manu*'s view is quoted that on killing an animal the guilty party should restore a similar one to the owner or its price.<sup>345</sup> In the 10th he says that according to *Manu* uncooked food, milk or oil brought from a *śūdra*'s house and used in cooking in a *Brāhmin*'s house could be eaten by a *Brāhmaṇa*. This is similar to *Manu* IV. 223.<sup>346</sup> In the 12th chapter Parāśara cites the view of *Manu* that a *Brāhmaṇa* fed on food (cooked) from *śūdras* would become a *vulture* for twelve births, a *pig* for ten and a *dog* for seven.

344 माजोरमक्षिकाकीटमद्वक्त्रमिदं दुःखं । मेघामेघं स्पृशन्नेव नोच्छिद्यन्मनुरब्रवीत् ॥  
There are two more ending with नोच्छिद्यं ... मवीत्. प्रभासादीनि तीर्थानि  
गङ्गायाः सरितस्तथा । विप्रस्य दक्षिणे वर्णे सानिध्यं मनुरब्रवीत् ॥ पराशर chap. 7;  
compare वो. ध. सू. I. 4. 2. for the last.

345 भ्रातृणो प्राणहता द्यात्तत्रतिरूपकम् । तस्यामुर्ध्वं मृत्यं वा द्यादित्यब्रवीन्मनुः ॥  
पराशर 9th chap.

346 शुष्कान्नं गोरसं मेहं शुद्धवेश्मन आगतम् । पक्वं विपण्णे पूतं भोज्यं तन्मनुरब्रवीत् ॥  
पराशर 10th chap.; नाद्याच्छुद्धस्य पक्वान्नं विद्वानभ्यादिनो द्विजः । आददन्नात्मने-  
वास्मादनुत्तावेकरात्रिकम् ॥ मनु. IV. 223.

There is nothing corresponding to this in Manu. In the 9th Manu is spoken of as one who knows all śāstras.<sup>347</sup> The first verse of the 6th chapter says that Manu deals at length with expiation for killing animals.<sup>348</sup> This is probably a reference to Manu XI. 131-141. Numerous verses in the Parāśara-smṛti are word for word the same as those of the Manusmṛti. For example, Manu I. 85-86 occur in the first chapter of Parāśara, Manu V. 160 (about a widow remaining chaste) occurs with slight variations in the 4th; Manu XII. 114-115 (about *pariśad*) occur in the 8th chap. (p. 29); Manu XI. 212 (about the definition of *Sāntapana*) is the same as Parāśara (10th chap. p. 40). Several verses are common to Baudhāyana and Parāśara, e. g. Baud. Dh. S. I. 1. 8, 11, 14 occur in the eighth chapter of Parāśara (pp. 29, 30). The verse "na nārikelair na ca śaṅgabalair" occurring in Parāśara (9th chap. p. 35) is quoted as Vasiṣṭha's by Haradatta on Gautama (22. 18). Parāśara is mentioned by name several times (chap. III. 2, p. 8, chap. VI. 1. p. 18 and p. 23, chap. VII. 1. p. 24, chap. X. 12. p. 38). Uśanas is cited on p. 49 (chap. 12), Prajāpati (in IV. 3. p. 13), Śaṅkha (chap. 4 p. 15). Veda, Vedāṅgas, dharmāśāstras and smṛtis are spoken of on p. 23 (6th chap.). In the 11th chap. Parāśara refers to several Vedic *mantras*, most of which occur in the R̥gveda, but two of them, "tejosi śukram" and "devasya tvā" are not found in the R̥gveda, but in the Vaj. S. (22. 1 and 1. 24 respectively). Parāśara appears to have been a practical man. He exhorts his readers to save their bodies first in invasions, journeys, diseases, calamities and then care for dharma. He recommends the non-observance of rules of purity in times of difficulty and adherence to the strict rules of dharma when one is at ease.<sup>349</sup>

The Mit., Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā, Hemādri and other later works quote Parāśara very frequently. Most of these are found in the extant Parāśarasamṛti. For example, vide pp. 1169, 1177, 1180, 1191 &c. of Aparārka, all of which are traced in Parāśara pp. 42, 43, 42 and 16 respectively. Viśvarūpa quotes Parāśara several times

347 मनुना चैषमेकैः सर्वशास्त्राणि जानता । पराशर 9th.

348 अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि शशिहस्तासु निष्कृतिम् । पराशरेण पूर्वोक्ता मन्वर्थेऽपि च विस्तृताम् ॥

349 देशमङ्गे प्रवासं वा व्याधिषु व्यसनेष्वपि । रक्षेदेव स्वदेहादि पश्चाद्दर्म समाचरेत् ॥  
आपत्काले तु संग्रामे शोचाचारं न चिन्तयेत् । स्वयं समुद्धरेत् पश्चात् स्वस्थो धर्म समाचरेत् ॥ 7th chap., last three verses.



and these quotations can be verified ; e. g. on Yāj. III. 16 the verse "anātham" ascribed to Parāśara is found in Parāśara chap. III p. 10 ; on Yāj. III. 257 ten verses are cited by Viśvarūpa from Parāśara which occur in Parāśara with considerable variations (chap. VII. pp. 20-21) ; on Yāj. III. 262 the verse "gavām bandhana" is cited from Parāśara, which is the first verse of the 8th chapter. Therefore it is quite clear that in the first half of the 9th century the Parāśarasmṛti that we have now was considered to be authoritative and the work of an ancient sage. It seems to have known a work of Manu, as seen above. Therefore it must be assigned to some period between the first and the 5th century of our era. In the same direction points the fact that the Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 107) seems to have known the introductory verses of Parāśara and as shown above (p. 191) combines passages of Parāśara in a summary of its teachings.<sup>350</sup> The Viṣṇu-dharmottara which is frequently quoted by Aparārka and other later works cites verses that are borrowed from Parāśara. For example, chap. 75. 1 of the former is the same as a verse of Parāśara.<sup>351</sup>

There is an extensive work called Bṛhat-Parāśara-saṁhitā (published by Jivananda, part II. pp. 53-309). It is divided into 12 chapters and the last verse says that it contains 3300 verses and that Suvrata proclaimed the śāstra imparted by Parāśara. The introductory verses contain the same story as that in the Parāśara-smṛti and many of the verses in the first chapter of the two works (such as those about the 19 writers on dharma &c.) are almost the same in both. The total of verses in the printed work comes to about 3000 and not 3300. It appears that the work is a recast of the Parāśarasmṛti made by Suvrata. The subjects of the twelve chapters are :—I. Introductory, the proper sphere of Āryas ; summary of contents ; II. Disquisition on the 6 daily *karmas*, *sandhyā*, bath, *japa*, worship of gods, Vaiśvadeva and honouring guests ; Gāyatrī ; the dharmas of the *Varṇas* ; III. duties and manners of a householder ; agriculture, honour to cows ; IV. forms of marriage ; duties of wives ; Jātakarma and other rites ; gifts ; proper persons to

350 पराशरोऽपि विद् व्यासं धर्मं वर्णाधमादिकम् । कल्पे कल्पे क्षयोत्तरया ह्यवन्ते तु मना-  
दयः ॥ गरुडपुराण 107. 1. ( Venkateswar Press ed. ).

351 अनार्थं ब्राह्मणे प्रेतं ये वदन्ति द्विजातयः । वदे पदे यत्फलमानुपूर्वाह्नमग्नि मे ॥  
पराशर chap. 3. p. 12.



receive gifts; V. concerning śāddhas; VI. impurity on birth and death; *prāyaścittas* for various acts; VII. *cāndrāyana* and other penances; VIII. gifts; IX. rites for propitiating Gaṇeśa and the planets, Rudra &c; X *Rājadharmā*; dharmas of forest hermit and *yati*; XI. the different varieties of *Brahmacārin*, householder, forest hermit and *yati*; XII. *prāṇayāma* and other *aṅgas* of *yoga*.

This *Brhat-Parāśara* contains a considerable number of verses mostly in the *Indravajrā* metre and a few in the *Vasantatilakā* (c. g. p. 134).

The *Brhat-Parāśara* appears to be a late work. It is a recast of the *Parāśara-smṛti*. It contains the *Vināyakaśānti* as elaborated by *Yājñavalkya*, since it speaks of only one *Vināyaka* (9th chap. p. 247) and not of four as in *M. Gr. S.* On p. 249 it quotes *Yāj. I. 285* (about the names of *Vināyaka*) with the readings found in the *Mit.* It speaks of the *rāśis* (p. 244). It is not quoted by *Viśvarūpa*, the *Mit.* or *Aparārka*. It is mentioned in *Bhaṭṭoji's* comment on the *Caturvīṃśatimata* (p. 138) and by *Nandapaṇḍita* in the *Dattakamīmāṃsā*, which quotes a verse (*Brhat-Parāśara* p. 153).<sup>112</sup>

A *Vṛddha-Parāśara* is quoted by *Aparārka* (on *Yāj. II. 318*) immediately after *Parāśara* and as holding a different view. *Mādhava* also quotes a *Vṛddha-Parāśara* (*Parāśara-Mādhaviya* vol. 1, part 1, p. 230). This seems to be a different work from the *Parāśara-smṛti* and the *Brhat-Parāśara*. *Hemādri* (*Caturvarga*, vol. III, part 2, p. 48) and *Bhaṭṭoji* in his gloss on *Caturvīṃśatimata* (p. 138) quote a *Jyotiḥ-Parāśara*.

### 36. The *Nārada-smṛti*

There are two versions of *Nārada* on *Vyavahāra*, a smaller and a larger one. The smaller version was translated by Dr. Jolly in 1876 (*Trübner & Co., London*). The text of the longer version was published by the same scholar in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series (1885) and was translated by him in the *Sacred Books of the East* Series (vol. 33). The edition of the text is accompanied up to verse 21 of the 5th title '*abhyupetyāśusrūṣā*' by extracts from the commentary of *Asahāya* as revised by *Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa*, who was encouraged in the task of revision by *Keśavabhaṭṭa*.

<sup>112</sup> अनुपस्य वित्तव्यस्य तत्पुत्रो भ्रातृजो भवेत् । स एव तस्य कर्त्तव्यं श्राद्धं पिण्डोदक-  
क्रियाम् ॥ दत्तकमीमांसा p. 36.

From verse 22 of the same title the printed text is the same as the smaller version. A verse quoted as Nārada's by Kṣīrasvāmin is not found in the larger version but is found in the smaller version.<sup>151</sup> An ancient Ms. of Nārada from Nepal dated 1407 A. D. contains two additional chapters on theft and ordeals. Dr. Jolly includes the first as an appendix and omits that on ordeals on the ground that it is not authentic. One of the colophons of the Nepalese Ms. describes it as 'iti Mānava-dharmaśāstre Nārada-proktāyāṁ sarīhi-tāyām &c.' This corroborates what was said above (pp. 149, 156) as to the close connection between Manu and Nārada.

Nārada is not mentioned by Yājñavalkya in the list of ancient writers on dharma, nor does Parāśara mention him. Viśvarūpa however quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya (on Yāj. I. 4-5), where Nārada is the first among ten expounders of dharma enumerated therein (vide note 219).

The printed Nārada contains three introductory chapters on the principles of judicial procedure (Vyavahāra-mārika) and on the judicial assembly (sabha). Then the following titles of law are dealt with one after another:—*ṛnadāna* (recovery of debts), *upanidhi* (deposit, lending, bailment), *sarībhāya-samutthāna* (partnership), *dattāpradāna* (gifts and resumption thereof), *abhyupe-tya-aśuśrūṣā* (breach of contract of service), *vetanasya-anapā-karma* (non-payment of wages), *asvāmivikraya* (sale without ownership), *vikriyāsampradāna* (non-delivery after sale), *kṛtā-nuśaya* (rescission of purchase), *samayasyānapākarma* (violation of conventions of corporations, guilds &c.), *stambandha* (settlement of boundaries); *śrīpūṁsayoga* (marital relation); *dāyabhāga* (partition and inheritance); *sāhasa* (offences in which force is the principal element) such as homicide, robbery, rape &c.; *vakpa-raṣya* (defamation and abuse) and *daṇḍapāruṣya* (hurt of various kinds); *prakṛiṇaka* (miscellaneous wrongs). The appendix deals with theft, though a few remarks are made on that topic under the title of 'sāhasa.'

It will be noticed that Nārada follows the Manusmṛti to a considerable extent in the nomenclature and the arrangement of the

3-3 श्रीस्वामी on the word वृषल in अमरकोश quotes the verse वृषो हि भगवान्धर्म-  
रक्षणायः कुले लब्धम् । which is मनु 8. 16 and छान्दोग्य 9. 15.

eighteen titles. Some of the titles are differently named by Nārada, e. g. he speaks of *upanidhi*, while Manu employs the word *nikṣepa*. Nārada seems to have included the *svāmipālaviyāda* of Manu in *vetanasya-anapākarma*. He makes one title of *dyūta* and *samāhvaya*. Nārada includes *strīsaṅgrahaṇa* under *sāhasa* and adds three titles, viz. *abhyupetya-āśuśrūṣā*, *vikrīyāsampradāna* and *prakīrṇaka*. The *smṛticandrikā* expressly<sup>354</sup> says that it follows the work of Nārada in preference to that of Manu as regards the nomenclature and sequence of the titles of law. Nārada follows Manu in speaking of witnesses in the section on *ṛṇādāna* and in treating of theft after the eighteen titles have been dealt with ( vide Manu IX. 256 ff. ).

The printed Nārada contains 1028 verses (including 61 on theft in the appendix). About seven hundred of these verses occur in various *nibandhas* as quotations. Up to the 21st verse of the section '*abhyupetya-āśuśrūṣā*' the commentary of Asahāya furnishes a valuable check for the authenticity of the text. For the remaining portion, there are important data as to its authenticity, sequence and readings. Viśvarūpa, who belongs to the first half of the 9th century, quotes about fifty verses of Nārada (generally by name). The text that he had before him was essentially the same as that of the printed edition, except in a very few cases. Out of the seven verses of Nārada on '*samayasya-anapākarma*' Viśvarūpa quotes five (on Yāj. II. 190 and 196) and expressly states that Nārada wound up his chapter on that topic with the verse '*doṣavat karaṇam &c.*' as the printed text does. On Yāj. II. 226 Viśvarūpa distinctly says that the verse '*yameva hyativarteran*' &c. is followed immediately by '*malā hyete manuṣyeṣu*'. This is the case with the printed text also ( *dyūtasamāhvaya* verses 13-14). On Yāj. III. 252 Viśvarūpa quotes a verse of Nārada about the three kinds of wealth, *śukla*, *śabala* and *kṛṣṇa*, which does not occur in that form in Nārada, though the latter contains similar dicta.<sup>355</sup> Viśvarūpa contains no quotation from Nārada on the topics of *ācāra* or *prāyaścitta*. The same is the case with *Medhātithi* and the *Mitākṣarā*. *Medhātithi* somewhat inaccurately summarises the

<sup>354</sup> नारदीयेद्विशकमानुसारिण्यथ वयमित्यनयमिहाभिधानम् ।

<sup>355</sup> शुक्लं च शबलं च कृष्णं च त्रिविधं धनम् । शुक्लं व्यावर्जितं धर्मोमितरद् व्यावहारिकम् ॥ तत्पुनस्तत्रैव त्रयं शुक्लं शबलमेव च । कृष्णं च तस्य विज्ञेयः प्रमेदाः सप्तधा पृथक् ॥ ( नारद्, अनादान 44 ).

the introductory words (in prose) of Nārada (vide note 269 above). Medhātithi frequently quotes Nārada particularly from the sections on *ṛṇādāna* (vide on Manu 8. 47, 155, 149) and *dāyabhāga* (on Manu 8, 28, 29, and 207, 209, and 143). On Manu 8, 349 he quotes Nārada on partnership (verse 10), on 8. 216 he quotes Nārada (*vetanasya-anapākarma* verse 5). In some cases Medhātithi cites Nārada's verses without naming him e. g. on Manu 9. 76 he quotes the well-known verse 'nashte mīte pravrajite &c.' (Nārada on marital relation, verse 97) as 'smṛtyantara'. It was shown above (p. 172) that the *vyavahāra* section of the *Agnipurāṇa* dates from about 900 A. D. Chap. 253 of the *Agnipurāṇa* contains thirty verses of the extant Nārada-smṛti, viz. Agni 253. 1b-9a = Nārada (*vyavahāra-mātrkā* chap. I. 8-15); Agni 253. 9b-12 = Nārada (*vyavahāra-mātrkā* chap. I. 26-29a); Agni 253. 13-30 are the verses defining the eighteen titles from *ṛṇādāna* to *prakīrṇaha* contained in Nārada and occur in the same order in both. The readings preserved in the *Agnipurāṇa* deserve some discussion. Agni (253. 3-4) reads 'dharmaś ca vyavahāraś ca ... uttarah pūrva-sādhakah', while Nārada has 'pūrvabādihakah'. Agni reads 'caritraṁ saṁgrāhe pūrvasāh rājājñāyāṁ tu sādhanam' (253. 5), while Nārada has 'caritraṁ pustakaraṇe rājājñāyāṁ tu śāsanam'. Agni (253. 15) reads 'dattvādravyaṁ ca samyag-yah', while Nārada (*dattapradānika* 1) reads 'dattvā dravyamasamyag-yah'. The Agni (253. 11) reads 'Śaṅkā sadbhistu saṁsargāt tattvaṁ śodhābhidarśanāt' and avoids the rare word 'hodhābhi-' in Nārada 'Śaṅkāsatām tu saṁsargāḥ tattvaṁ hodhābhidarśanāt' (*Vyavahāramātrkā* I. 27). For Nārada's 'akṣabradhnaśalākādyair &c.' (*dyūtasamāhvaya* I) Agni reads 'Akṣavajra &c.' (253. 29). The Mit. (on Yaj. II. 199) and Vir. (p. 718) follow printed Nārada in the last case and also in the other cases. In the *Smṛti-candrikā*, Hemādri, *Parāśaramādhyaya* and other later *nibandhas* numerous verses of Nārada are quoted on topics of *ācāra*, *śrāddha*, *prāyaścitta*. For example, Hemādri (*caturvarga* vol. III. part 2, pp. 159, 183, 185, 223, 235) quotes several verses of Nārada on *Ekādaśī* and a verse of Nārada about the astrological *yoga* called *padmaka*. The *Smṛticandrikā* (I. pp. 198-199) quotes 26 verses on the worship of Nārāyaṇa, the last of which is the well known verse 'dhyeyah sadā savitrmaṇḍala-madhyavartī &c.' and the same work (on *śrāddha* p. 354) quotes a verse of Nārada in which Sunday and *Saṁkrānti* are mentioned. The question arises whether

these quotations of Nārada on ācāra and prāyaścitta and allied topics are the work of the same Nārada that wrote on Vyavahāra. From the fact that early writers like Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and Vijñāneśvara do not contain a single quotation of Nārada on topics other than that of vyavahāra, it appears probable that the quotations on ācāra and prāyaścitta belong to a later date than the Nārada-smṛti on vyavahāra and either did not exist in the days of Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi or had not attained canonical authority in those days. There is in the India Office Library a ms. of Nārada-smṛti in three chapters and 322 verses dealing exclusively with ācāra and prāyaścitta (vide Jolly's Introduction p. 5 to edition of text).

The Nārada-smṛti, excluding the introductory passage in prose about the successive abridgments of the original work of Manu by Nārada, Markaṇḍeya and Sumati Bhārgava, is written in the śloka metre except in the case of two verses (verse 38 of the 2nd chap. of vyavahāra-mātrkā and the last verse of the chapter on sabhā). Nārada himself is mentioned by name in connection with the ordeals (ṛṇādāna verse 253).<sup>355a</sup> The first person also occurs in 'ataḥ param pravakṣyāmi' (ṛṇādāna 343). Ācāryas are cited in 'dattapradānika' (verse 5). Dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra are mentioned (vyavahāramātrkā, chap. I, 37 and 39) and Nārada lays down the rule as in Yāj. (II. 21) that in a conflict between the two the former should furnish the rule of conduct.<sup>356</sup> Nārada refers to Vasiṣṭha's rule about interest (ṛṇādāna 99). Two verses are quoted from a Purāṇa.<sup>357</sup> Manu is named in several places (ṛṇādāna verses 250, 251, 326).<sup>358</sup> The first passage about Manu is quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. (II. 98) and corresponds closely with the teaching of Manu (8. 113). But the other passages

355a सन्दिग्धेर्धेभिपुक्तानां विशुद्धयर्थं दुरात्मनाम् । मोक्षानि नारदेनेह सत्यातुतविशुद्धये ॥

356 यत्र विपक्षिपक्षिः स्वाद्र्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः । अर्धशास्त्रोक्तमुत्सृज्य धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ॥

357 दुराणोक्तो द्वौ श्लोको भवनः । यः परार्थे महिष्यास्त्रां वानं पुत्रवापनः । ज्ञात्वा र्धे किं न कुर्यात्स पापो नरकनिर्भवः ॥ वाच्यार्था निपताः सर्वे धातूमूला वाग्निनिष्ठिताः । यो हि तां स्तेनयेद्वात्सं स सर्वरतेयकृन्मरः ॥ नारद ( ऋणादान 227-228 ).

358 सत्यं वाहनशस्त्राणि गोधीनकनकादि च । ... इत्येते शपथाः शोभा मनुना स्वस्वकारणे । ऋणादान 248, 250; देवं पञ्चविधं द्वेषमित्याह भगवान्मनुः । ऋणादान 251, छायादिपेशितो रक्ष्यो दिनशेषमभोजनः । विषवेगकृमान्मनः शुद्धोऽसौ मनुश्चरति ॥ ऋणादान 326.

crediting Manu with dividing ordeals into five kinds and giving his view about poison ordeal have no corresponding passage in the extant Manu. Therefore Nārada had a version of Manu before him that was somewhat different in certain respects from our Manu or Nārada may be referring to Vṛddha or Brhat Manu. Besides this there is one remarkable fact to be noted about the relation of Manu and Nārada. There are about 50 verses that are common to Manu and Nārada. Manu 8. 12-14 and 18-19 are Nārada (sabhā, verses 8-10 and 12-13 in a different order), Manu 8. 140-141 = N. (ṛṇādāna 99-100), Manu 8. 148-149 = N. (ṛṇādāna 80-81), M. 8. 143 = N. (r. 129, M. 8. 64 = N. (r. 177), M. 8. 72 = N. (r. 189), M. 8. 93 and 113 = N. (r. 199, 201), M. 98-99 = N. (r. 208, 209 and Udyogaparva 35. 33-34), M. 8. 89 = N. (r. 225), M. 8. 186-187, 189, 191 = N. (upanidhi 10-13), M. 8. 232-233, 235 = N. (vetanasya-anapākarma 14-16 in a different order), M. 9. 47 = N. (marital relation, verse 28), M. 8. 224-225 = N. (marital relation, 33-34), M. 9. 357-358 = N. (marital relation, 65-66 in reverse order), M. 9. 3 = N. (dāyabhāga 31), M. 9. 216 = N. (dāyabhāga 44), M. 8. 267-269 = N. (vākparūṣya 15-17), M. 9. 270-272 = N. (vākparūṣya 22-24), M. 8. 281-284 = N. (daṇḍa-pārūṣya 26-29), M. 4. 87 = N. (prakīrṇaka 44).

Nārada (ṛṇādāna 158) 'śrottriyaś-tāpaś vṛddhā ye ca pravrajitā narāḥ | asākṣinas-te vacanān nātra heturudāhṛtaḥ' has probably Manu 8. 65 in view where we read 'na sākṣi . . . na śrottriyo na līṅgastho na saṅgebhya vinirgataḥ'.

Besides these there are several cases where Nārada closely agrees with Manu though the verses are not identical, e. g. Nārada (sāhasa 19) may be compared with Manu 9. 271 and Nārada (appendix on theft, verses 1-4) may be compared with Manu (9. 256-260). These facts establish that Nārada is based on a version of Manu that was essentially the same as the extant text of Manu, though there was some difference here and there. Nārada contains several verses that occur in the Mahābhārata. Foreexample, Śānti 111. 66 = N. (vyavahāra-mātrkā 72),<sup>359</sup> Udyoga 35. 58 = N. (sabhā, verse 18), Udyoga 35. 31-32 = N. (r. 202-203). There are several cases where the text of Kauṭilya agrees with

<sup>359</sup> तलवद् दृश्यते व्योम सद्योतो हव्यवाहि । न तलं विद्यते व्योम्नि न सद्योते हुताशनः ॥



Nārada.<sup>160</sup> In some of these cases the agreement is almost word for word.<sup>161</sup>

Though Nārada is based on Manu, he differs in several essential matters from Manu. We have seen the difference between them in the nomenclature of the titles of law. Manu only casually mentions the ordeals of fire and water (8. 114), while Nārada enumerates five kinds of ordeals, describes them at length and adds two more viz. *tanḍula-bhākṣya* and *taptamaṣa* (ṛadāna, verses 259-348). He allows *Niyoga* (marital relation, verses 80-88), while Manu strongly condemns it. He allows remarriage of women (Nārada, marital relation, 97), while Manu is against it. Manu mentions seven kinds of slaves (8. 415), while Nārada raises their number to fifteen (*abhupetyāśusrūṣā*, verses 26-28); Manu condemns gambling outright (9. 221-228), while Nārada allows it under state control and as a source of revenue; Nārada is further far more systematic than Manu and is full of divisions and subdivisions. For example, he divides property into three kinds, each of which is again subdivided into seven varieties (ṛadāna 44-47); Nārada divides the law of gift into four sections, which are further subdivided into 32; he subdivides the eighteen titles into 132 (*vyavahāra-mātrkā* I. 25).

There are a few points which are almost peculiar to Nārada, such as the fourteen kinds of impotent persons (*stripuṣṣayoga* 11-13), the three kinds of *punarbhūta* and four kinds of *svairipis* (*ibid.* verses 45-52).

Nārada is probably later than Yājñavalkya. Yāj. knows only five kinds of ordeals, while Nārada knows seven and the former's treatment of them is not so exhaustive as Nārada's. The rules of judicial procedure in Nārada are more systematic and exhaustive than those of Yāj. Nārada contains more definitions than Yāj. In some respects however Nārada is more conservative than Yāj. For example, Nārada nowhere recognises the rights of the widow to

360 Compare कौटिल्य, धर्मसूत्र, chap. I, verses at the end with नारद, व्यवहार-मातृका 1st chap., verses 2, 10-11, 39-40.

361 धर्मश्च व्यवहारश्च चरित्रं राजशासनम् । चतुष्पादं व्यवहारोपमुत्तरः पूर्ववाधकः ॥ तत्र सत्ये स्थितो धर्मो व्यवहारस्तु साक्षिषु । चरित्रं पुस्तकरणे राजाज्ञायां तु शासनम् ॥ नारद, व्यवहारमातृका I. 10-11; the first half in each verse is the same in कौटिल्य.



succeed to her deceased husband as Yāj. does; Nārada gives no rules about the succession of *gotrajas* and *bandhus* as Yāj. does. In a few respects Nārada agrees with the views of Manu instead of with Yāj., such as allowing a Brāhmaṇa to marry a śūdra woman. Nārada regards sexual intercourse with a *pravrajitā* (female ascetic) as a mortal sin (*stripuṇsayoga* 74-75), while both Manu (8. 363) and Yāj. (II. 293) treat it lightly. Taking all these things into consideration it may be said that Nārada flourished nearly at the same time as or somewhat later than Yāj.

Nārada contains several rare words such as "hoḍha" (in *vyavahāramātrkā* I. 27, meaning 'one's property when lost or stolen'). He gives expression to certain principles of law and politics, such as that a man is master of his own house, in other words, a man's house is his castle;<sup>362</sup> he highly eulogises the office of king, almost assigning it a divine origin and exhorts the people to obey and honour even a weak and undeserving king.<sup>363</sup> Mr. Jayasval sees in this and in the fact that Nārada speaks of *dināra* while the *Mṛcchakaṭika* speaks of *nāpaka* indications that Nārada belongs to the fourth century, is later than the drama, is propping up the authority of a new dynasty and flourished under the Imperial Guptas (C. W. N. vol. 17, p. CCLXXXV). He regards a person as minor till the sixteenth year.<sup>364</sup> This limit was probably first fixed by Nārada. Nārada further boldly says that in case of conflict between *dharma-śāstra* and usages, the latter have to be followed, as they are directly observed.<sup>365</sup>

As Nārada's is regarded as an authoritative *smṛti* by Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and other later writers and as Asahāya, who is mentioned by name in the commentary of Viśvarūpa, wrote a comment on

362 अथः स्वतन्त्रा लोकेस्मिन् राजाचार्यस्तथैव च । अनिवर्णं च सर्वेषां वर्णानां स्वे गृहे गृही ॥  
कणादान 31. This idea occurs in शान्तिपर्व 321. 147 'सर्वः स्वे स्वे गृही राजा'.

363 *Vide* प्रकीर्णक verses 20-22 राजेति संचारव्येष भूमौ साक्षात् सङ्ख्यद्वक् । न तस्या-  
हामतिक्रम्य संतिष्ठेरन् मजाः कचित् ॥... निर्वलेपि यथा स्त्रीणां पूज्य एव पतिः सदा ।  
मजानां विगुणोप्येवं पूज्य एव मजापतिः ॥

364 बाल आ षोडशाद् वर्षात् पोगण्ड इति शस्यते । परतो व्यवहारः स्वतन्त्रः पितरो  
विना ॥ कणादान ३५-३६.

365 धर्मशास्त्रविरोधे तु युक्तियुक्तो विधिः स्मृतः । व्यवहारो हि बलवान् धर्मस्तेनावर्ज्यते ॥  
व्यवहारमात्रका 40.

Nārada, the Nāradaśmṛti must be older by some centuries than the 8th century, the latest date to which Asahāya can be assigned. Bāṇa in his Kādambarī compares the royal palace to Nāradiya.<sup>166</sup> Ordinarily Nāradiya standing by itself would denote the Nārada-purāṇa (compare Viṣṇu-purāṇa 3. 6. 21 where we have the form Nāradiya for the purāṇa). The Nārada-purāṇa (Venkatesvara Press edition, Bombay) contains, however, no treatment of rājadharmā. Bāṇa may have intended a violent pun, meaning 'the palace where the duties of kings were being expounded (āvarṇyamāna), like the Nāradiya in which rājadharmā has not been set forth (āvarṇyamāna).' European scholars like Dr. Jolly and Bühler hold that Bāṇa refers to the extant Nāradaśmṛti. But on this explanation also the difficulty is not entirely got over. The extant Nārada can hardly be described as a treatise on rājadharmā. It deals only in an indirect way with one aspect of the king's duties and is rather concerned with vyavahāra and the duties of the subjects towards each other from the strictly legal point of view. If we turn to the Mahābhārata and other works, we shall find that rājadharmā meant something different from what is treated of in the Nāradaśmṛti. Therefore Bāṇa's reference to the Nāradiya is of a doubtful character. The Rājāniti-ratnākara of Candēśvara frequently quotes Nārada on politics (pp. 3, 13, 79). These quotations are not traced in the printed Nārada. Therefore it is highly probable that Bāṇa refers to a distinct work of Nārada on politics which has not yet been recovered.

The Vyavahāramātṛkā of Jimūtavāhana and the Parāśara-Mādhaviya (vol. III, part I, p. 203) quote a verse from Nārada, the latter half of which is the same as the latter half of a verse in the Vikramorvaśīya.<sup>167</sup> The doctrine attributed to Nārada is found in Yaj. (II. 20) and the Viṣṇudharmasūtra, (6. 22) but not in the same words. Unfortunately the date of Kālidāsa is far from being universally accepted, but the fourth or first half of the 5th century is often accepted as the probable date. There is further diffi-

366 'नारदीयमिवावर्ण्यमानराजधर्मम्' (राजकुलं) p. 91 of Peterson's ed.

367 अनेकार्थाभिपुकेन सर्वद्रव्यापलापिना । विभाषितेकदेशेन देयं यदभिपुज्यते ॥ अपराङ्क (०७ याज्ञ. II. 20); व्यवहारमातृका of जी० pp. 310-11; हंस प्रवचन मे कान्ता गतिरस्यास्वभा इता । विभाषिते ... पुज्यते ॥ विक्रमोद्देशीय IV. 17 (Pandit's ed).

culty in the fact that the text of the Vikramorvaśīya has been largely tampered with. If the verse is a genuine part of the drama, it seems natural to suppose that Kālidāsa turns a well-known legal maxim to a somewhat humorous use. It is hard to suppose that Nārada would borrow the words of a dramatist for setting forth a legal maxim. This would push back the date of Nārada far beyond the 5th century. Nārada in two places uses the word "dināra", once in the sense of a golden ornament and again as a coin or unit of value also called "suvarṇa." In this last case he says that "dināra is equal to 48 Kārṣapaṇas or twelve dhānakas." Jolly (R. u. S. p. 23) thinks that Indian *dināras* can scarcely be older than the 2nd century A. D., although in the times of the Indo-Scythian kings coins of the weight of *dināra* occur. Therefore Jolly is of opinion that Nārada is later than 300 A. D. Winternitz (History of Indian Literature, vol. II. p. 216 n. 4) follows him in this assumption that all Sanskrit works in which the word *dināra* occurs must be later than the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. It may be that the golden *dināras* most numerous found in India belong to the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D. But as Keith points out (J. R. A. S. 1915 p. 504) Jolly's assumption is wrong and the introduction of *dināras* into India need not be later than the beginning of the Christian era. Golden *dināras* were first coined in Rome in 207 B.C. and the oldest Indian pieces corresponding in weight to the Roman Denarius were struck by Indo-Scythian kings who reigned from the first century B. C. (W. B. p. 44). Therefore there is nothing to prevent us from holding that Nārada flourished in the first centuries of the Christian era, i. e. between 100 and 300 A. D. Mr. Jayasval assigns him to the 4th century A. D. and after the Mṛcchakaṭika. Most scholars would not be prepared to assign to the Mṛcchakaṭika so early a date as the 3rd century A. D. Besides Mr. Jayasval builds his theory on very slender foundations. Because the drama employs the word *nāṇaka* and Nārada speaks of *dināra* only, no chronological conclusion as to the priority of the one to the other can be drawn. After both words became current in the language, one author, though later, may employ one word, while another, though earlier, may employ the other.

368 मलयः पयरागाया दीनारादि हिरण्यम् । मुकाविद्वमशङ्कायाः प्रवृत्ताः स्वामिगामिनः ॥  
नारद, व्यवहारमातृका II. 34: कर्षापणोष्टिका गोया ताश्चतस्रस्तु धानकाः । तद्-  
द्वादश सुवर्णस्तु दीनाराख्यः स एव च ॥ परिशिष्ट verse 60.

It is difficult to say anything as to the home of Nārada. In the appendix on theft Nārada in one place says that in the south a silver kāṣṭhapaṇa is current, that in the east it is equal to twenty paṇas and that he does not follow the standard of kāṣṭhapaṇa current in the land of the five rivers.<sup>369</sup> From these data and from the fact that the oldest mss. of Nārada come from Nepal and that an old commentary on Nārada in Newari was composed in Nepal, Dr. Jolly conjectures that Nārada's home was to be sought in Nepal. This is all pure guess-work. There is no reason why Nārada could not have hailed from central India. The places where the oldest and best mss. of a work are found can hardly ever be indications of the original home of an ancient author. Bhāmaha is by common consent a Kashmirian writer on Poetics, but the only mss. of his work so far found come from southern India.

Prof. Dr. Bhandarkar (Carmichael Lectures 1918, p. 90), probably following the Nayaandrikā, hazards the conjecture that the writer called Piśuna cited in the Kauṭilya is another name of Nārada. Beyond the bare fact that Nārada is often credited in the purāṇas with the role of instigating feuds and quarrels and that the word piśuna means "wicked, back-biter", there is nothing to support this identification.

A Jyotiṣ-Nārada is quoted by Bhaṭṭoji in his commentary on the Caturvīṃśatimata ( p. 11 ). A Brāhmaṇ-Nārada is quoted by Raghunandana and a Laghu-Nārada in the Nirṇayasindhu and the Saṁskāra-Kaustubha.

In the Mahābhārata several opinions are attributed to Nārada. One of them condemns the eating of flesh.<sup>370</sup> The first half of the last verse is the same as Manu 5. 52. Nārada is credited with having divided utpātas ( portents ) into three varieties.<sup>371</sup> Nārada is said to have held the view that one must always be active.<sup>372</sup> It appears that all these views are taken from some work or works of a Nārada.

369 कर्षणो दक्षिणस्यां दिशि रोषः प्रवर्तते । षण्मिहद्वयः पूर्वस्यां विंशतिस्तु षणः स तु ॥... पाश्चान्ताः प्रदेशे तु संज्ञा या व्यावहारिकी । कर्षणप्रमाणं तु निचद्विहनेत्या ॥ चौर्यपतिषेधकरण 57 and 59.

370 स्वमांसं परमांसं यो वर्धयितुमिच्छति । नारदः प्राह धर्मात्मा नियतं सोवसीदति ॥ अनुशासन 115. 14.

371 ज्ञेयानां विधांश्च पाह नारदो भगवान्महोदधेः । दिव्यश्रेष्ठान्तरिक्षांश्च पार्थिवान् विनामह ॥ सभा 46. 8-9

372 तस्मात्कर्मैव कर्मण्यमिति शेषाच्च नारदः । उद्योगपर्व 49.

The first is probably taken from Nārada's version of the *Manusmṛti* of which the purāṇas speak as stated above (note 270).

For Asahāya the commentator of Nārada vide section 58 below.

### 37. *Bṛhaspati*

*Bṛhaspati* as a sūtra writer on politics has been dealt with above (section 26). In this section *Bṛhaspati* the jurist will be spoken of. The complete *smṛti* of *Bṛhaspati* on law has not yet been discovered. It will be, when discovered, a very precious monument of ancient India, exhibiting the high-water mark of Indian acumen in strictly legal principles and definitions. Dr. Führer collected together 84 verses ascribed to *Bṛhaspati* in the legal treatises of *Aparārka* and others with German translation and notes (Leipzig, 1879) and Dr. Jolly collected about 711 verses of *Bṛhaspati* on law and translated them in the *Sacred Books of the East* (vol. 33).

Yaj. (I. 4-5) enumerates *Bṛhaspati* among the writers on dharma, but he is probably referring to *Bṛhaspati*'s work on politics. The com. on the *Nitivākyaṃṛta* (p. 7) quotes the first verse of *Bṛhaspati*'s *Nitiśāstra*.

We saw above how *Bṛhaspati* closely follows the extant *Manu-smṛti*, how he pointedly refers to the text of *Manu* (notes 282-286) and therefore might by analogy be styled a *vārtikakāra* of *Manu*. In many places *Bṛhaspati* explains and illustrates the laconic treatment of *Manu*. *Manu* (8. 153) speaks of four varieties of interest (*Cakra*, *Kala*, *Karita*, and *Kāyika*), but does not explain these terms. *Bṛhaspati* explains them clearly.<sup>373</sup> *Manu* (8. 49) enumerates five modes of recovering a debt (*dharma*, *vyavahāra*, *chala*, *ācarita*, *bala*) but leaves them unexplained; *Bṛhaspati* devotes several verses to the explanation of these terms (vide *Kullūka* on *Manu* 8. 49). *Bṛhaspati* gives elaborate rules regarding partnership. *Bṛhaspati* enumerates nine ordeals (of fire, water, poison, balance, *kośa*, *taptamāṣa*, *tanḍulas*, *dharmādharma*, *phala*); while *Manu* barely alludes to two. *Manu* devotes only three verses to *saṃvidvyatikrama* (8. 219-221), but *Bṛhaspati* must have devoted at least a score of verses to this topic, as *Aparārka* alone quotes 17 verses of *Bṛhaspati* on this title.

373 Vide कुल्लूक on मनु 8. 153: तासां स्वरूपमाह बृहस्पतिः । कायिका कायसंबुद्धा मात-  
प्राया च कालिका । बृहदेर्विद्विभक्तवृद्धिः कारिता कणिना कृता ॥

The order in which the topics of law appeared in *Bṛhaspati* can be settled with tolerable certainty from the quotations in *Aparārka*, *Vivādaratnākara*, *Viramitrodaya* and others works. It was as follows:—the four stages of a law-suit, proof (*kriyā*, human of three sorts and divine), witnesses (of 12 kinds), documents (ten kinds), *bhukti* (possession), ordeals (nine), 18 titles, *ṛpadāna*, *nikṣepa*, *asvāmivikraya*, *saṁbhūya-samunthāna*, *dattāpradānika*, *abhyupetyā-śuśrūṣa*, *vetanasya-anapākarma*, *svāmipālavivāda*, *saṁvid-vyatikrama*, *vikriyāsaṁpradāna*, *simāvivāda*, *pāruṣya* (of two kinds), *sāhasa* (of three kinds), *strisaṁgrahaṇa*, *striputra-dharma*, *vibhāga*, *dyūta*, *saṁbhava*, *prakṛpaka* (otherwise called '*nṛpāśraya vyavahāra*,' wrongs for which proceedings are set on foot by the king).

*Bṛhaspati* was probably the first jurist to make a clear distinction between civil and criminal justice.<sup>374</sup> He divided the eighteen titles into two groups, those springing from wealth (14 titles) and those springing from injury to beings (4 titles). This distinction was probably dimly perceived by even *Gautama*, when he says that in disputes based on injury there is no hard and fast rule about witnesses (i. e. about their interest in the subject of dispute).<sup>375</sup> *Bṛhaspati* like *Nārada* lays down the rule that a legal decision should not be arrived at merely on the basis of *śāstra* and that when a decision is devoid of reasoning, there is loss of *dharma*, for even a good man may be held to be a bad one or what is good may be held to be sinful in a judicial proceeding, just as *Mandavya* was held to be a thief on a decision without thoughtful reasoning.<sup>376</sup> *Bṛhaspati* gives such elaborate definitions and rules about procedure from the filing of the plaint to the passing of the decree that he can very well stand comparison with modern legislators on the same subjects.

374 तदाह बृहस्पतिः । द्विषदो व्यवहारश्च धनहिंसासमुद्भवः । द्विसप्तधर्ममूलश्च हिंसामूल-  
भूतविधिः ॥ व्यवहारमात्रका of जीमूत. p. 277; vide also स्मृतिच. (स्य. p. 9)  
'पाक्षये द्वे धर्मभेदे परस्परसंघट्टनथा । हिंसोद्भवानि चत्वारि पदान्याह बृहस्पतिः'.

375 न पीडाकृते निबन्धः । गो. ध. सू. 13. 9 on which इरद्वय says 'पीडाकरणे हिंसा-  
विषये । साक्षिणां निबन्धो न निरूप्यः । अर्थसंबन्धादि न किंचिदपि दूषणं भवति.'

376 केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्मणो हि निर्णयः । युक्तिहीने विचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते ॥  
चोरोऽचोरो साम्बसाधु जायेत व्यवहारतः । युक्तिं विना विचारेण माण्डव्यश्चोरेतां वतः ॥  
quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 1; compare नारद (व्यवहारमात्रका chap. I.  
42) : यान्त्वचोरोऽपि चोरेत्वं चोरेत्यायान्त्वचोरेताम् । अचोरेऽचोरेतां पाप्मो माण्डव्यो  
व्यवहारतः ॥ For the story of माण्डव्य, who kept silent, vide *Ādiparva* 107.



Nārada and Bṛhaspati agree very closely in several respects. For example, both speak of three kinds of proof, four parts of a judicial proceeding, almost the same defects of plaints, four kinds of answer, four divisions of the law of gift and their subdivisions, five modes of recovering debts, four kinds of *sahasa*.

We have seen that Nārada departs from Manu in several essential matters. On the other hand Bṛhaspati follows Manu very closely. But he too differs on some points from Manu, for example, we saw above how Bṛhaspati dissents from Manu on the question of the divisibility of clothes &c. (note 285). He appears to differ from Manu as to the maximum interest allowed on corn, fruit, wool and beasts of burden.<sup>377</sup> Manu and Nārada are both silent as to the widow's right to succeed to her deceased husband's estate. But Bṛhaspati agreeing with Yājñavalkya makes her the first heir of her sonless husband.<sup>378</sup>

These considerations make it clear that Bṛhaspati is certainly later than Manu and Yāj. It is difficult to state his exact relationship to Nārada. He agrees more closely with Manu than Nārada does, but in some respects such as definitions and the rights of women he shows great advance over Nārada. So he is probably a contemporary of or not much later than Nārada. He employs the word *nāṇaka*.<sup>379</sup> He defines a *dināra*, also called "*suvarṇa*", as equal to twelve *dhānakas* and says that a *dhānaka* was equal to four *anḍikas*, an *anḍika* being a copper *paṇa* weighing a *karṣa* and bearing a stamp.<sup>380</sup> This agrees with what Nārada says about *dināra*.

377 *दिरण्ये द्विगुणा कृद्विंशिगुणा वस्त्रकुट्यके । धान्ये चतुर्गुणा प्रोक्ता सदे वाह्ये लवेव च ॥*  
बृहस्पति quoted by अपराक on वाह. II. 39; compare मनु 8. 151.

378 आम्नाये स्मृतितन्त्रे च लोकचारे च सूरिभिः । शरीरार्थं स्मृता भार्या पुण्यापुण्यकले समा ॥ वश्यं नोपरता भार्या देहार्थं तस्य जीवति । जीवत्वर्पशरीरार्थं कथमन्यः समाप्नुयात् ॥ सकुल्येर्विद्यमानेस्तु पितृभ्रातृसनाभिभिः । असुतस्य ममीतस्य एतन्मि तद्भागहारिणी ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपराक on वाह. II. 135. The Mit. has the last verse.

379 कुलीनदक्षानलसैः प्राज्ञैर्नाणकवेदिभिः । अपराक on वाह. II. 259; वि. र. p. 711 and वीर. p. 383.

380 Vide note 268 above. ताक्षकर्वकता मुद्रा विज्ञेयः कार्षिकः पणः । स एव चाण्डिका मोक्ष ताभ्रतस्त्रस्तु धानका ॥ ताद्वादश सुवर्णस्तु दीनाराख्यः स एव तु । बृह. quoted in स्मृतिच. p. 99, वि. र. p. 667. कात्यायन is quoted on same page by the स्मृतिच. for a similar definition.



Dr. Jolly ( S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 276 ) assigns Brhaspati to the 6th or 7th century A. D. But this is much later by several centuries than the evidence warrants. Kātyāyana was looked upon as an authoritative writer along with Nārada and Brhaspati by Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. This position he could not have attained in a century or two. So he cannot be placed later than the 6th century. Kātyāyana in several places quotes Brhaspati as an authority. Aparārka quotes Kātyāyana as saying that according to Brhaspati pastures, ways, clothes that are worn on the body, debts ( or books for use according to others ) and what is set apart for religious purposes should not be partitioned.<sup>381</sup> Kātyāyana says that according to Brhaspati, that wealth which a man acquires by means of his learning after refuting an opponent in a contest with a stake for the winner is styled " vidyādhana " and is not liable to partition<sup>382</sup>; and what is acquired through valour &c. by persons that were taught in the family or learnt under their father should be partitioned among the brothers, according to Brhaspati. If a man falsely denies his liability and if only a part of the claim is brought home to him, then he should be made to pay the whole.<sup>383</sup> That the statement of a witness may be relied upon on a matter under his direct perception owing to his being near the plaintiff and the defendant and not otherwise; so says Brhaspati.<sup>384</sup> The foregoing examples show that Kātyāyana looked upon Brhaspati as an authority who must therefore have flourished several centuries before. Therefore Brhaspati cannot be placed later than the 4th century A. D. As he knew the extant Manusmṛti, was later than Yāj. and probably than Nārada, Brhaspati must have flourished between 200 and 400 A. D. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that Viśvarūpa quotes, without making any difference, prose and verse passages of Brhaspati and thereby shows that in his opinion the jurist Brhaspati

381 गोपचारश्च रथ्या च वस्त्रं वंशान्नयोजितम् । प्रयोज्यं न विभज्येत धर्मार्थं च बृहस्पतिः ॥  
वि. र. p. 505 and अपरार्क on बाह्य. II. 119.

382 परं निरस्य सल्लब्धं विद्यातोः शूलपूर्वकम् । विद्याधनं तु तद्विद्यान् विभाज्यं बृहस्पतिः ॥  
quoted by अपरार्क on बा. II. 119; परा. मा. III. 2. p. 559.

383 सर्वापलापं यः कृत्वा मिथ्यात्वमपि संवेदेत् । सर्वमेव तु दाप्यं स्यादिति युक्तो बृहस्पतिः ॥  
व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूत. p. 311.

384 अधिवस्यर्षिसानिभ्यदनुभूतं तु यद्वरेत् । तद्व्याहं साक्षिणो वाक्यमन्वधाद् बृहस्पतिः ॥  
quoted in the व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूत. p. 317.

(in verse) was identical with the political writer Brhaspati and was a very ancient writer in his day. Medhātithi (on Manu 9. 153) quotes the verse "na pratigrahabhūr" (ascribed to Brhaspati by others) as Smṛtyantara. Brhaspati is cited in a few cases as referring to his own views in the third person<sup>385</sup>; sometimes he uses the first person also.<sup>386</sup> Nothing can be said about his country at present. In a well-known passage Brhaspati refers to the usages of the southern people, of the people in the Madhyadeśa, of the eastern and northern people.<sup>387</sup> In a striking and beautiful passage Brhaspati compares vyavahāra with yajña,<sup>388</sup> the king with Viṣṇu, the successful party with the sacrificer and the defeated party with the victim, the plaint and the reply to food and the *pratijñā* to the sacrificial offering (prepared from food), the śāstras to the three Vedas and the *śabhyas* to the priests in a sacrifice. Brhaspati seems to have been very fond of such long-drawn metaphors.<sup>389</sup>

The Smṛticandrikā quotes about seventy verses of Brhaspati in the Ahnika portion and about forty on Śrāddha. In the later works like the Parāśara-Mādhaviya, the Nirmayasindhu and Saṁskāra-Kaustubha, the number of verses quoted from Brhaspati is much larger than even those quoted by the Smṛticandrikā. Those verses are quoted on such saṁskāras as puruṣavana, nāmakarana, caula, upanayana, vivāha and also on āśauca and purification of dravyas. Even the Mitākṣarā quotes several verses of Brhaspati on matters

385 तादृगं यन्पुनं येष तपैव च विद्वन्नकम् । एष दण्डो हि शूद्रस्य नार्धदण्डो बृहस्पतिः ॥  
पर। मा. III. 1. p. 212; स्मृतिच०

386 एष दण्डः समाक्षयात् पुरुषापेक्षया मया । quoted by अपराकं on याज्ञ. II. 211.

387 उदुहरे दाक्षिणात्यैर्मलुलस्य सुता द्विजेः । मध्यदेशे कर्मकराः शिल्पिनश्च गवाक्षिनः ॥  
मत्स्यादाश्च नराः पूर्वे व्यभिचाररताः स्त्रियाः । उत्तरे मद्यवा नार्यः स्त्रिया नृणां रजस्वलाः ॥  
वीर. p. 22, 55, म. 80.

388 यज्ञे संपूर्यते विष्णुर्व्यवहारे महीपतिः । जयी तु वज्रमानोऽत्र जितः पशुच्छाकृतः ॥  
पूर्वपक्षोत्तराचार्यं मतिज्ञा च हविः स्मृता । त्रयी शास्त्राणि सन्ध्यास्तु कान्विजो दक्षिणा-  
दने ॥ quoted in 55, मा. p. 284.

389 ० ६. विप्रो धर्मद्रुमस्यादिः स्कन्दशास्त्रे महीपतिः । सचिवाः पञ्चगुणानि कलं न्यायेन  
पालनम् ॥ यशो वित्तं कलरसो भोगोरयइपूजनम् । अनेयायं लोकपंक्तिः स्वर्गे स्थानं  
च शान्तम् ॥ वीर० p. 14. Compare नाद (55, मा. I. 33 for the second  
verse),

other than vyavahāra. For example the Mit. on Yāj. I. 210 quotes a verse of Bṛhaspati that a nivartana (of land) is equal to 30 daṇḍas in area (daṇḍa being seven cubits in length) and ten nivartanas are equal to a gacarma.<sup>390</sup> On Yāj. III. 17 the Mit. quotes two verses of Bṛhaspati about impurity on birth or death &c. On Yāj. III. 21 the Mit. cites the definition of deśāntara given by Bṛhaspati.<sup>391</sup> On Yāj. III. 24 the Mit. quotes Bṛhaspati's opinion that the period of mourning on the death of one's maternal grandfather, ācārya or śrotriya is three days. On Yāj. III. 253 the Mit. quotes Bṛhaspati's rule as to prāyaścitta for consciously drinking wine.<sup>392</sup> Vide also Mit. on Yāj. III. 30, 250, 254, 260, 290 for other quotations from Bṛhaspati.

The foregoing therefore establishes that Bṛhaspati was known at least to the Mit. and later writers as an expounder in verse not only of vyavahāra but also of other topics of dharma as well. As over a thousand verses of Bṛhaspati (including about 800 on vyavahāra) are quoted it appears that his work must have been an extensive one comprising several thousand verses. Such a work of Bṛhaspati has yet to be recovered.

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 261 quotes a Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati on the nine varieties of saṁkara.<sup>393</sup> Kullūka on Manu (9. 181) cites a verse of Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati about the eleven subsidiary sons (vide note 283 above, where the verse is ascribed to Bṛhaspati). Hemādri (Caturvarga vol. III, part 2, p. 472) quotes a Jyotir-Bṛhaspati on the prohibition of a śrāddha on the thirteenth ūthi of the dark half. Aparārka on Yāj. II. 3-4 quotes three verses from Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati

<sup>390</sup> सप्तहस्तेन दण्डेन त्रिंशद् दण्डा निर्वर्तनम् । दश तान्येव गोचर्म दत्त्वा स्वर्गे महीयते ॥  
A similar verse occurs in the गृह्यसूत्रस्मृति (Jīvananda part I. p. 645) where the reading is दशहस्तेन.

<sup>391</sup> मद्भानद्यन्तरं यच्च गिरिर्वा व्यवधायकः । वाचो यत्र त्रिविद्यन्ते तद् देशान्तरमुच्यते ॥  
देशान्तरं वदन्त्येके षष्टियोजनमायतम् । पत्नारिंशद्वन्त्ये त्रिंशद्वन्त्ये तथेव च ॥

<sup>392</sup> सुराशने कामकृते ज्वटमूर्ती तां विनिक्षिपेत् । मुक्ते नया विनिर्दग्धे मृतः शुद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥

<sup>393</sup> यथाह वृद्धहस्पतिः । एकशत्यासनं पञ्चभिर्भाण्डपञ्चघ्नमिधनम् । याजनाय्यायने योनिस्तथा च सह भोजनम् । नवधा संकरः प्रोक्तो न कर्तव्योद्यमेः सह ॥ These are ascribed to गृह्यहस्पति by the गृह्यधरत्नाकर (folio 130a of D. C. Ms. No. 44 of A 1883-84).

about the derivation of the word "prād-vivāka" and one on the punishment for sabhyas who take bribes. Three of these verses are ascribed to Bṛhaspati in the Pārāśara-Mādhyāya and other works and one of them to Kātyāyana in the Vyavahāra-māṭṛkā.

### 38. Kātyāyana

Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana form a triumvirate in the realm of the ancient Hindu Law and procedure. The work of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra, like that of Bṛhaspati, has yet to be recovered. The following account is based on the quotations from Kātyāyana contained in about a dozen works from Viśvarūpa to the Viramītrodaya.

Kātyāyana is enumerated as one of the expounders of dharma by Śaṅkha-Likhita, Yājñavalkya (I. 4-5) and Pārāśara. A Kātya. is quoted as an authority in the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra (I. 2. 47). A Śrautasūtra and Śrāddhakalpa of the white Yajurveda are ascribed to Kātyāyana.

Kātyāyana appears to have taken Nārada and Bṛhaspati as his models in the order and treatment of the subjects to be dealt with in vyavahāra. He closely follows both the writers in terminology and technique. On several points he presupposes Nārada and expounds and elucidates the latter's dicta. For example, Nārada (Intro. chap. I. 10-11) lays down that vyavahāra has four pādas, each later one prevailing over the preceding, viz. dharma, vyavahāra, caritra, rājāsana (note 361) and then Nārada very briefly in one verse explains these four terms. Kātyāyana on the other hand devotes at least nine verses to the elucidation of the rule as to each succeeding one prevailing over its predecessor.<sup>394</sup> Nārada contains very little on the topic of stridhana (dāyabhāga chap. verses 8-9). He merely enumerates the six kinds of stridhana and then lays down the rule of succession. Kātyāyana's treatment of stridhana has attained classical rank. It appears that he was probably the first to carefully define the several kinds of stridhana (such as adhyagni, adhyāvahanika, prtidatta, śulka, anvādheya, saudāyika), to lay down woman's power of disposal over the several varieties of stridhana and to prescribe lines of devolution as to stridhana. The verses on this topic occurring in the nibandhas number about thirty.

<sup>394</sup> Vide पुरा. मा. vol. III, part I, pp. 16-17, and वीर. p. 9-10, 120-121.

The leading nibandhas contain only a few quotations from *Brhaspati* on *stridhana*. Hence it may be surmised that *Kātyāyana* probably was the first *smṛti* writer to give elaborate rules on this topic.

It has been already shown (notes 381-384) how *Kātyāyana* often quotes the views of *Brhaspati*. A few more examples may be added here. According to *Brhaspati*, says *Kātyāyana*, when a man who stands surety with others on a joint liability goes abroad, his son would have to pay the whole debt, but if the man dies then the son would be liable for his father's share only.<sup>395</sup> When cattle stray into fields, gardens, houses or cowpens, they may be, according to *Brhaspati*, caught hold of (by the ear &c.) or beaten.<sup>396</sup> According to *Brhaspati*, a man of the *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya* or *śūdra* caste may employ one of his own caste to do the work of a *dāsa* (slave or serf), but even a *Brāhmaṇa* could never employ another *Brāhmaṇa* in the same way.<sup>397</sup>

About a dozen nibandhas on *vyavahāra* quote about 900 verses of *Kātyāyana* on *vyavahāra*, the *Smṛticandrikā* alone citing about 600 of them. In these verses *Kātyāyana* refers at least a score of times to the views of *Bṛgu*. It is remarkable that only a few of the views ascribed to *Bṛgu* are found in the extant *Manusmṛti*. *Kātyāyana* says, according to *Bṛgu*, whatever (ancestral) wealth was concealed by one coparcener from others, whatever was badly divided should be divided in equal shares when afterwards discovered ( *Parāśara-Madhaviya* III, p. 566 ). This may well be compared with *Manu* 9. 215. *Kātyāyana* says according to *Bṛgu*, it is not *Brāhmaṇa*-murder to kill an *ātātāyin* who is foremost by his austerities, learning and caste. This has in view *Manu* 8. 360. *Kullūka* distinctly says that *Kātyāyana* simply explains the verse of *Manu* by referring to it as *Bṛgu*'s. On the other hand there are several places where the views ascribed to *Bṛgu* find no counterpart in the extant *Manu*. According to

395 एकवह्नायाश्चित् सर्वं दद्यात् प्रोक्षिते सुतः । मृते वितरि पित्रंशे वरणं न बृहस्पतिः ॥  
परा. मा. III, p. 251.

396 क्षेत्रागमविहीनेषु गृहेषु पशुपादेषु । ग्रहणं तत्पविद्यानां ताडनं वा बृहस्पतिः ॥  
वि. र. p. 241.

397 क्षत्रविशूद्रधर्मस्तु समवर्णे कदाचन । कारयेद् दासकर्मणि ब्राह्मणं न बृहस्पतिः ॥  
वि. र. p. 152.

Bhṛgu in all *sahasas* of the worst type the truth should be found out by means of divine proof ( ordeals &c. ) even though there may be witnesses.<sup>398</sup> There is nothing in the Manusmṛti corresponding with this. According to Bhṛgu the ordeals of balance &c. are prescribed for those who are suspected to be in league with marauders and who have incurred popular censure, but in such cases there is no undertaking ( by the complainant to pay fine ).<sup>399</sup> The Manusmṛti has not a word on this point. Household paraphernalia, beasts of burden, cattle, ornaments, slaves should be divided when discovered; if they are ( alleged to be ) concealed, the ordeal of *kośa* should be resorted to; so says Bhṛgu.<sup>400</sup> Another important circumstance deserves to be noted. Kātyāyana several times refers to the views of Manu. Kātyāyana says that the view of Manu was that in certain charges ( such as the commission of *mahāpātakas* ) the ordeals for the accused were to be performed by good men.<sup>401</sup> According to Manu if a woman deserted her son, though he may be able ( to pay ), her *stridhana* should be seized and the paternal debt should be paid thereout.<sup>402</sup> Manu declared, says Kātyāyana, that if animals be killed, the offender should offer ( to the owner ) another similar animal or its proper price ( note 345 above where Parāśara also quotes it as Manu's view ). All these views attributed to Manu by Kātyāyana are not found in the extant Manusmṛti. In certain places Kātyāyana refers to the views of the *Manavas*; e. g. according to the *Gārgiyas* and *Manavas* if a bribe had already been paid, the person receiving it should be made to repay it and should be fined eleven times as much;<sup>403</sup> according to

398 उत्तमेषु च सर्वेषु साहसेषु विचारयेत् । सद्भावं दिव्यदृष्टेन सन्तु साक्षिषु वे भृगुः ॥  
परा. मा. III. p. 90.

399 लोकापवादबुधानां शङ्कितानां च दस्युभिः । तुलादीनि नियोज्यानि न शिरस्तत्र वे भृगुः ॥  
अपरार्क, स्मृतिच०.

400 गृहोपस्करवाहान्य दोहामरणकर्मिणः । दशयाना विभज्यन्ते कोशं गृहेमपीमनुः ॥  
अपरार्क p. 723 and परा. मा. III, p. 557.

401 एषु वादेषु दिव्यानि प्रतिषिद्धानि यत्नतः । कारयेत्सज्जनैरुतानि नाभिशस्तं त्यजेन्ननुः ॥  
अपरार्क p. 696 who ascribes it to भृगु. The टीट्टरानन्द reads त्यजेन्नरा.

402 या स्वपुत्रं तु जह्यास्त्री समर्थमपि पुत्रिणी । आदृत्य स्त्रीधनं तत्र विन्यस्य शोधयेन्ननुः ॥  
वि. र. p. 65.

403 अथ प्रागेव दत्ता स्यान्ममिदं द्रव्यं तथा यत्नतः । दण्डं चैकादशगुणमाहुर्गार्गीयमानवाः ॥  
अपरार्क p. 782 ; वि. र. 652 ( which reads आम्भीयमानवाः ).



the Mānavas thieves caught red-handed with their booty should be at once banished.<sup>404</sup> As regards both these references, the teaching of the Manusmṛti seems to be different; vide Manu 9. 231 and 270 respectively. These facts about Kātyāyana's references to Bṛghu and Manu raise several difficult questions, whether Bṛghu and Manu stand for two entirely different works or for the same work and whether he refers to some other version of the Manusmṛti ascribed to Bṛghu. In my opinion he is not referring to two separate works, and that he had before him a version of the Manusmṛti promulgated by Bṛghu but somewhat different from and probably larger than the present Manusmṛti.

In the *nibandhas* several verses are ascribed to Kātyāyana along with Manu, Yājñavalkya and Bṛhaspati. For example, the well-known verse about the sixfold division of stridhana ( *adhyagnya-dhyāvahanikam &c.* ) is ascribed by the Dāyabhāga to Manu and Kātyāyana. The half-verse "*varṇānāmānulomyena dāsyam na pratilomataḥ*" is the same in both Yājñavalkya ( II. 183 ) and Kātyāyana. The Viramītrodaya ( p. 140 ) ascribes a verse to Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana, in which the opinion of Bṛhaspati is cited. There is very close agreement between the definitions proposed by the two last writers of dharma, vyavahāra, caritra, and rājāsāsana. Besides Manu (or Mānavas), Bṛhaspati and Bṛghu, Kātyāyana cites the views of several other writers on dharma. For Gārgyas and Gautama vide notes 403 and 404 above. He says, according to Kauśika, powerful robbers were to be guarded by chains of iron, were to be low-fed and were to undergo hard labour for the state till death ( Aparārka p. 849 ). He quotes the view of Likhita that where a woman is deprived of food, raiment and dwelling ( by her husband's coparceners ) she would be entitled to demand her own ( stridhana ) and a share from the coparceners. In one case ( Aparārka p. 755 ). a verse is cited as Kātyāyana's in which Kātyāyana himself is named ( Parāśaramādhaviya III. p. 235 ).

Kātyāyana contains the same advanced views about law and rules of procedure as are found in Nārada and Bṛhaspati. He is even in

<sup>404</sup> मानवाः सद्य एवाहुः सहोदारा मवासनम् । गौतमानामनिष्टं यत्प्राणयुक्तेदाह्निगर्हितम् ॥  
वि. र. 332. It is not unlikely that the correct reading is मवासनं for मवासनम्, as the immediately following view of गौतम suggests. The words of मनु are सद्योऽं शोपकरणं घातयेद्विचारयम्.



advance of these two writers in certain matters, such as definitions in general and the elaboration of rules about *strīdhana*. He gives numerous definitions, such as those of *vyavahāra*, *prāḍvivāka*, *stobhaka*, *dharmaḍhikarāṇa*, *tīrita* and *anuṣṭa*, *sāmanta* &c. He seems to have been the first to invent some new terms. For example, he defines *paścātkāra* as a judgment given in favour of the plaintiff after a hot contest between the plaintiff and the defendant, while the term *jayapatra* is restricted by him to the judgment given on admission by the defendant or a judgment dismissing the suit on various grounds.<sup>405</sup> He lays down a stringent rule that if a man abandons a ground of defence or attack and puts forward a less cogent one, he would not be allowed to put forward again the stronger ground after a decisive judgment of the court.<sup>406</sup> This resembles the 4th explanation to section 11 of the Indian Civil Procedure Code (1908) about *res judicata*. The verses about *kārṣapaṇa* and *dīnāra* quoted above (note 368) from Nārada (*pariṣiṣṭa* verses 58-60) are ascribed to Kātyāyana by the *Smṛticandrika*.

The date of Kātyāyana can be settled only approximately. He is certainly much later than Manu and Yājñavalkya. As shown above he presupposes Nārada and regarded Bṛhaspati as a very leading authority on *vyavahāra*. Hence his upper limit is the 3rd or 4th century A. D. Viśvarūpa quotes eight verses as Kātyāyana's by name (vide on Yāj. II. 5, 6, 47, 63, 281) on such topics of *Vyavahāra* as the defects of the plaint, the contents of the plaint, the liability for the debts of a deceased person, payments of debts or honour (*satyanikāra*), punishment for abortion, grievous hurt and homicide of a Brahmana woman. Medhātithi (on Manu 7. 1) ascribes to Kātyāyana the rule that in case of conflict between the dictates of *dharmaśāstra* and *arthaśāstra* the king should prefer the former. Medhātithi on Manu (VIII. 216) speaks of Kātyāyana-sūtra, appears to quote a portion of it in prose and explains it.<sup>407</sup> Medhātithi

405 निरस्तास्तु कियं यत्र ममाणेनैव वादिना । पश्चात्कारो भवेत्तत्र न सर्वासु विधीयते ॥  
अन्यथायादिहानिन्व इतरेषां मदीयते । वृत्तानुवादसंक्षिप्तं तच्च स्थाप्यपत्रकम् ॥  
स्मृतिच०, टोडरानन्द, धीर०

406 कियं बलवती मुक्ता दुर्बला योबलम्बते । स जयेष्यते सभ्यो पुनस्तां नामुवात्  
कियम् ॥ मिता० on याज्ञ. II. 80, अ. मा. p. 281, धीर० p. 108.

407 'यो दान्यः कस्यचित्कर्मणि धनमावध्य अर्धतो निर्वर्तेतति कात्यायनीये सूत्रे धनमावध्य  
आसज्य धनवत्त्वं कारयित्वा यदि अर्धरुने निर्वर्तेत सोऽपि तद्वदेदित्यनुपपन्नः ॥'  
H. D. 28.

says that Kātyāyana extended the maxim of the trader carrying merchandise ( bhāṇḍavāha-vaṇik maxim ) to all similar transactions. All known quotations of Kātyāyana are in verse. When Medhātithi speaks of a sūtra and quotes a portion of it ( as "vā" and "iti" after "nivarteta" indicate ) in prose, we must either suppose that he is referring to some other work of Kātyāyana than the one in verse from which hundreds of verses are cited by other writers or that Kātyāyana's work on vyavahāra also contains some prose passages. As hardly any other writer quotes a prose passage of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra, the second alternative appears somewhat unlikely. Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi regarded Kātyāyana as an authoritative *smṛtikara* along with Nārada and Bṛhaspati. This position he could not have attained in less than a few hundred years. Therefore the lowest limit to which Kātyāyana can be assigned is the 6th century. Hence it may be said that Kātyāyana flourished between the 4th and 6th century A. D.

The Vyavahāramātṛkā ( p. 307 ) quotes a Brhat-Kātyāyana on the question of proof. The Dāyabhāga mentions a Vṛddha-Kātyāyana. The Sarasvatīvilāsa also quotes verses of Vṛddha-Kātyāyana on rescission of purchase and other topics ( p. 320 ). In the present state of our knowledge it is very difficult to say whether these two are different works. The Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi ( vol. III, part 2, p. 657 ) speaks of Upakātyāyana. Aparārka quotes a verse from śloka-Kātyāyana which is not found in the Karmapradīpa ( Jīvananda's ed. ), but appears to be a summary of a prose passage quoted as Kātyāyana's immediately before by Aparārka.

In Jīvananda's collection of smṛtis ( part I, pp. 603-644 ) there is one of Kātyāyana in three prapāṭhakas and 29 khaṇḍas and about five hundred verses. The same work is printed as Gobhila-smṛti in the Anandaśrama collection ( pp. 49-71 ). It contains also a few prose passages in the 12th, 13th and 14th khaṇḍas. The prevailing metre is Anuṣṭubh, a few verses being in the Indravajrā and other metres. The work is styled the Karmapradīpa of Kātyāyana. The opening verse justifies this name when it states that like a lamp the work will clearly show the mode of performing certain rites treated by Gobhila and other rites which are not clearly elucidated.<sup>408</sup> The contents of this work are briefly as follows :— how

<sup>408</sup> अथातो गोभिलोक्तानामप्येषां येष कर्मणाम् । अस्वशानादिभिः सम्बद्धादिभिश्च प्रदीपयन् ॥

to wear the sacred thread; sipping water and touching various limbs with water; the worship of Gaṇeśa and fourteen mātṛs in every rite; kuśās; śrāddha details; consecration of sacred fires; details about araṇis, sruc, sruva; rules about cleansing the teeth and bathing; saṁdhyā; prāṇāyāma, muttering of Vedic *mantras*; tarpaṇa of gods and manes; the great daily *yajñas*; who is to offer śrāddha; rules about periods of impurity due to death; duties of wife; śrāddhas of various kinds.

The Karmapradīpa mentions by name several authors. It very frequently cites the views of Gobhila ( pp. 603, 626, 638 ) and Gautama ( pp. 619, 620, 626, 630, 636, 639 ). The Karmapradīpa as the opening verse says is intimately related to the Gobhila Grhya-sūtra. It distinctly says that as Gobhila did not dilate upon the details as to time and procedure of goyajña and vājijajña, Kātyāyana dilates upon them. This is borne out by the Gobhila grhya-sūtra.<sup>409</sup> Another<sup>410</sup> passage of Kātyāyana about the Aṣṭakas is based upon the very words of the Gobhila grhya. Frequent reference is made to the views of Vasiṣṭha on the worship of Mātṛs ( p. 605 ), on śrāddha ( pp. 608, 625 ). Vide also p. 642 ( 28. 16 ). Among the other authors named are Nārada on the sticks for dantadhavana ( p. 615 ), Bhārgava ( probably Uśanas ) on p. 640, Śaṇḍilya and Śaṇḍilyāyana on p. 626. Kātyāyana is named in several places ( pp. 624, 627, 638 ) and once the first person is used ( as in " mamāpyetaḥ hr̥dī sthitam " p. 643 ). The Kātyāyanasmṛiti quotes the verse of Manu ( III. 70 ) on the five great *yajñas*. On p. 633 four verses forming the consolation to be offered to the relatives of a person departed are the same as Yaj. ( III. 8-11 ) and one verse in the same context occurs in the Mahābhārata ( Śāntiparva

409 Vide p. 638 verses 1-11 of 26th khanda and compare with Gobhila-grhya-sūtra III. 6. 10-15 ( गोबले पायसश्चरुः । अग्निं यजेत् पूजयिष्यन्मन्त्रम् । कषपपूजा । गोबलेनैवाभ्यस्येत् । व्याख्यानः । यमवह्नी देवतानामप्राधिकौ । गन्धैरभ्युक्षणं गताम् । ).

410 यस्तु शाकादिको ह्येवः कार्योपाह्वकावृतः । अन्वष्टक्यं मण्यमायामिति गोभिलगोतमो । वाकेष्टुष्टिश्च सर्वासु कोत्सो मेनेष्टकासुच ॥ कात्यायनः 17. 24 ( p. 626 ); compare गोभिलगृह्य III. 10. 4-7 'चतुरष्टको ह्येवमन्तः ताः सर्वाः समासाभिकीर्षेदिति कोत्सः । षष्टक इत्योद्गाहमालिः । तथा गोतमवार्कस्यष्टौ । योर्ध्वमाद्यपण्यास्तामित्राष्टमी नामपुष्पाष्टकेत्याचक्षते । '

27. 31 and other places ).<sup>411</sup> On p. 631 Kātyāyana speaks of Rāma having performed yajñas taking as his spouse the golden image of Sita.

The question is:—what is the date of this Kātyāyanasmṛti (Karmapradīpa) and whether it is the work of Kātyāyana the great jurist. The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 254) quotes a verse as Kātyāyana's which occurs in Jivananda's text (p. 624 verse 20); similarly the Mit. quotes two verses as Kātyāyana's (on Yāj. III. 247) which have a place in the Karmapradīpa (Jivananda p. 634 verses 4-5). Scores of verses cited as Kātyāyana's by Aparārka (on ācāra and prāyaścitta) are found in the Karmapradīpa. For example, vide Aparārka p. 43 (three verses) and Karmapradīpa (p. 605, 1110-12), Aparārka p. 51 (three verses about samidh) and Karmapr. (p. 613, 8. 17-19), Aparārka p. 135 (four verses about bathing in rivers) and Karma. (p. 615, 10. 5-7 and 14), Aparārka p. 532 (four verses on śrāddha in which Kātyāyana himself is cited as an authority) and Karma. (p. 624, 16. 16-19), Aparārka p. 872 (six verses) and Karma. (21. 2-7 p. 632), Aparārka p. 1066 (three verses about an *agnihotrīn* being guilty of mahāpātaka) and Karma. (23. 4-6 p. 634). The Smṛticandrikā also quotes profusely from Kātyāyana on ācāra, śrāddha etc. and cites from the Karma-pradīpa by name passages which occur in Jivananda's edition. The above references show that in the eyes of the Mitākṣarā and Aparārka the Karmapradīpa was an authoritative work. Therefore it follows that it must have been composed centuries before the 11th century A. D. It is however remarkable that several quotations ascribed to Kātyāyana in the Mitākṣarā, Aparārka and other works are not found in the Karmapradīpa. For example, the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. III. 242) cites Kātyāyana's verse about five varieties of lapses in conduct viz. mahāpātaka, atipātaka, pātaka, prasaṅgika, upapātaka and on Yāj. III. 260 quotes a verse of Kātyāyana about what are atipātakas. These are not to be traced in the Karmapradīpa printed by Jivananda. Similarly Aparārka (pp. 94-95) quotes three verses of Kātyāyana that are very interesting but are not found in

<sup>411</sup> सर्वे क्षयन्ता मित्रयाः पतन्तः समुच्छ्रयाः । संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ता मरणान्तं हि जनिताम् ॥

Jivananda's edition.<sup>412</sup> Later works like the Nirṇayasindhu, the Saṁskāramayūkha, the Madanapārijāta quote numerous verses of Kātyāyana on upanayana, marriage and other saṁskāras which we vainly seek to find in the Karmaṇḍapīṭha. Hence it follows that there was some large work of Kātyāyana of which the Karmaṇḍapīṭha is either an abridgment or only a portion.

The next question is whether Kātyāyana the jurist and the author of the Karmaṇḍapīṭha are identical. There are not sufficient data to identify the two. The only fact that points to the identity is that such eminent and early writers as Viṣṇūśekhara and Aparārka appear to make no distinction between the two. Besides the Karmaṇḍapīṭha is also an early work. Against this it has to be remembered that Viśvarūpa, probably the most ancient of all extant commentators, nowhere quotes Kātyāyana on ācāra and prāyaścitta. This absence of quotations is not a very cogent argument; still it raises a doubt in one's mind whether a work of Kātyāyana on ācāra and other non-jural topics was known to Viśvarūpa.

The other principal versified smṛtis will now be described in ( Sanskrit ) alphabetical order.

### 39. Āṅgiras

From Viśvarūpa downwards Āṅgiras is quoted very frequently on all topics except that of civil law (vyavahāra). Āṅgiras is one of the writers on dharma enumerated by Yāj. Viśvarūpa<sup>2</sup> (on Yāj. I. 9) states that according to Āṅgiras a *pariṣad* may comprise 121 Brahmanas. On Yāj. I. 50 Viśvarūpa quotes a verse of Āṅgiras that what is done according to one's own will without following the dictates of śāstra is fruitless.<sup>413</sup> On Yāj. III. 248 Viśvarūpa says that the *vṛata* called Vajra was prescribed by Āṅgiras for Brahmanas guilty of deadly sins. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 265) quotes two verses of Āṅgiras on the prāyaścitta for killing the wife of a Brahmana who has kindled the sacred fires, for killing wives of

<sup>412</sup> वरचित्वा तु यः कश्चित्पणश्चेत्पुरुषो यदा । कागर्माक्षीतस्तस्य कन्याभ्यं वरयेद्द्वारम् ॥  
प्रदाय गच्छेच्चतुर्लोकं यः कन्यायाः स्त्रीधनं तथा । धार्या सा वर्षमेकं तु देवान्यस्मै विधानतः ॥ पूर्वदत्ता तु या कन्या अन्येनोदा यदा भवेत् । संकृतापि प्रदेया स्यादस्मै पूर्वं प्रलिखता ॥

<sup>413</sup> स्वस्वामिप्राप्तकृत् कर्म यत्तु धर्मविवर्जितम् । क्रीडाकर्मैव बालानां तत्सर्वं निष्प्रयोजनम् ॥

other Brāhmanas and Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. On Yaj. III. 266 he quotes two verses of Aṅgiras laying down *prāyaścitta* for killing certain beasts and birds, wherein Aṅgiras himself is mentioned with honour (bhagavān). Aparārka (pp. 22-23) quotes thirteen verses from Aṅgiras on the constitution of *pariṣad*, wherein such terms as *chaturvidya*, *vitarkī*, *aṅgavid*, *dharmapāṭhaka* are explained and the last of which says that a *pariṣad* sitting in judgment over those who are guilty of *mahāpātakas* may consist of hundreds. The *Mitākṣarā* (on Yaj. I. 86) quotes several verses on the practice of *satī* and ascribes them to both Śaṅkha and Aṅgiras.<sup>414</sup> Aparārka (pp. 109, 112) quotes four other verses on the same practice, one of which is in the *Indravajrā* metre and another prohibits a Brāhmaṇa wife from following that practice. *Medhātithi* (on Manu. V. 157) quotes the view of Aṅgiras on *satī* and disapproves of it. The *Mitākṣarā*, *Haradatta* and others quote numerous verses of Aṅgiras on *āśauca* and *prāyaścitta*. *Haradatta* on *Gautama* (20. 1) quotes a verse of Aṅgiras about the seven *antyaajas*.<sup>415</sup> *Viśvarūpa* (on Yaj. III. 237) quotes a *sūtra* of Sumantu in which Aṅgiras is cited as an authority. The *Śuddhi-mayūkha* quotes a verse of Aṅgiras which relies upon *Śatātapa*.<sup>416</sup> The *Smṛticandrikā* quotes Aṅgiras on the enumeration of *Upasṁptis* (vide note 260 above). The *Smṛticandrikā* also contains a few prose quotations from Aṅgiras; the same work cites a verse of Aṅgiras holding the *dharmaśāstra* of Manu as the supreme guide.<sup>417</sup>

The Aṅgiras-smṛti (in *Jivananda* part I, pp. 554-560) in 72 verses is probably an abridgment. It lays down *prāyaścittas* for various occasions, such as taking food and drink from *antyaajas*, for cruelly beating or causing various injuries to cows. It also lays down various rules for the wearing of the dark cloth (*nīlivastra*) by women. It cites Aṅgiras and *Āpastamba* by name. The penultimate verse condemns those who rob women of their wealth.

414 One of them is the well known verse निस्त्रः कोट्योर्धकोटी च यानि लोमानि  
मानुषे । तावत्कालं वसेत्स्वर्गे भगारं यानुगच्छति ॥

415 चण्डालः श्वपचः क्षुत्ता स्तो वेदेहिकरतथा । मागधाषोणयो चैव स्मृतेमपादसाधिनः ॥

416 सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां स्तुते मृतके तथा । दशाह्वयद्विरेषामर्ति शान्तातपोऽर्षीत् ॥

417 यत्पूर्वं मनुना प्रोक्तं धर्मशास्त्रमनुत्तमम् । तदिह नस्समनिकम्प्य वचनं हितमात्मनः ॥  
स्मृतिश्च • (आह्विक) .



There are several mss. in the Deccan College Collection which contain a varying number of verses on *prāyaścitta* agreeing more or less with Jivananda's text. For example, No. 53 of 1879-80 contains about one hundred verses, No. 205 of 1882-83 contains 54 verses, while No. 65 of Viśrāmbāg collection and No. 83 of 1895-1902 contain only 32; No. 81 of 1884-86 is styled *Bṛhad-Āṅgīras* and contains 151 verses, many of which are identical with those in the Calcutta text.

The *Mitākṣarā* (on Yāj. III. 277) and the *Smṛtiratnāvalī* of Vedācārya (I. O. cat. No. 1552 p. 475) quote a *Bṛhad-Āṅgīras* and the *Mitākṣarā* also quotes a *Madhyama-Āṅgīras* several times (on Yāj. III. 243, 241, 258, and 260).

#### 40. *R̥ṣyasr̥ṅga*

This is a writer who is frequently quoted on *ācara*, *āśauca*, *śrāddha*, and *prāyaścitta* by the *Mit.*, *Aparārka*, *Smṛticandrikā* and other works. *Aparārka* (p. 724) quotes as *R̥ṣyasr̥ṅga*'s a verse ascribed to Śaṅkha in the *Mitākṣarā* (on Yāj. II. 119) and other works, which states that when one coparcener recovers with his own efforts family property that was lost to the family, he gets a fourth share of it and the others become sharers in the rest.<sup>418</sup> The *Smṛticandrikā* (I. p. 32) quotes ' *api vāsasā yajñopavitārthan kuryāt tadabhāve trivṛtā sātrena* ', which is in prose.

#### 41. *Kārsnājini*

This writer is quoted by the *Mit.* (Yāj. III. 265 three verses), *Aparārka*, *Smṛticandrikā* and other works mostly on *śrāddha*. *Aparārka* (p. 138) quotes a verse from him which enumerates the seven sons of *Brahmā*, *Sanaka*, *Sanandana*, *Sanātana*, *Kapila*, *Asuri*, *Voḍha* (?) and *Pañcaśikha*. *Aparārka* (p. 424) quotes a verse which refers to the two signs of the Zodiac, *Kanyā*, and *Vṛścika*.

#### 42. *Caruvimsatimata*

There are two Mss. of this work in the Deccan College Collection (No 244 of A. 1881-1882 and 111 of 1895-1902). It contains 525 verses. The work is so called because it embodies the essence of the teachings of 24 sages, *Manu*, *Yājñavalkya*, *Atri*, *Viṣṇu*,

<sup>418</sup> पूर्वप्राप्तं तु यो भूमिमैकश्रेयदुद्धरेत् कमात् । यथाशं तु लभ्येतेभ्ये दक्षिणं तु तुरीयकम् ॥



Vasiṣṭha, Vyāsa, Uśanas, Āpastamba, Vatsa, Hārta, Guru (Bṛhaspati), Nārada, Parāśara, Gārgya, Gautama, Yama, Bauddhāyana, Dakṣa, Śaṅkha, Aṅgiras, Sātātapa, Śaṅkhyā (Śaṅkhyāyana?), Saṁvarta. The subjects treated of are :—The usages of the varṇas and āśramas, śauca, *acamana*, cleansing the teeth, bath, prāṇāyāma, repeating the Gāyatrī, study of the Vedas, marriage, agnihotra, five great daily yajñas, means of livelihood, forest hermits, saṁnyāsins, duties of Kṣatriyas and the other two varṇas, prāyaścittas for the deadly sins and other lesser misdeeds, means of livelihood, śrāddha, āśauca (on birth and death).

The work often quotes the views of Uśanas, Manu, Parāśarya, Aṅgiras, Yama, Hārta. It quotes Manu III. 5 ( *asapindā ca yā etc.* ) and Manu 12. 95 ( *yā vedabāhyāḥ smṛtayaḥ.* ). Two other verses which it contains are indicated as interpolated in several editions of Manu.<sup>419</sup> It says that the teachings of Arhat, Cārvāka and Buddhas delude people.<sup>420</sup> Its position is that whatever is not found in the Veda or the Purāṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa, or Mahābhārata or in the śāstras of Manu and others is as good as non-existent.<sup>421</sup>

The Caturvīṁśatimata is frequently quoted by the Mit., Aparārka and later works, but not by Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. It was probably compiled about the time when the latter two writers flourished. Aparārka (p. 1121) quotes a prose passage from the work on the prāyaścitta for a dvijāti-procreating children on a Śūdra wife. This passage could not be traced in the two mss. referred to above.

The portions of the work on saṁskāra and śrāddha together with the commentary of Bhaṭṭoji, son of Lakṣmidhara, have been

419 बृहो च मातापितरौ साध्वी भार्या शिशुः सुतः । अप्यकायंशं कृत्वा मर्त्येभ्यः मनु-  
रमणीयं ॥ ( after मनु. XI. 10 ), पुराणे मानवो धर्मः साङ्ख्ये वेदश्रुतिस्तम् ।  
आज्ञासिद्धानि चत्वारि न ह्यस्तव्यानि हेतुनिः ॥ ( after मनु XII. 110. ). This  
occurs in वसतिस्तिलक, 4th आध्याय p. 117 and the first half of it occurs in  
the तन्त्रवार्तिक.

420 अहंकारावाक्यानि बोद्धादिपठितानि च । विमलभक्तवाक्यानि तानि सर्वाणि वर्जयेत् ॥  
This occurs in the स्मृतिच. I. p. 5. ( Gharpure ) and पुरा. मा. vol. I,  
part I, p. 10.

421 यन्नास्ति वेदे न च यन्पुराणे रामायणे भारतसंगरे वा । मन्वादिशास्त्रेषु च यन्न वोकं  
तन्नास्ति नास्तीति न तेन कार्यम् ॥

published in the Benares Sanskrit Series (Nos. 137 and 139). The commentary is a very learned one and refers to a host of writers. This commentary is in some mss. ascribed to Rāmacandra (vide I. O. cat. No. 1554, p. 475).

### 43. Dakṣa

Dakṣa is one of the writers on dharma enumerated by Yaj. Viśvarūpa quotes verses of Dakṣa several times, viz. on Yaj. I. 17 (on clods of earth for purifying the body), on Yaj. III. 30 (two verses on āsauca), on Yaj. III. 66 (about a parivrājaka), on Yaj. III. 191 (about padmāsana). The Mit. (on Yaj. I. 89) quotes a half verse of Dakṣa to the effect that a dvija should not remain unattached to an āśrama (i. e. without a wife in the context) even for a moment; on Yaj. III. 58 two verses about bhikṣus; on Yaj. III. 243 (one verse). Aparārka cites numerous verses of Dakṣa on ācāra, āsauca, śrāddha and similar topics. In one case (p. 368) he attributes a prose passage to Dakṣa about the gift of gold.<sup>422</sup> Two of Dakṣa's verses most frequently quoted by writers on vyavahāra are those that lay down what nine things cannot be the subjects of gift.<sup>423</sup>

In Jivananda's collection there is a Dakṣasmṛti (part II, pp. 383-402) in seven chapters and 220 verses (vide also Anandāśrama collection pp. 72-84). The principal subjects treated of are:—Four āśramas, two kinds of brahmacārins; the daily round of duties for dvijas; various subdivisions of actions, nine karmans, nine vikarmans, nine actions that should be concealed, nine acts that should be made public, nine things that should not be gifted; gifts; eulogy of a good housewife; śauca of two kinds; impurity due to birth and death; Yoga and its six aṅgas viz. prāṇāyāma, dhyāna, pratyāhāra, dhāraṇā, tarka and samādhi, maithuna of eight kinds to be avoided by ascetics, duties of bhikṣu, dvaita, and advaita.

This smṛti is certainly a very old one. All the quotations from Dakṣa cited by Viśvarūpa occur in the printed Dakṣa (vide pp. 395,

<sup>422</sup> सुवर्णमेव स्वर्णमस्य च देशकालपात्रसुवर्णपरिमाणान्च कलविशेषः । अपरार्कः.

<sup>423</sup> सामान्यं याचितं न्यस्तमाधिदाराश्च तद्वनम् । अन्याहितं च भिक्षुः सर्वस्य चाग्नये सति ॥ आपत्स्यपि न देयानि न वस्तुनि पण्डितैः । यो ददाति स मुदात्मा प्रायः शिरीषो नरः ॥ अपरार्कः p. 404. These occur in the *Dakṣasmṛti* (Jivananda part II, p. 391).

396, 384, 397 which reads 'na pathyāsanād yogo'). Similarly all the quotations in the Mit. from Dakṣa are found in the Calcutta text. Aparārka contains over forty verses from the printed Dakṣa, though there are a few verses cited by him as Dakṣa's which are not found therein. The Smṛticandrikā quotes about ten verses of Dakṣa on woman which are all found in the 4th chap. of the Calcutta text.

In the Deccan College collection there is a ms. of Dakṣa (No. 120 of 1895-1902) which contains 197 verses on the same topics as above, many of which are identical with the Calcutta text. The Bombay University has also a similar ms. Vide I. O. cat. No. 1320 p. 385 for a similar ms. in 197 verses.

#### 44. Pitāmaha

Pitāmaha is enumerated among writers on dharma in a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya quoted by Viśvarūpa. The Smṛti of Pitāmaha is drawn upon mostly on vyavahāra. Viśvarūpa cites (on Yāj. I. 17) a verse from him on *śauca*.<sup>434</sup> Mit. and Aparārka quote verses from Pitāmaha only on vyavahāra and specially on ordeals. The Smṛticandrikā quotes about ten verses on *āhnikā*, 130 on vyavahāra and only a few on *śrāddhā*. Pitāmaha regards the Vedas with the aṅgas, Mīmāṃsā, the smṛtis, Purāṇa and Nyāya system as dharmaśāstras.<sup>435</sup> Pitāmaha like Brhāspati enumerates nine kinds of ordeals,<sup>436</sup> while Yāj. and Nārada name only five, though the latter seems to have known two more, viz. *tapdula* and *taptamāṣa*. The Smṛticandrikā quotes a dozen verses about 30 *chālas* on which a king took action without any complaint.<sup>437</sup> Pitāmaha seems to have followed Vyāsa in defining documents called *kṛayapatra*, *sūthipatra*, *sāthdhipatra*, *viśuddhipatra*.<sup>438</sup> The Smṛticandrikā cites

434 त्रिषु ये नोपनीयन्ते श्रद्धाः सौधन्वनाः स्त्रियः । गन्धलेपापकं ( धर्म ! ) तेषां शौचं  
मृदाम्भसा ॥

435 वेदाः साङ्ख्यस्तु चत्वारो मीमांसा स्मृतयस्तथा । एतानि धर्मशास्त्राणि पुराणं म्यायदर्शनम् ॥  
अपरार्क p. 601; compare वाङ्म. I. 3.

436 अष्टमे कालमित्युक्तं नवमे धर्मजे भवेत् । दिव्यान्वेतानि सप्तानि निर्दिष्टानि स्वयंभुवा ॥  
quoted by अपरार्क p. 694.

437 कलानि चापराधाश्च एतानि नृपतेस्तथा । स्वयमेतानि गृह्णीयान्पुत्रत्वावेदकेर्विना ॥  
स्मृतिच.

438 Vide वरा, मा. vol. III. p. 128 and स्मृतिच.

Pitāmaha for an enumeration of the 18 prakṛtis viz. washerman, leather worker, etc.<sup>429</sup> The same work states that according to Pitāmaha the titles of law to be taken cognisance by the king himself were twenty-two. In the hall of justice, he says, there should be eight constituents viz. the scribe, the accountant, Śāstra, the śādhyapāla, the assessors, gold, fire and water.<sup>430</sup> Some of the other noteworthy dicta of Pitāmaha are:—a suit should be<sup>431</sup> first tried before the village (panchayat), then before the town (court of appeal), then before the king; between litigants of the same country, town, societies, cities and villages, the decision should be arrived at according to their own peculiar conventions and usages, but when there is a dispute between these and strangers, the decision must be according to the Śāstra; possession<sup>432</sup> in order to be recognised by the courts as decisive must have five characteristics, it must have title, long duration, it must be uninterrupted, it must not have been impeached and it must be before the eyes of the opponent; a private document<sup>433</sup> under one's own hand is inferior to a *janapada* (a publicly written and attested) deed, the latter is inferior to a royal edict, this last is inferior to possession continued for three generations.

Pitāmaha is later than Brharpati,<sup>434</sup> as he cites the latter's view that a litigation between members of the same village, society, town, guild, caravan or army must be decided according to their peculiar usages. Therefore Pitāmaha must be assigned to some date between the 4th and 7th century A. D.

429 राजकर्मकारश्च नटी वृद्ध एव च । केवलकश्च विह्वला म्लेच्छाभिहो तथैव च ॥  
वेमरस्थिरविष्याद्यहस्तलाक्षद्वयकाः । कांस्यकाभोरपदमातङ्गाण्डापोपकाः ॥ एताः  
प्रकृतयः प्रोक्ता अष्टादश मनीषिभिः । वर्णानामाश्रमाणां च सर्वदा तु वृद्धिः स्थिताः ॥  
स्मृतिच०.

430 लेखको गणकः शास्त्रं साध्वपालः सभासदः । हिरण्यमग्निहृदकमष्टाङ्गकरणं स्मृतम् ॥  
स्मृतिच० ( अ. १ ); compare नारद ( Intro. chap. verse 15 ).

431 ग्रामे दृष्टः पुरे यायास्तुरे दृष्टस्तु राजनि । राज्ञा दृष्टः कुट्टो वा नास्ति तस्य पुनर्भवः ॥  
स्मृतिच०; देशपत्तनगोष्ठेषु पुरवामेषु वासिनाम् । तेषां स्वसमयेधर्मशास्त्रतोन्वेषु तेः सह ॥  
स्मृतिच०.

432 सागमा दीर्घकाला व्याविच्छिन्नापरबोद्धिता । अन्यर्थिसंनिधत्वा च भुक्तिः पञ्चविधा स्मृता ॥

433 स्वहस्तकाज्ज्ञानपदं तस्मात् नृपशासनम् । तत्तन्नेपुदयो मोगाः प्रमाणतरुमिष्यते ॥

434 ग्रामगोष्ठपुराज्ज्ञेयसार्धसंनानिवासिनाम् । व्यपहारश्चित्रेण निर्जन्तव्यो बृहस्पतिः ॥

## 45. Pulastya

Pulastya is one of the expounders of dharma enumerated by Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya. Viśvarūpa quotes a verse from him on śārira-śauca.<sup>435</sup> The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 261) cites a verse from Pulastya that a Brāhmaṇa should principally use ascetic's food (i. e. vegetable food) in śrāddha, that kṣatriyas and vaiśyas should use meat and śūdras honey.<sup>436</sup> The Mit. (Yāj. III 253) quotes two verses of Pulastya who enumerates eleven intoxicating drinks together with *sura* as the twelfth.<sup>437</sup> Aparārka quotes several verses from Pulastya on saṁdhyā, śrāddha, śauca, duties of yatis, prāyaścitta. Aparārka quotes two verses from Pulastya propounding the view that a combination of jñāna and karma is the correct view.<sup>438</sup> The first of these verses is ascribed by him to Yoga-Yājñavalkya elsewhere (note 336). The Smṛticandrikā quotes about forty verses from Pulastya on āhnikā and śrāddha. In one place it quotes Pulastya on the efficacy of bathing on Sunday, Tuesday, and Saturday.<sup>439</sup> In another place it refers to the *japa* of Rāma, Paraśurāma, Nṛsiṁha, Trivikrama.

The Dānaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara cites a prose text from Pulastya on the gift of deer-skin.<sup>440</sup>

The Pulastya-smṛti must have been composed between 4th and 7th century A. D.

435 स्नातकस्य प्रयोपान पञ्चापानंमिहोत्रिणः । सर्वानेवं गृहस्थेषु शौचकल्पान्प्रियोजयेत् ॥  
विश्वरूप on या. I. 17.

436 मुन्यन्ते माह्वणस्योक्तं मांसं क्षत्रियवैश्ययोः । मधुपदानं शुद्धस्य सर्वेषां चाशिरापि यत् ॥

437 पानसं द्राक्षमाधुकं सार्जं तालमेक्षवम् । मधुस्थं सरमारिष्टं मेरेयं नारिकेलजम् ॥  
समानानि विजानीयामद्यान्यकादशैव तु । द्वादशं तु सुरामयं सर्वेषामधमं स्मृतम् ॥

438 ज्ञानकर्मसमाधोगात्परं प्राप्नोति पूरुषः । पृथग्भाषात्र सिध्यन्ति उभे तस्मात्समाश्रयेत् ॥  
ज्ञानं प्रधानं न तु कर्मज्ञानं कर्म प्रधानं न तु बुद्धिज्ञानम् । तस्माद्बुद्ध्या तु  
भवेत्सिद्धिर्ज्ञेयैकपक्षो विहगः श्याति ॥ अपरार्क on या. III. 97, p. 911.

439 त्वय्यारशनेवारीः स्नानं कुर्वन्ति पे नराः । व्याधिभिस्तं न पीडयन्ते मृगेः केसरिणो  
यथा ॥ स्मृतिच०.

440 अथातः रुष्णाजिनविधिं व्याख्येयस्यामः । कार्तिक्ष्यां पौर्णमास्यां वैशाख्यां च चन्द्र-  
सूर्ययुक्ते विषुवयोर्वा रुष्णाजिनं ससुरं सशृङ्गमज्जं मनोहरम् । ms. No. 114 of 1884-86  
from Deccan College (folio 51 a),

46. *Pracetas*

*Pracetas* finds a place among the sages enumerated by *Parāśara* though not in *Yājñavalkya*. In both *Mit.* and *Aparārka* there are passages in prose and verse ascribed to *Pracetas* on daily duties, *śrāddha*, *āśauca*, *prāyaścitta*. The *Mit.* (on *Yaj.* III. 27) quotes a verse from *Pracetas* saying that workmen, artisans, physicians, male and female slaves, kings, royal officers have not to observe periods of impurity<sup>441</sup> (on death). This verse is cited as a *smṛti* by *Medhātithi* on *Manu* V. 60 without ascribing it to *Pracetas*. So *Medhātithi* looked upon *Pracetas* as equally authoritative with *Manu*, *Viṣṇu* and others.

The *Mit.* (on *Yaj.* III 20, 263-64), *Haradatta* (on *Gautama* 22. 18) and *Aparārka* frequently cite verses from *Bṛhat-Pracetas* on *āśauca* and *prāyaścitta*. The *Mit.* and *Aparārka* also quote verses on the same topics from *Vṛddha-Pracetas*.

A few prose quotations from *Pracetas* are noted in the *Smṛti-candrikā* and by *Haradatta* (on *Gautama* 23. 1).

47. *Prajāpati*

*Prajāpati* is cited as an authority by the *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* (II. 4. 15 and II. 10. 71). *Vasiṣṭha* several times quotes *Prajāpatya ślokas* (viz. III. 47, XIV 16-19, 24-27, 30-32). It has been shown above that most of these verses are found in the *Manusmṛti* or have close correspondence with verses of *Manu*. So it is not unlikely that both the writers of *dharmaśāstras* mean *Manu* by *Prajāpati*.

In the *Ānandāśrama* collection (p. 90-98) there is a *smṛti* of *Prajāpati* in 198 verses on the various details of *śrāddha*, such as the time, place, the persons authorised to perform, proper food, *Brāhmaṇas* to be invited etc. The prevailing metre is *Anuṣṭubh*, but there are nine verses in the *Indravajrā*, *Upajāti*, *Vasantatilakā* (verse 137) and *Sragdharā* (verse 96). It speaks of *Kalpaśāstra*, *smṛtis*, *dharmaśāstra*, *purāṇas*. It contains a verse referring to the *Kanyā* and *Vṛścika* (scorpion) signs of the zodiac, which is almost the same as a verse of *Kārṣṇajñi*.

441 कावः शिल्पिनो वेद्या दासीदासा तथेव च । राजानो राजमृत्याश्च सद्यःशोचाः  
यर्क्रीतिताः ॥

The Mit. ( on Yaj. III. 25 and 260 ) quotes verses of Prajāpati on āśauca and prāyaścitta. Aparārka cites verses of Prajāpati on purification of various substances, śrāddha, witnesses, ordeals and āśauca. None of these is traced to the printed text of Prajāpati. Aparārka ( p. 952 ) gives a long prose text of Prajāpati on the four orders of parivrajakas, viz. kuṭicaka, bahūdaka, haṁsa, paramahaṁsa. Aparārka ( p. 542 ) cites a verse of Laugākṣi which refers to the view of Prajāpati that the son of a putrikā was to offer piṇḍas to his mother by the gotra of his maternal grand-father.<sup>442</sup> Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā, Paraśara-Mādhaviya and other works quote several verses of Prajāpati on vyavahāra. Witnesses are of two kinds, kṛta and akṛta. In this he seems to have followed Nārada ( ṛṇādāna, verse 149 ). Prajāpati lays down the characteristics of valid reply ( uttara ) of the defendant and defines<sup>443</sup> the four varieties of uttara. The Paraśara-Mādhaviya cites several verses of Prajāpati on ordeals. Prajāpati recognised the right of the sonless widow to succeed to her husband's wealth<sup>444</sup> and enjoined on her the duty of offering śrāddha every month and year to her husband's manes and to honour his relatives.<sup>445</sup>

#### 48. Marīci

This sage is relied upon as an authority by the Mit., Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā on Ahnika, Āśauca, Śrāddha, Prāyaścitta and Vyavahāra. Aparārka quotes several verses on *tarpapa* one of which speaks of Sunday.<sup>446</sup> Marīci disallows bathing in the rivers in the months of Śrāvaṇa

442 मातामहस्य गोत्रेण मातुः पिण्डोत्कृष्टिः । कुर्वीत पुत्रिकापुत्र एवमाह प्रजापतिः ॥ अपरार्कः.

443 साक्षी द्विभेदो विज्ञेयः कृत एकोऽपरोऽकृतः । लेख्यादयः कृतो ज्ञेयः मुक्तोऽकृत उच्यते ॥ अपरार्कः p. 666, स्मृतिच. ( इय. p. 80 reads उत्तरोऽकृत ).

444 स्मृतिच. ( इय. p. 42-43 ), परा. मा. vol. III. p. 69-73.

445 पूर्वं प्रणीताः द्विष्टोत्रं मृते भर्तरि तदनम् । लभेत् पतिव्रता नारी धर्म एष समाप्तः ॥

446 जन्मं स्थावरं हेम कुर्व्य धान्यरसाभ्यारम् । आदाय दापयेच्छ्राद्धं माससंवन्तरादिकम् ॥ पितृव्यगुरुदोहित्रान् भर्तृस्त्रीयमातुलान् । पूजयेत्कन्यपूतान्म्या वृद्धानां धातिर्धृतिस्तथा ॥ स्मृतिच. ( p. 291 ), परा. मा. vol. III. p. 536.

447 सप्तम्यां रविवारे च शुद्धी जन्मदिने तथा । मृत्युपुत्रकलशार्थं न कुर्वीत्तिलतर्पणम् ॥ अपरार्कः p. 133; स्मृतिच. ( आश्विनिक p. 123 ),



and Bhādrapada.<sup>448</sup> Marici made a very near approach to the modern conceptions underlying the Transfer of Property Act. 'Completeness is not attained without writing in the transactions of sale, mortgage, partition and gift of immoveable property'.<sup>449</sup> If a buyer purchases a chattel before a row of merchants and to the knowledge of the king's officers and in broad daylight, he is free from blame and gets back his money (if the thing turns out to be another's property), while if the price (paid by a buyer for a chattel) cannot be recovered (from the vendor who sells without title) owing to the vendor's address being not known, the loss should be apportioned between the buyer and the original owner of the chattel.<sup>450</sup> Marici divides *ādhi* into four varieties, *bhogyā*, *gopyā*, *pratyayā*, *ājñādhi*.

It is to be noted that Aparārka (p. 908) quotes a prose passage of Marici on *āśauca*.

#### 49. Yama

The Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra (18. 13-15 and 19. 48) cites four ślokas of Yama and quotes (11. 20) one verse in which Yama is spoken of as an authority. All the ślokas except one are found in Manu.<sup>451</sup> Vasiṣṭha quotes a śloka of Prajāpati wherein Yama's view

<sup>448</sup> नभोनभस्वयोर्मध्ये सर्वा नद्यो रजस्वलाः । तासु स्नानं न कुर्वन्ति देवर्षिपितृतर्पणम् ॥ अपरार्क p. 235.

<sup>449</sup> स्थावरे विक्रयाद्यने विभागे दान एव च । प्रतिग्रहे च क्रीते च नालेख्या सिध्यति क्रिया ॥ परा. मा. vol. III. p. 128; स्मृतिच० ( ed. p. 60 reads लिखितेनापुष्यात् सिद्धिमविसंवादमेव च ).

<sup>450</sup> अविज्ञातनिवेशत्वाद्यत्र मूल्यं न लभ्यते । ज्ञानिस्तत्र समा कल्प्या केनैवाधिकयोर्द्वयोः ॥ अपरार्क p. 775.

<sup>451</sup> अधापि यमगीताग्रश्लोकानुदाहरन्ति । श्मशानमेतत्तत्परं ये शूद्राः पपचारिणः । तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे तु नाश्वेतव्यं कदाचन ॥ न शूद्राय मतिं दद्यान्मोक्षिष्ठं न हविष्कृतम् । न चास्थोपदिशेद्दर्मं न चास्य व्रतमादिशेत् ॥ यश्चास्योपदिशेद्दर्मं यश्चास्य व्रतमादिशेत् । सोऽसंवृत्तं तमो धोरं सह तेन पपयते ॥ वसिष्ठ 18. 13-15. The last two are almost the same as मनु IV. 80-81 and the first is a paraphrase of आप. श्रौ. 'पपु इ वा एतच्छूदानं यच्छूद्रः । तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे नाश्वेतव्यम्'. नाश्वेतोऽस्ति राज्ञा वै मतिनां न च सत्रिणाम् । ऐन्द्रस्थानमुपासीना ब्रह्मभूता हि ते सदा ॥ वसिष्ठ 19. 48 and मनु V. 93. 'अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । अध येनमत्रविपुलः शरीरैः पाङ्क्तिदूषणैः । अदुष्यं तं यमः प्राह पाङ्क्तिपावन एव सः ॥ वसिष्ठ 11. 20; vīdo बृहस्पत 3. 41- घृतं वा यदि वा तैलं विप्रो नाद्यान्नक्षप्यतम् । यमरतदृष्ट्या प्राह तुल्यं गोमांसमक्षणेः ॥ वसिष्ठ. 14. 30.

is set forth. Yama is one of the sages enumerated in the list of Yājñavalkya. Govindarāja (on Manu 5. 16) and Aparārka quote a verse of Śaṅkha wherein Yamas' view that the flesh of certain birds could be eaten is referred to.<sup>452</sup> Aparārka (p. 1231) also cites a verse of Śaṅkha in which the view of Bhagavān Yama that one should save one's life in all ways (even by incurring sin) is relied upon.

In Jivananda's collection (part I. pp. 560-568) there is a *smṛti* of Yama in seventy-eight verses on *prāyaścitta* and purification (*śuddhi*). In this *smṛti* Yama himself is cited in the third person (verse 65). One verse (33) refers to the view of Bhāsvatī (son of the sun, by which may be meant either Manu or Yama himself).<sup>453</sup> Some of the verses are identical with those of Manu (e. g. verses 26, 28 are the same as Manu 11. 178 and 3. 19). Verse 44 is in the *Upajati* metre. In the Ānandāśrama collection there is a *Yamasmṛti* in 99 verses on *prāyaścitta*, *śrāddha*, and purification. Most of the topics of this *smṛti* are the same as those of the Calcutta text, but most of the verses are not identical. A few verses are found in both, e. g. the verses about the seven lowest castes<sup>454</sup> (*antyajas*). Verse 11 quotes the view of Śātātapa. This *smṛti* contains the well-known text that a woman passes on marriage into the gotra of her husband, which is cited by the Mit. (on Yaj. I. 254).<sup>455</sup> In the same collection there is a *smṛti* of Brhad-Yama (pp. 99-107). It is divided into five chapters and contains 182 verses. It deals with *prāyaścittas* for various lapses, purification from various kinds of contacts (*śuddhi*), *śrāddha*, partition and a few matters of medical procedure. In this *smṛti* Yama is frequently cited by name. Śātātapa is cited on partition (V. 20). Many of the verses of this text are identical with those of Yama in Jivananda's text. For example, Jivananda (p. 561) verses 15-17 are the same

452 निक्षिर् च मधुरं च लावकं च कपिञ्जलम् । राक्षीणसं वर्तकं च भक्ष्यानाह यमः  
सताम् ॥ (सदा v. l.) अपारर्क p. 1167.

453 ततो देवलकश्चैव भूतको वेदविष्कम्भी । एते दृश्याः मयत्नेन एतद्वाच्यतिरमवीत् ॥  
Compare मनु 3. 180.

454 राजकर्मकारश्च नरो बुद्ध एव च । केयर्तमेदमिच्छाश्च समेते अमयजाः स्मृताः ॥  
Jivananda verse 54, Ānandāśrama verse 13.

455 स्वयंप्रादक्ष्यते नारी विवाहात्मने पदे । स्वामिगोत्रेण कर्तव्यास्तस्याः पिण्डोदक-  
क्रियाः ॥ verse 78.

as *Bṛhad-Yama* III. 1-3, *Jivananda* p. 563 verses 29-33 are the same as *Bṛhad-Yama* III. 34-38, *Jivananda* verses 35-36 are the same as *Bṛhad-Yama* III. 16-17. The verse in the *Upajati* metre (*Jivananda* 44) is *Bṛhad-Yama* III. 61. Two of the verses at the end of chap. V. are the same as *Yāj.* II. 17 and 23.

The numerous mss. of *Yama* contain either one or other of the above three texts or different texts bearing on the same topics. For example, Deccan College collection Nos. 209-211 of A 1881-82 and No. 153 of 1895-1902 are the same as the *Yamasūrti* in the *Ānandāśrama* collection, No. 401 of 1891-95 seems to be the same as *Bṛhad-Yama* in the *Ānandāśrama* collection. But the I. O. Cat. No. 1334 p. 390 contains 57 ślokas, the last 20 of which are in the *Indravajrā* metre.

*Viśvarūpa*, *Vijñāneśvara*, *Aparārka*, the *Smṛticandrikā* and other later works quote over three hundred verses of *Yama* on all topics of *dharmaśāstra* including *vyavahāra*. This establishes that they had an extensive work of *Yama* before them from which it is probable various abridgments corresponding with the printed works were made. *Viśvarūpa* quotes about ten verses of *Yama* on water as purifier (on *Yāj.* I. 187), on *śrāddha* (on *Yāj.* I. 225 and 252) and on *prāyaścitta* for killing a cow (on *Yāj.* III. 262). The identical verses are not found in the printed texts. Some of the verses quoted from *Yama* in *Aparārka* and the *Smṛticandrikā* can be traced in the printed text. For example, *Aparārka* (p. 42) quotes a verse of *Yama* in which *Yama* himself is referred to as an authority.<sup>456</sup> It occurs in *Jivananda's* text (verse 65). The two verses in *Jivananda's* text (verses 26, 28) that are identical with *Manu* are cited in the *Smṛticandrikā* as *Yama's*. Two verses of *Bṛhad-Yama* (III. 20-21) about the proper age of marriage in the case of girls are quoted as *Yama's* in the *Smṛticandrikā*.<sup>457</sup> In some of the verses quoted by *Aparārka* from *Yama*, the opinions of *Manu* are cited which can be identified with the views of the *Manu-*

<sup>456</sup> अपः करनसस्पृष्टा य आचामनि वे द्विजः । सुरा पिबति स व्यक्तं यमस्य वचनं यथा ॥ This is attributed to *Yama* in the *स्मृतिच०* also.

<sup>457</sup> अष्टवर्षा भवेद्वेरी नववर्षा च रोहिणी । दशवर्षा भवेत्कन्या अत ऊर्ध्वं रजस्तथा ॥ प्राप्त द्वादशमे वर्षे कन्या यो न प्रयच्छति । मासि मासि रजस्तस्याः पिता पिबति शोणितम् ॥ *स्मृतिच०* ( *आह्निक* p. 79. ).

smṛti. For example, according to Yama food polluted by the touch of hair, moths and insects, or seen by sinners and women in their courses is purified by water, holy ashes etc.<sup>458</sup> This refers to Manu V. 125. Similarly the Smṛticandrikā quotes a verse of Yama which says that according to Manu those who administer poison, who are incendiaries and robbers and those guilty of homicide and abetment thereof should pay the extreme penalty of death.<sup>459</sup> Aparārka (p. 988 on Yāj. III. 109) quotes five verses of Yama which refer to the 26th *tattva* well known in the Sāṅkhya system, regard Puruṣottama as a 26 *tattva* and propound that he who correctly understands the 25 *tattvas*, in whatever āśrama he may be, reaches the highest abode of Viṣṇu. Aparārka quotes a few prose passages from Yama on the garments to be worn by brahmachārins,<sup>460</sup> on *prayaścitta* for killing various kinds of birds and insects, for cutting trees and bushes, for drinking wine, for stealing gold and for the other deadly sins etc.<sup>461</sup>

The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 104. 72-74) quotes *gāthās* of Yama.

The Smṛticandrikā quotes a verse of Yama which speaks of the sun being in the zodiacal sign Virgo.<sup>462</sup>

Yama required the king to look into the disputes of litigants carefully and impartially.<sup>463</sup> Yama cites the authority of Manu for the proposition that everything brought about by coercion such as a gift or a deed was liable to be set aside. This is almost identical with Manu 8. 168. Yama lays down that a Brāhmaṇa was never to be awarded corporal punishment, but that a Brāhmaṇa guilty of

458 अवशुतं केशपतङ्गकीटिरुद्वयया वा पतितश्च दुष्टम् । अलातभस्माभ्युहिरण्यभागोः  
संस्पृष्टमन्नं मनुराह भोज्यम् ॥ अपरार्क p. 267.

459 विषाभिदायकाश्चोरा घातकाश्चोपघातकाः । स्वशरीरेण दण्ड्याः स्युर्ननुराह प्रजापतिः ॥  
स्मृतिच०, vide मनु. 9. 278.

460 सर्वेषां रौप्यमाणसोऽपि कानि सामर्थ्याद्भोषणान्तराणि न । अपरार्क p. 58.

461 Vide pp. 1130, 1135, 1218, 1222.

462 इमे वर्षासु कन्यास्थे &c. स्मृतिच० ( ध्या. p. 366 Gharapure ).

463 राजा मन्त्रिसहायसु द्वयोर्विपदमानयोः । सम्पत्कार्याप्यवेक्षेत रागद्वेषविवर्जितः ॥  
अपरार्क p. 596.

464 बलाद्भुतं बलाद्भुतं, बलाद्यप्यापि लेखितम् । सर्वान् बलकृतानर्थान् निर्वन्तानाह वै  
मनुः ॥ स्मृतिच० ( श्व. p. 130 ).

crimes was to be imprisoned and made<sup>465</sup> to work. Yama, like Yāj. ( II. 145 ), prescribed that the strīdhana of a woman married in the Āsura form went to her father,<sup>466</sup> if she died childless. Aparārka ( p. 822 ) quotes two verses of Yama that prescribed the first amercement for him who, though forbidden, wrongfully takes the water of a lake or disturbs a water-course and the highest amercement for him who breaks a lake. Aparārka ( p. 860 ) also cites Yama for the fine of five kṣṇālas in the case of adultery with another's wife of the same caste as that of the paramour and twelve paṇas in case the wife is of a lower caste. The Smṛticandrikā and the Vyavahāramayukha on the other hand direct that the king should punish the Brāhmaṇa woman guilty of adultery with a Śūdra by throwing her to dogs and by forcible tonsure and riding on an ass in case of adultery with a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya. The Smṛticandrikā, Parāśara-Madhaviya and Vyavahāramayukha quote a verse of Yama about a debtor, who, being able to pay, does not wantonly pay, being punished by taking twice the amount. Yama remarks that the order of saṁnyāsa is not allowed to women in the Vedas or in the śāstra<sup>467</sup> ( dharmaśāstra ) and that her real dharma is to be the mother of children from one of her own caste. A Brhad-Yama is cited by the Mit. ( on Yāj. III. 255 and 290 ), Haradatta and by Aparārka on prāyaścitta. Similarly a Laghu-Yama is cited by Haradatta and Aparārka and a Svalpa-Yama ( probably same as Laghu-Yama ) by the Smṛtiratnākara of Vedācārya.

### 50. Laugākṣi

The Mit. ( on Yāj. III. 1-2, 260, 289 ) quotes verses of Laugākṣi on āśauca and prāyaścitta. Aparārka quotes prose passages and verses of Laugākṣi on the saṁskāras, vaiśvadeva, cāturmāsya, purification

465 न शरीरो ब्राह्मणस्य दण्डो भवति कर्हिचित् । गुप्तं तु चन्धने यदुत्था राजा भक्तं प्रदापयेत् ॥ ... यथापराधं विप्रं तु विकर्मण्यपि कारयेत् । अवस्था ब्राह्मणा नावो लोकेस्मिन् वेदिकी श्रुतिः ॥ स्मृतिच० ( व्य. p. 316 ).

466 आसुरादिषु यद् द्रव्यं विवाहेषु प्रदीयते । अपञ्जायामतीतायां पितेः तु धनं हरेत् ॥ स्मृतिच० ( व्य. p. 286 ). Note अपञ्जायामतीतायां, which is the reading in विन्दरूप ( p. 172 above ).

467 स्त्रियाः श्रुतो वा शास्त्रे वा प्रयज्या न विधीयते । प्रजाः हि तस्याः स्त्रो धर्मः सवर्णादिनि धारणा ॥ स्मृतिच० ( व्य. p. 254 ).

of substances, śrāddha, āśauca and prāyaścitta. Aparārka cites (p. 512) a verse of Laugākṣi which regards Prajāpati as an authority. The Mit. and almost all works on vyavahāra cite a verse of Laugākṣi defining yoga and kṣema and prescribing that they are impartible.

### 51. Viśvāmitra

Viśvāmitra is one of the writers on dharma enumerated by Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya as quoted by Viśvarūpa. Aparārka, the Smṛti-candrikā, the Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana and other works quote verses of Viśvāmitra on almost all topics of dharma except vyavahāra, such as on the five deadly sins, on śrāddhas, prāyaścitta etc. Viśvāmitra defines dharma as that which is esteemed by Āryas (respectable people) who know the Vedas.<sup>468</sup> His verses on the mahāpātakas are frequently quoted.<sup>469</sup> The Madras (Govt.) Mss. cat. (p. 1985 No. 2717) notices a smṛti of Viśvāmitra in verse in nine chapters.

### 52. Vyāsa

In Jivananda (part II pp. 321-342) and in the Ānandāśrama collection of smṛtis there is a smṛti ascribed to Vyāsa. The two texts are the same with a few variations. It is in four chapters and contains about 250 verses. Vyāsa is said to have declared the smṛti in Benares. The contents briefly are:—the dharmas herein laid down prevail only in that region where the black deer roam about; the authoritative nature of śruti, smṛti and purāṇas; mixed castes; sixteen saṃskāras; duties of Brahmacārī; marriage; Brāhmaṇa may marry Kṣatriya or Vaiśya girl but not Śūdra; duties of a wife; the nitya, naimittika and kāmya acts of householders, eulogy of the householder stage and of gifts.

Viśvarūpa quotes a few verses of Vyāsa. They are mostly taken from the Mahābhārata and are concerned with topics of marriage, daily duties (such as washing the teeth and bathing), śrāddha and prāyaścitta. Similarly Medhātithi quotes several verses from the

468 यमार्थः कियमाणं तु शंसन्वागमवेदिनः । स धर्मो यं दिग्दृष्टिं तमधर्मं प्रचक्षते ॥  
स्मृतिच० (आह्निक प. 6).

469 ब्राह्मणो न च हन्तव्यः सुरा पेया न च द्विजेः । ब्राह्मणस्वर्णहरणं न कर्तव्यं कदाचन ॥  
गुरुपत्नीं न गच्छेत्स्य संसर्गं तेन नाचरेत् । महापातकिसंज्ञा तु निर्दिष्टा मनीषिभिः ॥  
अपरार्क p. 1044.

Mahābhārata as Vyāsa's. In Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and other works about two hundred verses of Vyāsa are cited on vyavahāra. From these it appears that Vyāsa dealt with rules of procedure and the several titles of law (vyavahāra-padas) and that his doctrines closely agreed in most respects with those of Nārada, Kātyāyana and Brhaspati. He gives rules on the four kinds of uttara (mithyā, saṁpratipatti, kāraṇa and prāṇ-nyāya), divides documents in three varieties (svahasta, jānapada, rājāsāna), divides laukika documents into eight sub-varieties (just as Kātyāyana seems to have done); he closely follows Brhaspati in his requirements about royal grants and two of his verses about grants (ṣaṣṭim varṣa &c. and sāmānyo yaṁ dharmasetur nṛpāṇām) occur very frequently in inscriptions (vide Aparārka on Yāj. I. 318). Vyāsa lays down that if a stranger enjoy a person's land for twenty years when the king is there (i. e. when there is no revolution or anarchy) and when the owner is able (to resist) the latter loses his property.<sup>470</sup> He speaks of adverse possession as having five characteristics.<sup>471</sup> He mentions seven kinds of sureties, while Hārta and Kātyāyana speak of only five and Brhaspati of four. He speaks of only five kinds of ordeals. He defines a *nipā* as equal to 14 suvarṇas, a suvarṇa being equal to eight palas.<sup>472</sup> Vyāsa seems to represent a middle stage in the evolution of the rights of the widow to succeed to her deceased husband. He says that a woman was to get a maximum of two thousand (kāṣāpaṇas) from the estate of her deceased husband<sup>473</sup> (besides what he gave her when living). Vyāsa gave to the father and sons equal shares in ancestral property and allowed partition even against the wish of the father.<sup>474</sup> From these important charac-

470 वर्षाणि विंशतिर्यस्य भूमिर्काय परिहृता । सति राज्ञि समर्थस्य तस्य सेहं न सिध्यति ॥  
अपरार्क p. 632.

471 सागमो दीर्घकालश्च छेदोपाधिविवर्जितः । अथर्वसंनिधानश्च पञ्चाङ्गो भोग उच्यते ॥  
अपरार्क p. 635.

472 पलान्पण्यौ सुवर्णस्य सुवर्णोश्च चतुर्दश । एतन्निष्कप्रमाणं तु व्यासेन परिकीर्तितम् ॥  
स्मृतिच०.

473 द्विसाहस्रः परो दायः स्त्रिये देशो धनस्य च । यच्च भर्त्रा धनं दत्तं सा यथाकाममाप्नु-  
यात् ॥ अपरार्क p. 752.

474 क्रमागते गृहे क्षेत्रे वितृप्त्याः समाशिनः । पितृकेण विभागाद्भ्यः पुत्राः पितुरनिच्छतः ॥  
अपरार्क p. 728.



teristics of Vyāsa it may safely be concluded that Vyāsa flourished about the same time as Yājñavalkya and Brhaspati, i. e. between the second and the fifth century.

In Aparārka and other works there are numerous verses attributed to Vyāsa which are certainly not taken from the Mahābhārata or from the Vyāsa-smṛti in the Ānandaśrama collection (pp. 357-371). For example, on Yāj. I. 12 he cites a verse of Vyāsa in the Vasantatilakā metre about the auspicious asterism for *caula* and another verse laying down Saturday, Sunday and Friday as unsuitable for *caula*. Similarly Vyāsa's verses dealing with the merit of bathing on Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in conjunction with certain *tithis* are cited by Aparārka (p. 213). Vyāsa speaks of śrāddhas when the Sun is in the sign of Virgo (Aparārka p. 424). These indications are sufficient to assign Vyāsa to a comparatively later date. But as Aparārka evidently makes no distinction between Vyāsa the jurist, Vyāsa the reputed compiler of the Mahābhārata (e. g. he quotes on p. 961 six verses of the Bhagavatgītā as Vyāsa's) and Vyāsa who wrote on the śaṁskāras, śrāddha and other topics, it appears that the jurist and the writer on other topics of dharma were separated from him by several centuries. Whether the jurist and the writer on other topics of dharma are identical is a difficult problem. All that can be said is that the two may probably be identical. The Smṛticandrikā quotes a Gāyā-Vyāsa and about 450 verses of Vyāsa on āhnikā, vyavahāra and prāyaścitta.

Aparārka quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Vyāsa on Saudāyika, a kind of strīdhana. The Mit., the Prāyaścitta-mayūkha and other works cite verses of a Brhad-Vyāsa. Ballālasena in his Dānasāgara quotes Mahā-Vyāsa and Laghu-Vyāsa as authorities and also Dāna-Vyāsa, which probably means the dāna-dharma portions of the Mahābhārata.

### 53. Ṣaṭ-triṁśan-mata

This appears to have been a work like the Caturviṁśatimata described above. Quotations from it are cited in the Kalpataru, the Mitakṣara, the Smṛticandrikā, Aparārka, Haradatta and a host of writers and works. Mitramiśra<sup>475</sup> says that though the Ṣaṭ-triṁśan-

<sup>475</sup> षट्त्रिंशन्मतादिकं तु केचिदेष परिगृहीतावाङ्मूर्तिस्त्वादपमानमित्युक्तम् । कल्पतरुणा विज्ञानेश्वराचार्यकृत्यादिभिर्मूर्तिभिस्तु समानत्वेन परिगृहीतम् । परिभाषा-काश p. 17.

mata has been accepted as an authority by the above-mentioned writers, yet certain other writers did not hold the work authoritative. The fact that Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi do not mention this work, taken along with the above statement of Mitrāmīśra, may be relied upon for holding that this compilation must have been among the latest products of the age of smṛtis and was probably compiled some time between 700-900 A. D. Almost all the quotations from this compilation are concerned with the topics of purification of substances (śuddhi), śraddha and prāyaścittas for sins and pollutions of various sorts. No verse of this compilation dealing with vyavahāra could be discovered. One verse quoted from it prescribes a bath on touching Bauddhas, Pāsupatas, Jains, atheists and followers of Kapila.<sup>476</sup> Another verse quoted by Aparārka cites the view of Brhaspati.<sup>477</sup> In another verse the view of Vaiśvavata is referred to.<sup>478</sup> Aparārka quotes a prose passage from this compilation prescribing the prāyaścittas for touching the corpse of a cāṇḍāla etc. As no ms. was available, it is difficult to say what 36 sages are relied upon as authorities.

#### 54. Saṃgraha or Smṛtisamgraha

This work is frequently cited by the *Minākṣarā*, *Aparārka*, the *Smṛticandrikā* and other works on all topics of dharma. The quotations on vyavahāra are copious and are very important for the history of Hindu Law. A few of the important views of the *Saṃgrahakāra* are set out below. He gives the requisite characteristics of a plaint in five verses.<sup>479</sup> According to him documents are of two kinds, *rajakīya* and *janapada*. The ordeals from *dhātā* (balance) to poison (i. e. four) are prescribed in cases where the subject matter is of great value (i. e. above 500 paṇas), while *kośa* and the (other)

<sup>476</sup> बौद्धान् पाशुपताञ्जनेनान् लोकायनिककविलान् । विकर्मस्थान् द्विजान् स्तुष्टु सचेलो जलमाविशेत् ॥ स्मृतिच० 1. p. 118, अपरार्क p. 923 omits जेनान् and reads लोकायनिकनारितकान्.

<sup>477</sup> तिलहोमायुते चैव पराकट्टयमेव च । नायक्या लक्ष्मेर्कं च समाम्पाइ मृहस्पतिः ॥ अपरार्क p. 1249.

<sup>478</sup> समुच्छिष्टस्तु यो भुङ्क्ते भुङ्क्ते वा मुक्तभोजनः । एवं वैदरवनः प्राह मुक्त्वा साम्पत्तं चरेत् ॥ अपरार्क p. 1174.

<sup>479</sup> Vide *मिता*, on याज्ञ. II, 6, स्मृतिच० ( 8व. p. 36 ), व्यवहारमयूस ( p. 12 ), वीर० ( p. 62 ).

ordeals (in all three) are prescribed in disputes for lesser sums.<sup>480</sup> This is slightly opposed to Nārada (ṛṇādāna verse 336) according to whom the five ordeals from tulā to kośa were prescribed in substantial disputes.<sup>481</sup> The Saṁgrahakāra has in view the seven ordeals spoken of by Nārada (ṛṇādāna verses 252, 337, 343), while Bṛhaspati and Pitāmaha enumerate nine. He defines dāya as the wealth that is handed down through father and mother.<sup>482</sup> He held that ownership arose from the dictates of śāstra and was not an affair of the world (laukika) and puts forward two reasons in support of his theory, viz. if ownership were laukika, then it would not be possible to make such assertions as 'his wealth has been wrongfully seized by another' and the texts (vide Gautama X. 39) laying down the means of acquisition of wealth for the several varṇas would be meaningless.<sup>483</sup> Dhāreśvara held the same view. These views were elaborately criticized by the Mit. According to the Saṁgrahakāra,<sup>484</sup> partition creates ownership in the son as regards paternal wealth (in which he has no rights by birth). Dhāreśvara entertained the same opinion, which was vehemently controverted by the Mit., holding that partition takes place of that in which one has already ownership. According to the Saṁgraha,<sup>485</sup> ownership does not consist in being able to dispose of a thing at one's sweet will, since it is the śāstra that prescribes the proper disposal or application of all things. The Saṁgraha<sup>486</sup> laid down that the special share given to the eldest son, the practice of niyoga and the offering of a cow are all forbidden in the present age. Dhāreśvara also held the same

480 घटादीनि विषान्तानि गुर्वधेषु दापयेत् । कोशादीनि पुनस्त्रीणि लघ्वधेषु यथाक्रमम् ॥ स्मृतिच० ( व्य. 98 ); परा. मा. III. p. 153.

481 कोशान्तानि तुलादीनि गुरुवधेषु दापयेत् ।

482 वितुद्वारागतं द्रव्यं मातृद्वारागतं च यत् । कथितं दायशब्देन तद्विभागोऽधुनोच्यते ॥ परा. मा. III. p. 478.

483 अस्वयद्वृतमेतेन न युक्तं वक्तुमन्यथा । विहितोऽर्थागमः शास्त्रे यथावर्णं पृथक् पृथक् ॥ प्रतिपद्भिर्वाणिज्यशुश्रूषाख्या यथाक्रमम् । स्मृतिच० ( व्य. p. 257 ).

484 कियते स्वं विभागेन पुत्राणां पैतृकं धनम् । स्वत्वे सति प्रवर्तते नस्माद्वर्णाः पृथक् क्रियाः ॥ स्मृतिच० ( व्य. p. 359 ).

485 न च स्वमुच्यते तदात्वेच्छया विनियुज्यते । विनियोगोऽत्र सर्वस्य शास्त्रेणैव नियम्यते ॥

486 यथा विभागधर्मो नो नानुबन्ध्यावधोऽपि वा । तथोद्धारविभागोऽपि नैव संप्रति वर्तते ॥ स्मृतिच० ( व्य. p. 266 ); परा. मा. III. p. 492.

view about the eldest son's rights and the Mit. also approves of it and quotes anonymously the same verse (on Yaj. II. 117). The Saṁgraha in two verses, apparently following Manu 9. 182-183, lays down that, if of several full brothers one has a son, all thereby have issue and that, if one out of the several wives of a person has a son, all the co-wives may be regarded as putravatī. The Smṛticandrikā says that Devaśvāmī explained this dictum of the Saṁgrahakāra. The Saṁgraha says that the widow of a separated coparcener dying childless would inherit his whole estate if she submitted to *Niyoga* at the behests of her elders.<sup>487</sup> This was also the opinion of Dhāreśvara and was refuted according to the Smṛticandrikā by Viśvarūpa. The Mit. also criticizes this view. He names Manu in connection with the succession of a person dying without leaving any one out of the twelve kinds of sons.<sup>488</sup> He has in view Manu 9. 185. According to the Saṁgrahakāra the order of succession to a sonless man is :—widow, the daughter who is a putrikā, mother, paternal grandmother, father, full brothers, half-brothers, the line of the father (*pīrsantati*), the grandfather's line, the great-grand-father's line, other sapinḍas, sakulyas, the preceptor, the pupil, a fellow-student, a learned Brahmana. The Mit. notes that relying on Manu (9. 217) Dhāreśvara placed the paternal grandmother after the mother and before the father (thus agreeing with the Saṁgraha). (The Saṁgraha says that homicide and other offences when committed with force are called *sabasa*.<sup>489</sup>

It will be seen from the above that the views of the Saṁgrahakāra closely agreed with those of Dhāreśvara in many respects and were not approved of by the Mit. and other later writers. In vyavahāra the Saṁgraha certainly marks a far more advanced stage than Yājñavalkya and Nārada, whose works do not contain the controvertial questions about ownership, partition etc. As Dhāreśvara agrees very closely with the Smṛtisāṁgraha it may be argued that they were not separated by a long interval of time. It has to be

487 धातुषु पविभक्तेषु संसृष्टेयसत्सु च । गुर्वादेशान्नियोगस्था पत्नी धनमवाप्नुयात् ॥ परा. मा. III. p. 533.

488 अशेषात्मजद्वीतस्य मृतस्य धनिनो धनम् । केनेदानीं पश्यीतव्यमित्येतन्मनुनोच्यते ॥ स्मृतिच० ( व्य. p. 290. ).

489 मानुष्यमारणादीनि कृतानि पस्यन् यदि । साहसानीति कथ्यन्ते यथाह्याव्यन्यथा पुनः ॥ स्मृतिच० ( व्य. p. 7 ).

also noted that Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi do not refer to the Saṃgraha. It is not unlikely that the Saṃgraha was in vogue in the territory ruled over by Bhoja of Dhārā and was therefore followed by Bhoja Dhareśvara. Taking all things into consideration the Saṃgraha was probably compiled between the 8th and 10th centuries of the Christian era. The Smṛticandrikā no doubt says in one place that the Saṃgrahakāra follows the views of Dhāreśvara.<sup>490</sup> But this statement should not be emphasized and interpreted too literally. All that it means is that both held the same opinion. There is no intention to state that Dhāreśvara preceded the Saṃgrahakāra. Chronology was never the strong point of Indian commentators, particularly when the writers whose opinions were referred to flourished several centuries earlier. We know that Bhāruci and Dhāreśvara preceded the Mitākṣarā which names both; but the Sarasvatīvilāsa in several places (e. g. pp. 347, 361, 383) says that Bhāruci cannot tolerate the view of Vijñāneśvara and also says that Dhāreśvara and Devasvāmī follow the view of Vijñānayogin (p. 395).

The Smṛticandrikā quotes several verses from the Saṃgraha on topics of śrāddha in which Gautama, Kātyāyana, Parāśara, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Yama and Śaunaka are cited by name.<sup>491</sup>

### 55. Samvarta

Samvarta occurs as a Smṛtikāra in the list of Yājñavalkya. He is cited on all topics of dharma by Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, the Mit., Haradatta, Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and a host of other writers. Viśvarūpa quotes either wholly or in part about twenty verses of Samvarta on evening *sandhyā-vandana*, on the duties of a yati and on the *prāyaścittas* for theft, adultery of various kinds, deadly sins. Medhātithi quotes verses of Samvarta on Manu V. 88 and XI. 116. The Mit. quotes him on *prāyaścitta* and *aśauca* (Yāj. III. 6, 17, 19 etc.). Aparārka had a large work before him and quotes about 200 verses.

490 संघट्टकारस्य धारेश्वरमतानुसरित्वात् ।

491 For example 'याज्ञवल्क्यो विसर्गान्माकृ पात्रमुत्तानमिच्छति । यमो विसर्जनं कृत्वा गृह्यकर्तुमपि शौनकः ॥ मीतिप्रश्नादि देवानां पूर्वं कान्वायनादयः ।' स्मृतिच. (II. p. 484), compare या. I. 248. 'यस्मिंश्चे संस्रवाः पूर्वमर्घ्यपात्रे निवेशिताः । विनृषाञ्च तदुत्तानं कृत्वा विषाज् विसर्जयेत् ॥'.

A few of the views of Sathvarta on topics of vyavahāra may be noted here. According to him oral testimony when in opposition to writing was to be discarded.<sup>492</sup> This is in striking agreement with section 92 of the Indian Evidence Act. He says that if houses and fields are being enjoyed (by one person as against another) when the king is there (i. e. when the central government is strong and there is no anarchy), then it is possession that counts and not mere writing (i. e. possession will be protected and not mere paper title without possession).<sup>493</sup> He lays down that no interest was to be allowed if not stipulated for in certain cases, viz., on stridhana (when used by the husband), on interest, on deposit (as long as it is not lost or deteriorated) and in suretyship.<sup>494</sup> He enumerates ten wrongs (*aparādhas*) of which the king was to take cognisance *suo motu* without any private person's complaint, viz., restraint of the defendant (before judgment), obstruction of the public road, women conceiving in adultery, becoming rich without any ostensible means, destruction of a meeting-hall and of trees and crops, kidnapping of maidens, sinning Brahmanas, champerty and maintenance, destruction of the roads where tolls are to be paid, the danger of robbers, rape, injury to cows and Brahmanas.<sup>495</sup> He prescribed that disputes were not to be investigated on the full moon and new moon day, and on the 14th and 8th *tithis*.

492 लेख्ये लेख्यकिया मोका वाचिके वाचिकी मता । वाचिके तु न सिध्येत्ता लेख्यस्यो-  
परि या क्रिया ॥ लेख्यस्योपरि यत्तादर्थं कृतं तदभिधीयते । अधर्मस्य हि तद् द्वार-  
मतो राजा विचर्जयेत् । वाचिकेर्चादि सामर्थ्यमक्षराणां विहग्यते । विद्यायां सर्वनाशः  
स्यादनवस्था च जायते ॥ अपरार्क DD. 691-92.

493 मुजयमाने गृहक्षेत्रे विद्यमाने तु राजनि । मुक्तिर्यस्य भवेत्तस्य न लेख्यं तत्र कारणम् ॥  
परा. मा. III. p. 146.

494 न वृद्धिः स्त्रीधने लाभे विक्षेपे च यथास्थिते । संदिग्धे प्रतिभाव्ये च यदि न स्यात्स्वयं-  
कृता ॥ स्मृतिच० ( ध्व. D. 157 ).

495 आसिधं पथि भङ्गं च यथ्य गर्भः पतिं विना । स्वयमन्वेषयेद्वाजा विना चैव विवादिना ॥  
यस्य दृश्यस्य (?) संपासितं दृश्येतागमः क्वचित् । स्वय ... दिना ॥ सभाभङ्गं  
तरुच्छेदं सख्यन्याघातमेव च । स्व... ॥ कन्वयद्वारकं पापं विधे च पातितं तथा । परार्थ-  
वादसंयुक्तं स्वयं राजा विचारयेत् ॥ षड्भातकरशुल्काधे मार्गेभेदकमेव च । रवराष्ट्र-  
चौर्यमिति च परदारभिमर्शनम् ॥ गोब्राह्मणनिहन्तारं सत्यानां चैव घातकम् । देशतान-  
पराधीन् स्वयं राजा विचारयेत् ॥ स्मृतिच०, परा. मा. III. 44-45.

In Jivananda's collection (part I, pp. 584-603) and in the Ānandāśrama collection (pp. 411-424) there is a *smṛti* of Saṁharta in 227 and 230 verses respectively. It purports to have been declared to Vāmadeva and other sages by Saṁharta. Its main contents are:— that is the religious country where the black deer roam about, rules of conduct for a Brahmacārin, *prāyaścittas* for various lapses on the part of a student, duties of householder, eulogy of liberality, duties of forest hermit and *saṁnyāsin*, *prāyaścittas* for various sins and actions. Saṁharta is sometimes cited as an authority (verses 38, 123). He recommends the marriages of girls at the age of eight (verse 67) and condemns marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter (verse 157).

In a few Mss. (e. g. I. O. cat. No. 1367) the *Samhartasmṛti* comprised is different from the printed *Samharta*.

The printed *smṛti* appears to be an epitome of a portion of the original *smṛti* of *saṁharta*. Many of the verses in the printed texts are found in *Aparārka*. For example *Aparārka* p. 49 = *Samharta* verse 6; *Aparārka* p. 693 = *Samharta* verses 107-108; *Aparārka* p. 1053 = *Samharta* verses 111-113; *Aparārka* p. 1094 (eight verses out of which five) = *Samharta* verses 130-134. The *pāda* of *Samharta* which Viśvarūpa quotes (*ardhastamitabhāskaram*) on *Yaj. I. 25* occurs in verse 6 of the printed text. This shows that the printed *smṛti* preserves very ancient material, the authenticity of which is vouched for by so early a writer as Viśvarūpa.

The *Mit.* quotes a *Brhat-Samharta* (on *Yaj. III. 265, 288*).

A *Svalpa-Samharta* is quoted in *Harinātha's Smṛtisāra*.

### 56. *Hārīta*

The verse quotations from *Hārīta* on topics of *vyavahāra* deserve some treatment. He defines *vyavahāra* as that whereby the recovery of one's own wealth and the avoidance of (doing) the duties peculiar to another (caste or class) are effected in due course of law.<sup>196</sup> He further says that that judicial proceeding is proper which is based on the dictates of *dharmaśāstra* and *arthaśāstra*, which is in conformity with the usages of respectable people and which is free from

<sup>196</sup> स्वचनस्य यथा प्राप्तिः परधर्मस्य वर्जनम् । न्यायेन यत्र क्रियते व्यवहारः स उच्यते ॥



fraud.<sup>497</sup> • Hārīta calls upon the king to know the śāstras, the duties of the varṇas and of the lowest castes.<sup>498</sup> He like Nārada said that vyavahāra had four aspects, each succeeding one prevailing against the preceding one<sup>499</sup>, viz., dharma, vyavahāra, caritra, nṛpājñā. He attached the greatest importance to writing and said that a transaction consigned to writing is effective even after great lapse of time and that he who has a writing in his hands is entitled to possession (probably in cases of mortgages and pledges).<sup>500</sup> He lays down very elaborate rules about the requisites and defects of plaints, about summoning the defendant, about the contents, faults and kinds of the defendant's reply, and about the burden of proof.<sup>501</sup> He protects long possession of property even if it originated without title provided it had lasted for three generations.<sup>502</sup> He says that title is the decisive factor as to various kinds of possession, viz., when possession is forcibly taken by soldiers and freebooters, when a thing is stolen or kept concealed, when it was delivered through affection and friendship or when it was lent on hire, or when it was handed over for wearing or safe custody or was borrowed through friendship.<sup>503</sup> To illustrate the relation of title and possession he uses a very apt figure, viz. just as a branch cannot be seen expanding in the sky unless it is supported by the roots, so title is the root and possession

497 धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रोक्तः शिष्टाचारदिलक्षणः । कलेन च व्ययेनो यः व्यवहारः स धार्मिकः ॥ स्मृतिच०.

498 शास्त्राणि सर्वधर्मास्तु पलनीनां च रूपानि । व्यवहारस्वरूपं च ज्ञान्वा तत्सर्वमाचरेत् ॥ स्मृतिच०.

499 धर्मेण व्यवहारेण चरित्रेण नृपाज्ञया । चतुष्पाद् व्यवहारोपसृत्तः पूर्ववाचकः ॥ सरस्वतीविलास p. 58 ( Mysore ed. ). Vide नारद ( Intro. chap. verse 10 ).

500 बुद्धिर्वैष्णवि कालेन लिखितः सिद्धिमाप्नुयात् । स्मृतिच०; लेख्यं यस्य भवेद्वस्ते भोगे तस्य विनिर्दिशत् । अपरार्क on वा. II. 90.

501 Vide मिता. on वा. II. 6 and 7.

502 अय्ययेनापि यद्रूपं विना धात्राभवापि च । न तच्छब्दं दराहर्तुं तृतीये समुपागतम् ॥ स्मृतिच०; 'यद्विभागमव्यन्ते भुक्तं पूर्वोक्तिर्भवेत् । न तच्छब्दमपाहर्तुं कमाक्षिपुःपावतम् ' ॥ मिता. on वा. II. 27.

503 भट्टचाट्यलाट्टकं हृतं गुप्तमथापि वा । छद्मप्रयत्नं च प्रदत्तं भाटकेन वा ॥ तथा वसनरक्षार्थं याचितं ऽणयेन वा । एवं बहुविधे भोगे आगमो निर्णयः स्मृतः ॥ न मलेन विना शास्त्रा अन्तरिक्षे परोहति । आगमस्तु भवेन्मूलं भुक्तिः शास्त्रा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ स्मृतिच०.

is its offshoot. According to him sureties are of five kinds,<sup>504</sup> *abhaya* (for keeping the peace), *pratyaya* (for confidence), *dāna* (return of money or carrying out one's obligations), *upasthāna* (return of money lent on pledge) and *darśana* (for appearance). He prescribed an absolute tutelage for women as regards the giving away of the husband's wealth and allowed only maintenance to a young widow of improper conduct.<sup>505</sup> But *Hārīta* was humane in his treatment of even erring wives. He does not allow a husband to cast adrift an adulterous wife and prescribes that she should be given food to keep body and soul together and bare clothes.<sup>506</sup>

It appears from the above that *Hārīta* the jurist must have flourished nearly at the same time as *Brhaspati* and *Katyāyana*, i. e. between 400 and 700 A. D.

### 57. Commentaries and Nibandhas (digests)

The literature on *Dharmaśāstra* falls into three well-marked but somewhat over-lapping periods. The first period is that of the ancient *dharmaśāstras* and of the *Manusmṛti*. It is a period dating from at least the 6th century B. C. to the beginnings of the Christian era. Next comes the period when most of the versified *smṛtis* were composed and it ranges from the first centuries of the Christian era to about 800 A. D. The third period is that of the commentators and the writers of digests. This covers over a thousand years from about the 7th century to 1800 A. D. The first part of this last period was the golden era of famous commentators. Commentaries on *smṛti* works continued to be written almost to the end of this period, e. g. *Nandapaṇḍita* wrote the commentary called *Vaijayanti* on the *Viṣṇudharmaśūtra* in the 17th century. But the general tendency from the 12th century onwards was to write works not professing to be commentaries on a particular *smṛti*, but works that were in the nature of digests containing a synthesis of all the dicta of *smṛti* writers on topics of *dharma*. Examples of this class

504 अमये प्रत्यये दाने उपस्थाने च दर्शने । पञ्चस्यैव प्रकारेषु बाह्योपि प्रतिभूर्बुधेः ॥ स्मृतिच०.

505 दानार्थं वा धनार्थं वा धर्मार्थं वा विशेषतः । आदाने वा विसर्गे वा न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यं मर्हति ॥ स्मृतिच०, विधवा योवनस्था चेन्मारी भवति कर्कशा । आयुषः क्षयणार्थं तु दानस्य जीवनं तदा ॥ मिता० ०० वा. II. 135.

506 भार्यया व्यविचारिण्या रित्वागो न विद्यते । दद्यात्पिण्डं कुचेष्टं च अधःशय्या च शययेत् ॥ स्मृतिच०.

of works are the Kalpataru, the Smṛticandrikā, the Caturvargacintāmaṇi, the Ratnākaraś of Caṇḍeśvara. Even when in the earlier part of this period writers professed to compose only commentaries on particular works, they adopted the style of digests trying to introduce order out of a chaotic mass of Smṛti dicta and explaining away apparent contradictions. For example, Viśvarūpa's commentary (in the ācāra and prāyaścitta sections), the Mitākṣarā and Aparārka's work, though professing to be commentaries on Yājñavalkya, are really in the nature of digests. In fact there is no hard and fast line of demarcation between a *ṭīkā* and a *nibandha* (digest). Vijñāneśvara is described by the Dvaitanirṇaya of Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭa as the most eminent of all writers of *nibandhas*. Therefore, though it is usual to speak of the third period as one of commentators and nibandhakāras, there is no necessity in this work to observe any sharp line of distinction between the two. In the following pages a few prominent and typical commentators and nibandhakāras who have written on all or most of the branches of dharmaśāstra and whose works have attained classical rank will be dealt with in chronological order as far as that can be done with any accuracy.

### 58. Asahāya

Dr. Jolly in his edition of the Nārada-smṛti (B. I. series) has incorporated a portion of the bhāṣya of Asahāya as revised by Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa. Even this revised version comes up to only verse 21 of the fifth title *abhyupetya-āśuraśāstra*. The exact relation of Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa's labours to the original bhāṣya cannot be accurately gauged from the opening<sup>507</sup> words 'finding that the Nārada-bhāṣya composed by Asahāya was spoilt (*bhraṭṭa*) by bad scribes, Kalyāṇa composes this after revising the ancient one'. The colophon at the end of the first chapter of the Vyavahāramātṛkā says that Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa revised the bhāṣya of Asahāya at the encouragement of Keśava-bhaṭṭa.<sup>508</sup> Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa seems to have taken great liberties with the text of the original bhāṣya. On p. 9 verse 15 (*rāja satpuruṣaḥ sabhyaḥ śāstram gaṇakalekhakau*), the comment on śāstra is 'Manu-Nārada-

<sup>507</sup> दृष्ट्वा सहायरचितं नारदभाष्यं कुलेसर्केर्धृष्टम् । कल्याणेन क्रियते माकनमेतद् विशोष्य पुनः । (first-verse).

<sup>508</sup> इति असहायनारदभाष्ये केसवभट्टोत्साहिन-कल्याणभट्टरिशोभित-व्यवहारमानुकाया पधमोऽध्यायः ।

Viśvarūpātmakam'. If Viśvarūpa named here be identical with the the Viśvarūpa who commented on Yāj. (as is almost certain), this passage could not have occurred in Asahāya's bhāṣya. Viśvarūpa, in commenting on Yāj. III. 263-64, mentions Asahāya by name and cites his explanation of a sūtra of Gautama (22. 13). The name Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa frequently occurs in the printed commentary itself (p. 81, 86, 89).<sup>509</sup>

In the I. O. ms. there is a salutation to Śiva and Gaṇeśa at the beginning. There is a ms. of the Nāradiyabhāṣya as printed by Dr. Jolly in the Deccan College collection (No. 27 of 1874-75). It does not contain the first folio and curiously enough it ends just where the printed text stops. Dr. Jolly omits a few lengthy passages occurring in the ms. and generally indicates such omissions by dots. In a few cases Dr. Jolly omits only a word or two for no apparent reason, e. g. on p. 8 (folio 7b of No. 27 of 1874-75) he omits the word 'paramasamrddhya' after 'vyavahārah' and before 'caturṇām-api varṇānam'.

The Hārata of Aniruddha who was the guru of king Ballāṣena of Bengal the author of Adbhutasāgara (about 1168 A. D.) tells us that Asahāya composed a bhāṣya on the Gautamadharmasūtra.<sup>510</sup> Viśvarūpa also cites, as said above, Asahāya's explanation of a sūtra of Gautama.

It appears that Asahāya probably wrote a commentary on the Manusmṛti also. A passage of the Sarasvativilāsa<sup>511</sup> says that partition of dharma was approved of by smṛtikāras like Manu,

509 तथा चोक्तमेव सामान्यस्याहपत्रलक्षणविचारप्रकरणे कल्याणभट्टेन । p. 81; यथोक्तं त्रिपिट-  
लेख्यप्रकरणकारकल्याणभट्टेन । p. 86; कल्याणकृतं श्लोकप्रथममिति । p. 89.

510 हारलता (B. I. series) p. 35. 'गौतमः । बालदेशान्तरितम्भजितानां सद्यःशौचम् ।  
( गौ. ध. सू. 14. 44 ) यत्र मृतोऽशौचाभ्यन्तरे न शूयते तद्देशान्तरं तत्र मृतो देश-  
न्तरित इति गौतमभाष्यकृतसङ्घातेन व्याख्यातम् ।' 3 हारलता p. 97 'गौतमः ।  
विण्मृद्विहृतिः सप्तमे पञ्चमे वा । ( गौ. ध. सू. 14. 12 ) । अत्रासङ्गापव्याख्या । यदा  
पिबितामहप्रपितामहाः जीवन्ति तदा प्रपितामहादूर्ध्वं त्रिभ्यः पिण्डदानम् । ...  
इदं तु व्याख्यानं न शोभनं प्रतिपाति ।'

511 धर्मविभागो मनुबाह्यव्यवहारिस्मृतिकाराणां तस्मूलिष्वारूपातृणामसङ्घातमेधातिष्विज्ञा-  
नेन्द्रपरार्काणां निबन्धनां पञ्चिकाकारदीनां च संमत एव । सरस्वतीविलास para. 83  
and p. 348 ( Mysore ed.).

Yajñavalkya, by their commentators, viz. Asahāya, Medhātithi, Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka and by writers of *nibandhas*, viz. the author of the Candrikā and others. Here the order in which the commentators are named requires that Asahāya like Medhātithi was known to be a commentator of Manu. This conclusion is to some extent corroborated by the fact that the Vivādaratnākara<sup>512</sup> quotes with reference to Manu 9. 182 the words of Asahāya thereon. On Manu 8. 156 Medhātithi quotes the opinion of Asahāya.<sup>513</sup>

The foregoing establishes that Asahāya composed bhāṣyas on the Gautamadharmasūtra, on the Manusmṛti and on Nārada. When the Smṛticandrikā<sup>514</sup> refers to a bhāṣya of Nārada it is most probably referring to Asahāya. In the Mit. ( on Yāj. II. 124 ) the opinion of Asahāya and Medhātithi on the right of an unmarried sister to receive one-fourth as provision for her marriage from her brothers is preferred to that of Bhāruci.<sup>515</sup> This seems to be rather a reference to Asahāya's commentary on Manu ( 9. 118 ) which contains a rule similar to Yāj. ( II. 124 ), while Nārada contains no such rule about a fourth share. It is a strange irony of fate that the

The सरस्वतीविलास often refers to a writer called निबन्धनकार. He is likely to be असहाय. Vide सरस्वतीविलास p. 457 'अत्र ( मनुस्मृतौ ) वाक्पाठ्य-दण्डपरिग्रहसंघटनान्तरं दायविभागः क्रमिकः । निबन्धनकारेण तु त्रयोदशविधा-पदं दाय इत्युक्तम् । उभयोर्महान् विरोधः । स परिह्रियते । तथोक्तं नारदेन । ... नारदवचनानुसरि निबन्धनकारवचनम् । अतश्च तद्व्याख्येयस्यापि गौतमसूत्रस्य नारदवचनानुसरित्वमेव ।' ; तथा च गौतमः । अतिथेः पुमान्दण्ड्यस्तर्धस्त्री इति । अत्यार्यो विवृतो निबन्धनकारेण ' p. 468.

512 The verse of मनु is भ्रातृणामेकजातानामेकश्रेत्युपशान् भवेत् । The words of असहाय are 'अत्रासहायेनोक्तं एसां सति भ्रातृजे स्त्रीणां सप्तमीपत्रे क्षेत्रजादयः प्रतिनिधयो न कर्तव्या इति ।' वि. र. p. 583.

513 यज्ज्ञासहायनारदानां तु मते काकिणीमात्रमपि शकः कारणपरिवृत्तिकाले दापयितव्यः । on the verse अदर्शयित्वा तत्रैव.

514 स्मृतिक० ( स्व. p. 36 ) on दर्शनविधि says ' एवं तदीयभाष्ये व्याख्यातम् ।' ; तथा च नारदः । स्त्रीरूतान्ययमानानि कार्याण्यहुरनादि । ... अत्रापवादप्रदर्शनार्थमाह स एव । विशेषतो गृहक्षेत्रदानाधमनविक्रयाः । इति । गृहक्षेत्रयोर्दानाधमनविक्रयास्तापपण्यस्व-तन्प्रकृता न सिध्यन्तीत्यर्थः । एवं तद्व्याख्ये व्याख्यातम् ।

515 अतोसहायमेधतिथिप्रभृतीनां व्याख्यानमेव चतुरस्रं न भादयेः । मिताक्षरा.

very name of Asahāya who is profusely quoted by the *Sarasvativilāsa* in the first half of the sixteenth century was forgotten by later writers, so much so that the *Balambhaṭṭi* understands the word *Asahāya* (in note 515 above) as an attribute of *Medhātithi* in the sense of 'peerless'.

As *Viśvarūpa* and *Medhātithi* both name *Asahāya*, his lowest limit is about 750 A. D. How much earlier he flourished it is difficult to say. He can hardly be earlier than the 6th century. In the com. on *Nārada* (p. 48) there is a story from *Pāṭaliputra* about the repayment of a debt by sons, grandsons and great-grandsons. It has been argued (*Calcutta Law Journal*, vol. 17 p. 59) that, as *Pāṭaliputra* was a deserted city in the middle of the 7th century and as the reference shows that *Pāṭaliputra* was a living and flourishing city, *Asahāya* must have lived long before the 7th century. But as the very authenticity of the text of the *bhāṣya* is doubtful owing to the drastic 'revision' of *Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa*, such a conclusion is extremely hazardous. In the ms. of the *bhāṣya* other places such as *Vaṭapadraka* (probably modern Baroda), *Avāvadu* and *Saṁvāduka* are mentioned. There is nothing to show that the author was either a native of or had a first-hand knowledge of *Pāṭaliputra*. He might have been relying on traditions when he gave the story. Dr. Jolly not being aware of the express mention of *Asahāya* by *Medhātithi* argued that he flourished earlier than *Medhātithi* (*Tagore Law Lectures* p. 5; *S. B. E.* vol. 25 p. VII) on the ground that the *Mit.* and the *Sarasvativilāsa* always place *Asahāya* before *Medhātithi* whenever authorities on *vyavahāra* are enumerated. Dr. Jolly's conclusion is right as shown above, but his reasoning is faulty. There is hardly anything of chronology in the order in which authors are named, since we find that the *Sarasvativilāsa*<sup>516</sup> names *Vijñāneśvara* even before *Asahāya*, though the former flourished centuries after the latter.

Some of the views attributed to *Asahāya* may be quoted here. The definition of *daya* (heritage) given by the *Mit.* was identical with *Asahāya's*.<sup>517</sup> *Asahāya* explained the dictum of *Uśanas* that

516 स. वि. (para 195) 'विज्ञानेश्वरसहायमेधातिथीनामिदं स्वरूपा' (p. 371 of Mysore ed.).

517 असहायविज्ञानयोगिभृतीनां तु यस्त्वामिसंबन्धदेव विमिसादम्यस्य स्वं भवति तद् दायकश्चेन्नोच्यते इति । स. वि. (para 19).

fields were impartible by taking it to refer to the son of a Brāhmaṇa from a Kṣatriya wife, who does not participate in land gifted to a Brāhmaṇa.<sup>518</sup> The Mit. on Yāj. II. 119 takes the same view. Asahāya held that as regards succession to the *Śulka* of a woman even step-brothers should be given something, though the major portion would go to the full brothers.<sup>519</sup> According to Asahāya, the wealth of a childless Brāhmaṇa went to the teacher, then to the teacher's son, then to the teacher's widow, the pupil, pupil's son, pupil's widow (one after another) and then to the fellow-student.<sup>520</sup> The Vivādaratnākara<sup>521</sup> (p. 578) quotes the Prakāśa as referring to the views of Asahāya and Medhātithi on Manu IX. 198 that the special rule of Manu applies to all the *stridhana* belonging to a Kṣatriya woman who has a brāhmaṇi co-wife. The Vivādaratnākara<sup>522</sup> quotes a verse of Nārada about *māsa* and a verse of the bhāṣyakāra thereon. It probably refers to Asahāya's bhāṣya.

### 59. Bhartr̥yajña

This seems to have been a very ancient commentator. Medhātithi<sup>523</sup> in his bhāṣya on Manu 8. 3 says 'other explanations have been well brought out by Bhartr̥yajña and they should be understood from his work'. Trikaṇḍa-Maṇḍana (who flourished before 1100 A.D.) in his Āpastambasūtradhvanitārtha-kārikā<sup>524</sup> (I. 41) refers to the views of Bhartr̥yajña that one who had committed to

518 स. वि. para 195 ( or p. 371 ).

519 अतश्च कन्याशुल्कविषये सोदरासोदरविभागेऽसोदराणामपि किञ्चिद् देवमित्यसहायव्याख्यानमसहायम् । स. वि. para 314 ( or p. 384 ). Here there is a play on the word असहाय which means 'unsupported, baseless.'

520 स. वि. para 608.

521 विष्वा दत्तमिति स्त्रीधनमाशेषलक्षणमित्यसहायमेधातिथिरिति ( धी इति ! ) प्रकाशकारः ।

522 तथा चोक्तं नागदेव-माधो विंशतिभागस्तु ज्ञेयः कार्यादणरय च । म य राजनी विवक्षितः । तथा च भाष्यकारः । सौवर्णमाषकेः संख्या दण्डकमसु शस्यते । पूर्वा शस्यचरणे माचरन्त्येव राजते ॥ वि. र. p. 234.

523 व्याख्यानान्तराणि भर्तृयज्ञेनैव सम्यक्कृतानि इति तत एवावगन्तव्यानि सर्वथा प्रमाणमूलानि ।

524 यद्वाऽप्यनसंसिद्धविज्ञानरहितोपि सन् । नानाविधिक्रियशून्यो भर्तृयज्ञादिदर्शनात् ॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन ( B. I. series ).



memory the text of the Veda had the privilege (the *adbikāra*) of consecrating the sacred fires, though he may be innocent of the meaning of the Vedic texts. From Ananta's bhāṣya it appears that Bhartr̥yajña composed a bhāṣya on the Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra which had been lost (utsanna) in the former's day. From Gadādhara's comments on the Pāraskara grhyasūtra it appears that Bhartr̥yajña commented on Pāraskara.<sup>525</sup> The Gṛhastharatnākara of Caṇḍeśvara quotes Bhartr̥yajña's explanation of the word *sahvibhaga* occurring in Gautamadharmasūtra ( 10. 39 'svāmi riktha-kṛaya-sahvibhaga-parigrahadhigameṣu').<sup>526</sup> The Nītyācārapradīpa (B. I. series) after quoting Gautamadharmasūtra ( 11. 29 varṇāśramāḥ svadharma-niṣṭhāḥ &c. ) cites the comment of Bhartr̥yajña<sup>527</sup> on the word *taḥ-ekapeṇa* occurring in that sūtra. Therefore it appears probable that Bhartr̥yajña like Asahāya was an ancient commentator of the Gautamadharmasūtra. The Gṛhastharatnākara, after quoting from Vasiṣṭha ( 17. 1 ) and Viṣṇu the well-known verse of the Āitareya-brāhmaṇa (ṛnam-asmin saṁ-nayati) cites the explanation of Bhartr̥yajña as to the word 'jātasya' occurring therein.<sup>528</sup>

Since Bhartr̥yajña is quoted by Medhātithi who also mentions Asahāya but not Viśvarūpa, it follows that Bhartr̥yajña must have flourished before 800 A. D. and was probably a contemporary of or slightly later than Asahāya.

### 60. Viśvarūpa

The commentary of Viśvarūpa called Bālakrīḍā on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti has been recently published in two parts by M. M. T. Gaṇapati Śāstri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The Mit. states in the introductory verses that the dicta of Yāj. were expanded by

525 on पारस्करगृह्य I. 1. 2. ' एते पञ्च भूतस्कारा इति भर्तृयज्ञभाष्ये अन्यर्था इति कर्कोपाध्यायः ' ; on पारस्कर I. 2. 1. the भाष्य of भर्तृयज्ञ on the word द्वा-काले is quoted ; on the सूत्र ' केशसंनितो ब्राह्मणश्च &c. ' ( पारस्कर II. 5. 28 ) गदाधर says ' इदं च सूत्रं सूत्रेण इतिहरभाष्ये निष्ठति भर्तृयज्ञकर्कादियन्त्रेषु नोपलभ्यते '.

526 संविभागो भर्तृदाय इति भर्तृयज्ञः । गृह्यधरलाकर folio 78a of D. C. ms. No 44 of 1883-84.

527 अथ तच्छेषेण इति तस्यैव निर्याचारकर्मणः शेषेणेति भर्तृयज्ञः । निर्याचारवर्दीप p. 12.

528 अथ जातस्येति कण.पाकरणशोधरवेति भर्तृयज्ञः । गृह्यधरलाकर folio 133a.

the voluminous or ample (*vikāṣa*) explanations of Viśvarūpa. In commenting on Yāj. I. 81 the Mit. tells us that Viśvarūpa looked upon the words of Yāj. I. 79 (*tasmin yugmāsu samīśet*) as a *niyama*. In Viśvarūpa's commentary on Yāj. I. 80 (*evam gacchan &c.*) we do find that the verse of Yāj. and similar passages of Manu (3. 45), Vasiṣṭha and Gautama (5. 1) are understood to contain a *niyama* and not a *parisaṃkhyā*.<sup>529</sup> On Yāj. III. 24 the Mit. informs us that Viśvarūpa, Medhatithi and Dhāreśvara looked upon certain texts of Ṛṣyasrūga on *āśauca* as in conflict with well-known *smṛtis* and discarded them. Mr. S. Sitaram Śāstri published (in 1900 at Madras) the text and translation of Viśvarūpa's comment on inheritance and Mr. Setlur also published the *vyavahāra* section. In the following pages the Trivandrum edition is relied on.

The printed com. of Viśvarūpa on the *vyavahāra* section is extremely meagre and scarcely merits the epithet *vikāṣa* applied to it by the Mit. But the comment of Viśvarūpa on the *ācāra* and *prāyaścitta* sections is truly voluminous and compares favourably with the Mit. The style of Viśvarūpa is simple and forcible and resembles that of the great Śaṅkarācārya. He quotes profusely from Vedic works, mentions the Carakas and Vājasaneyins (on Yāj. I. 32), the Kathaka (on Yāj. III. 237 and 243) and very often supports his position by quotations from the R̥gveda (e. g. on Yāj. II. 121 and 206), the Brāhmaṇas (e. g. the Śatapatha on Yāj. I. 53 and III. 257) and from the Upaniṣads (e. g. on Yāj. II. 117, the well-known Chāndogya passage about the ordeal for theft and on Yāj. I. 50 Chāndogya II. 23. 10 about the three branches of *dharma*). He speaks of the *pada-pāṭha* and the *krama-pāṭha* as due to human agency (on Yāj. III. 242). He frequently quotes the Gṛhyasūtras of Pāraskara and less frequently those of Bhāradvāja and Āśvalāyana. He cites a host of *smṛtikāras*.<sup>530</sup> Most of the quotations attributed to

529 मानवं तु 'कृतुकालाभिगामी स्यात्' इति ... नियमस्वरतयेव व्याख्येयम् । एतेनैव ... वासिष्ठं व्याख्यातम् । ... गौतमीयं तन्तुपरिसंख्यार्थं 'कृतानुपेक्षत्' इति केचित् । ... तस्मात्तदपि नियमार्थमेव व्याख्येयम् ।

530 The *स्मृतिकार* mentioned by name are : अश्विस्तु, अत्रि, आपस्तम्ब, उशनस्तु, कान्वायन, काश्यप, गार्ग्य, वृद्धगार्ग्य, गौतम, जतुकर्ण ( or-र्णि ), दक्ष, भारद्वाज, पाराशर, पारस्कर, पिताम्ह, पुलस्त्य, पेटनीसि, सुहस्पति, बौधायन, भारद्वाज, भृगु, मनु, वृद्धमनु, यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य, दासपुत्र, विष्णु, व्यास, शङ्ख, शान्तिगुप्त, शौनक, संवत्, सुमन्तु, स्वयंभु ( 1. 8. मनु ), इति.

*Svayambhū* are found in the extant *Manusmṛiti*, but this is not the case with the quotations ascribed to *Bṛghu* ( vide p. 138 above ). Most of the quotations from *Bṛhaspati* ( even on such topics as repayment of debts, sureties, the rights of *śūdrāputra* ) are in prose, only a few being in verse ( e. g. a verse about ordeals on *Yaj.* II. 117, a verse about the method of partition on *Yaj.* II. 153 ). It appears therefore that *Viśvarūpa* either knew a work of *Bṛhaspati* in prose on *arthaśāstra* in which occurred a few verses or he had before him a prose work of *Bṛhaspati* and a versified *smṛiti* of *Bṛhaspati*, both of which he regarded as the compositions of the same author. He quotes a verse ( on *Yaj.* I. 328 ) from *Viśalakṣa*, a well-known writer on politics quoted even by *Kauṭilya*. He refers to the *arthaśāstra* of *Uśanas* along with that of *Bṛhaspati*. *Kauṭilya* is nowhere quoted by name. The learned editor of *Viśvarūpa* thinks ( Intro. p. V ) that *Viśvarūpa* took *Bṛhaspati* and *Viśalakṣa* as *arṣa* writers long anterior to *Yaj.* and therefore used their *dicta* to elucidate and support *Yaj.*, while he omits *Kauṭilya* because he thought *Kauṭilya* to be posterior to *Yaj.* This argument contains several fallacies. In the first place it is wrong because *Viśvarūpa* quotes verses from *Nārada* and *Kātyāyana* to supplement *Yaj.* There is nothing to show that *Viśvarūpa* regarded *Nārada* and *Kātyāyana* also as anterior to *Yaj.* and we have seen above that they are several centuries later than the *smṛiti* of *Yaj.* Moreover *Kauṭilya* himself looked upon both *Bṛhaspati* and *Viśalakṣa* as high authorities and so *Viśvarūpa* might have quoted them rather than *Kauṭilya*. Even taking the latest date assigned to *Kauṭilya* ( about 3rd century A. D. ), he flourished several centuries before *Viśvarūpa*. It is impossible to believe that *Viśvarūpa* was in possession of the exact chronological relation of *Yaj.* and *Kauṭilya*. Many scholars, besides, place *Kauṭilya*'s work centuries before *Yaj.* It appears, however, that *Viśvarūpa* had the work of *Kauṭilya* before him. On *Yaj.* I. 307 he speaks of ministers tested by the four allurements ( *upadā* ) of *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *bhaya*. This is an echo of *Kauṭilya* ( I. 10 ). On *Yaj.* I. 343 *Viś.* refers to the view of some that a march should be made when neighbouring chiefs are overwhelmed in calamities.<sup>331</sup> This is the view of *Kauṭilya* almost in

331 तथा चतुः-सामन्तव्योर्वसनसाम्येन यातव्यं तमभिन्नमेव यांपातु-इति । विश्वरूपः, compare 'तुल्यसामन्तव्यसने यातव्यमभिन्नं वा इवमिन्नमभियायात् । कौटिल्य VII. 5: किं पुनस्तन्मन्त्रणीयम् । तलं च दिक्मचारदूतसंवेक्षण-कापटिकोदस्थित-

the same words. On Yāj. I. 341 Viś. speaks of the manifold aspects of the work of a minister, some words of his comment being almost identical with Kautīlya's.

Viśvarūpa's work is thoroughly saturated with the lore of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā. He quotes Jaimini by name (on Yāj. I. 225 where Jaimini VI. 8. 15 is quoted). Curiously enough he applies the term *nyāya* to Mīmāṃsā. He takes 'nyāya-mīmāṃsā' in Yāj. I. 3 as one *vidyā*, while he notes that others explain *nyāya* as the system of logic propounded by Akṣapāda. He quotes the sūtras of Jaimini as those of Yājñīkas who know *nyāya* (e. g. on Yāj. I. 53 he quotes Jaimini I. 3. 16 and on Yāj. I. 87 he quotes Jaimini VI. 8. 17). He applies the epithet *naiyāyika* to a mīmāṃsaka like Śābara and speaks of the mīmāṃsakas as *nyāyavidah*.<sup>532</sup> He mentions the Śābarbhāṣya by name (on Yāj. III. 243) and in several places quotes the very words of Śābara (e. g. on Yāj. III. 181).<sup>533</sup> He quotes the śloka-vārtika of Kumārila (I. 12 the verse 'sarvasyaiva hi &c.') in his introductory remarks. In his comment on Yāj. I. 7 he cites over fifty verses in the nature of *karikās* dealing with the relation of śruti and smṛti and kindred topics. These verses are his own composition, as in one of them he assures us that a certain point will be dealt with by him in detail in the section on śraddha.<sup>534</sup> In interspersing his commentary with *karikās* of his own and in their style and pithiness he greatly resembles Kumārila. Throughout his work he relies upon mīmāṃsā maxims and methods of

गृह्यनिकषेदेकनामस्य ज्ञानावस्थितचारस्यश्चलिरूपपरमपुष्ककापटिकाद्युच्छेदबुर्गादिकरणकन्यासंनदानकुमारचिन्ता—अन्तःपुरमचारानेकविधे च । विवरूप. The words कापटिकी ... व्यञ्जन occur in कौटिल्य (I. 11) and कौटिल्य has chapters on राजपुद्गरक्षण (i. e. कुमारचिन्ता), अवशद्भूत (i. e. अन्तःपुरमचार), दुर्गविधान and दूतप्रणिधि.

532 न्यायविद्वा धर्मिकाः 'अपि वा सर्वधर्मः स्यात्', न्यायविद्वा याज्ञिकाः सर्वधर्मत्वायु-  
त्रार्थे न प्रयोजयेदित्याहुः (this is जैमिनि VI. 8. 17), न च लक्ष्यमाणस्य  
विशेषणं दिवक्ष्यत इति न्यायविद्ः (on याज्ञ. III. 250). The last is a well-  
known मीमांसाश्रवण. "तथा च नैयायिकाः 'नहि वचनस्यातिभारोस्ति' इत्याहुः."  
These words occur in शाबरभाष्य on जैमिनि III. 2. 3.

533 तथा चोक्तं 'चोदना भूतं भवन्तं भविष्यन्तमित्याद्येवंजातीयकमर्थं शब्दोत्पन्नमवितुम्'  
इति । This is शाबरभाष्य p. 4 (B. I. edition).

534 सर्वं चैतन्मन्त्रेण तत्कामः श्राद्धसंग्रहे । विवरूप part I. p. 16.

discussion. For example, on Yāj. I. 4-5 he discusses the rule of Jaimini II. 4. 8 ff (about 'sarvaśākhāpratrayam ekaṁ karma') in its application to smṛtis; on Yāj. I. 225 he relies upon the position that words like *yava* and *varāha* are to be taken as employed in the Vedas in the same sense in which *liṅgas* use them (vide Jaimini I. 3. 9); on Yāj. II. 144 he speaks of wealth (*dravya*) being *puruṣārtha*, where he alludes to the well-known distinction between *kratvartha* and *puruṣārtha*, the subject of Jaimini's 4th chap. His commentary on Yāj. III. 212, 237, 262 are fine examples of his superb skill in the interpretation and reconciliation of apparently conflicting texts.

Though Viśvarūpa was a past master in Purvamīmāṃsā lore, his philosophical views seem to have been identical with those of the great Śaṅkara. According to him, *mokṣa* results from correct knowledge alone and the whole *saṁsāra* is due to *avidyā*.<sup>535</sup> He quotes anonymously one of Gauḍapāda's *kārikās*<sup>536</sup> (III. 5) on Yāj. III. 134.

He speaks on Yāj. III. 103 of Nārada who knew the Veda of music (*gītevidavid*), of *purāṇa* (on III. 175), and quotes verses (on Yāj. III. 85) from an *abhidhānaśāstra* (lexicon) and from a *Nāmaratnamālā* (on III. 266). He speaks of the *śloka* of Bhikṣa-tana (on III. 66). He is in this probably referring to the *Bhikṣa-tanakāvya*,<sup>537</sup> which is mentioned by the *Sahityadarpaṇa*. Among commentators he mentions Asahāya's *bhāṣya* on Gautama by name (on Yāj. III. 263). On Yāj. III. 256 he explains *Mleccha* as *pulindas* and *Tajikas* (i. e. Arabs).

535 In his com. on *Yājñavalkya* III. 66 he says 'अपवर्गार्थं हि पारिवार्यं ज्ञानैक-साधनं न तत्र कर्मणा प्रयोजनमिच्छुः कमेव' । ; 'तत्साधनं ज्ञानमेव विद्योत्थत्वात्तदप-श्येत्तन्मादिचोदानवकाश एव । ... तस्येव ब्रह्मणो नान्यद्वस्त्वन्तरमस्तीति ब्रह्मविदां स्थितिः ।'.

536 तथा चाह-यथैकस्मिन्पटाकाशे रजोधूमादिभिर्गुणे । न सर्वे संप्रयुज्यन्ते सुरेभ्यः दुःसं-तधान्मनः ॥ इति । तथान्येव-धूमपूर्णपटानां च यथैकस्यैव रेचनम् । उत्पाद्य-क्रियते तत्र जायते ध्योम निर्मलम् ॥ इति. In the *Ānandāśrama* edition of *गीतपाद* the fourth *pāda* is तद्वज्जीवा सुखादीभिः. I could not trace the *kārikā* धूमपूर्णः.

537 Vide I. O. cat. p. 1448 for the *bhikṣaṭanakāvya* of शिवभक्तिदास alias उत्प्रेक्षा-बल्लभ who names वात्मीकि, कालिदास and the कादम्बरी of बाण.

It has been shown above (§34 pp. 169-170) how Viśvarūpa's text of Yāj. varied in some respects from that of the Mit. ; how he frequently refers to the views of commentators of Yāj. earlier than himself (in the words 'apare,' 'anye'), how he proposes several explanations of the same words in several cases.

Dr. Jolly (Journal of Indian History 1924, pp. 7-8) says that the citations of Viś. in the Smṛticandrikā about his having refuted the views of Dhāreśvara cannot be traced in the printed Balakṛiḍā, as also the reference to Viś. in the Mit. on Yāj. I. 81 and II. 135. It has been shown above (note 529) that the printed Viś. on Yāj. I. 80 does contain the view attributed to it by the Mit. As regards the Mit. on Yāj. II. 135 it has to be noted that the Mit. does not mention Viś. by name there, but only speaks of 'bhagavān ācārya,'<sup>538</sup> which words are interpreted by the Subodhini and the Bālabhāṭṭas referring to Viśvarūpa. It is true that the printed Viś. does not contain in so many words the explanation attributed by the Mit. to 'bhagavān ācārya.' But it is worth considering that in the printed Viś. the two quotations from Manu and Śaṅkha do occur and are put in the mouth of an objector and are explained away in a way somewhat similar to that put forth in the Mit.<sup>539</sup> As regards the passages of the Smṛticandrikā, the matter requires careful examination. The Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 294 Gharpure's ed.) says that according to the Saṅgrahakāra a widow was allowed to succeed to her sonless husband's wealth if she submitted to *nijoga*, that the

538 The words of the Mit. are : यदपि मृतं पिता हरेदुग्रस्य रिष्ये भ्रातर एव वा (मनु 9. 135) इति मनुस्मरणात्, तथा-स्वर्वातस्य सपुत्रस्य भ्रातृगामि द्वयं तद्भावे पितरो हरेयाता ज्येष्ठा वा पत्नीति शङ्करमरणाच्च अपुत्रस्य धनं भ्रातृगामिनि प्राप्तं भरणं चास्य कुर्वीत स्त्रीगामाजीवनक्षयादिन्यादियचनाच्च भरणोपपुष्कं धनं पत्नी लभत इत्यपि स्थितम् । एवं स्थिते बहुधने अपुत्रे स्वर्वाते भरणोपपुष्कं पत्नी गृह्णाति शेषं च भ्रातरो यदा तु पत्नीभरणमात्रोपपुष्कमेव द्वयमस्ति ततो न्यूनं वा तदा किं पत्न्येव गृह्णाति सत भ्रातरोपीति विरोधे पूर्ववर्तीपत्त्वज्ञापनार्थं पत्नी बुद्धित इत्यारब्धमिति । तदप्यत्र भगवानाचार्यो न मुष्यति । यतः । पिता हरेदपुत्रस्य ... इति विकल्पस्मरणान्नेदं कमपरमपि तु धनग्रहणेधिकारप्रदर्शनमात्रपरम् । तथासास्त्यापि पत्न्यादिगणे घटते इति व्याचक्षते ।

539 ननु एतदप्यस्ति । 'पिता हरे ... वा' इति । मूलन्यस्यामेतद् दृश्यम् । कथं शङ्कवचनं 'स्वर्वातस्य ... पत्नी' इति । उक्तलक्षणपत्नीबुद्धिभावे सोदर्यभ्रात्रभिप्रायं तत् । विश्वरूपः ।



same was the view of Dhāreśvara and that Viśvarūpa refuted the view of Dhāreśvara. In no place does the printed Viś. name Dhāreśvara. The words of the Smṛticandrikā are not to be taken literally. It will be shown below that the author, Devaṇṇa-bhaṭṭa, flourished about 1200 A. D., while Dhāreśvara flourished between 1000-1050 A. D. Devaṇṇa had no correct idea of their relative chronological position. It has been shown above (p. 249) how though Asahāya is named by the Mit., the Sarasvatīvilāsa very often says that Asahāya does not like (or tolerate) the views of Vijñāneśvara. Similarly the same work (para 392) says that Dhāreśvara and Devasvāmin do not tolerate the view of Vijñāneśvara, but Dhāreśvara is one of the predecessors of Vij. actually named by him. So all that the Smṛticandrikā means is that Dhāreśvara and Viśvarūpa differed in their views on the particular points mentioned by it. The word *patni* is taken by Viś. to mean a widow who is pregnant at the time of her husband's death and quotes the sūtras of Vasiṣṭha and Gautama in support of his view as *jñāpakas*. So this view entirely differs from the view of Dhāreśvara that the widow of a sonless person succeeds if she submits to *niyoga*. The Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 300) says that the Saṁgrahakāra placed the father's mother immediately after the mother and before the father, that the Saṁgrahakāra relied on the same arguments that were employed by Dhāreśvara and that Viśvarūpa and others refuted those arguments. The passage in the printed Viś. is somewhat corrupt in this place. Viś. does place the mother before the father on the ground of the word *māta* occurring first when the word 'pitarau' or the compound 'mātapitarau' is expanded. The comment does mention the verse of Manu (9. 217) about the grandmother, but it makes no clear sense, as it stands.<sup>140</sup> For the reason given above Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakravarti (JASB for 1912, p. 345 and for 1915, p. 322) is not right when he places Viśvarūpa later than Bhojadeva because of the remarks of the Smṛticandrikā.

In the works of Jimūtavāhana (viz. the Dāyabhāga and the Vyavahāramātrkā), in the Smṛticandrikā, the Hāralatā, and other later works like the Sarasvatīvilāsa, the views of Viśvarūpa are frequently cited and discussed. Several such citations have been

<sup>140</sup> लक्ष्मिबादिषु पुत्राणां तु पितरि मालुरभावे 'पितुर्माता इत्येव धनम्' इत्यस्य विषयः ।



already examined by me ( JBBRAS for 1926, pp. 200-204 ). From considerations of space I do not repeat here the discussion of those passages. In the *Gṛhastharatnākara*<sup>541</sup> of Caṇḍeśvara (D.C. No. 44 of 1883-4, folio 133a) the explanation of *Viśvarūpācārya* on *Yāj. I. 135* is cited, which does not exactly tally with the printed *Viś.* *Hemādri*<sup>542</sup> refers to *Viśvarūpa*'s explanation given in his section on partition which does not occur in the printed text. The result of the examination of these citations is that the printed text of *Viś.* is in the main genuine, but that in a few cases ( particularly in the *vyavahāra* section ) it is corrupt or deficient.

Though *Viś.* holds the same view as the *Mit.* that ownership does not for the first time arise on partition but that partition takes place of what is already ( jointly ) owned, yet on numerous points the two disagree. A few of them may be set out here.

( 1 ) *Viś.* allows ( on *Yāj. II. 118* ) the father unrestricted freedom of distribution of property among his sons during his lifetime, while the *Mit.* expressly says that this power of unequal distribution is restricted to self-acquired property.

( 2 ) *Viś.* ( on *Yāj. II. 119* ) allows a share of property to the widows of predeceased sons and grandsons of a man when a partition takes place during his lifetime. The *Mit.* restricts the words ' *patnyah* ' to the father's own wives when he effects a partition during his lifetime.

( 3 ) *Viś.* connects the words ' without detriment to the paternal estate ' ( in *Yāj. II. 122* ) with the words ' whatever else is acquired by himself ' and not with ' *maitra* ' ( gifts from a friend ) and ' *audvāhika* ' ( gifts on marriage ), while the *Mit.* connects the half verse ' whatever else is acquired by the man himself without

541 *विश्वरूप* on *याज्ञ. I. 135* is तथा चान्नायः । तस्माद्वर्षस्यशततो न ब्रजेत्-इति । अयं मे वज्रः पाप्मानमदत्तात्-इत्येतदेव मन्त्रस्य कात्स्न्यम् । यदा वर्षति गच्छेत् तदेवमिति व्याख्येयम् । ; while the *गृहस्थरत्नाकर* says ' अयं मे वज्रः सर्वं पाप्मानमदत्ति-इति सर्वं मन्त्रं पठन् वर्षत्यपावृत्तो ( ! प्रावृत्तो ) गच्छेद् वाक्मन्त्र-समाप्तिः कर्षमनियम् । तावतेषां पाप्मानोपहतत्वादिति विश्वरूपाचार्यः ।

542 भ्राता वा भ्रातृपुत्रो वा सपिण्डः शिष्य एव च । सपिण्डकक्रियां कृत्वा कुर्यादाम्बुदधिकं ततः ॥ इत्यत्र वचने अभ्युदयशब्देन आम्बुदधिकं शब्दं विभागकरणे विश्वरूपा-चार्येण व्याख्यातम् । चतुर्वर्गः ( कालनिर्णय p. 43 ).

detriment to the paternal estate ' as a qualifying clause to the next half verse and to another verse ' *kramād abhyāgatam &c.* ' In the Mit. the two verses ' *pitṛdravyāvirodhena &c.* ' and ' *kramād &c.* ' occur consecutively, while in Viś. they are separated by three verses and Viś. takes the verse ' *kramād* ' &c. as referring to the re-opening of a partition for a son born after partition.

( 4 ) Viś. allows *niyoga* only to *śūdras* in general and to *kṣatriya* kings in case of danger of extinction of line ( vide com. on Yāj. I. 69 and II. 131 ), while Mit. forbids *niyoga* in general and holds the texts speaking of it as applicable to a girl who is only betrothed and not married.

( 5 ) Viś. appears to allow one share out of ten to the son of a *sūdra* wife from a *brāhmaṇa* without restriction of any kind, while Mit. restricts the share to estates other than land acquired by gift.

( 6 ) Viś. interprets the expression ' half share ' ( in Yāj. II. 138 ) with reference to the illegitimate son of a *śūdra* as meaning ' some portion, not necessarily exactly half, ' while Mit. interprets it literally.

( 7 ) Viś. allows a widow to succeed to her husband if she is pregnant at his death, while Mit. allows a widow to succeed without any restriction except that of chastity.

( 8 ) Viś. restricts the word ' *duhitarāḥ* ' in ' *patni duhitarāś-caiva* ' ( Yāj. II. 138 ) to *putrika* only and so does not allow all daughters whatever to succeed, while Mit. does not introduce any such qualification.

( 9 ) Viś. reads ' *anyodaryasya saṁśṛṣṭi* ' for *anyodaryastu &c.* ' and ' *sodaro* ' for ' *saṁśṛṣṭo* ' in Yāj. II. 143 and his interpretation of the verse is entirely different from that of the Mit.

( 10 ) Viś. reads ' *adhivedanikāṁ caiva* ' for ' *adhivedanikādyāṁ ca* ' of Mit. and holds that *bāndhudattā*, *śulka* and *arvadabeyaka stridhana* of a childless woman goes on her death to her full brother; while Mit. connects these three with the preceding verse and takes the half verse ' *atitāyām* ' as laying down a general rule of succession to *stridhana* of all kinds and interprets ' *bāndhavāḥ* ' as meaning ' husband and the rest '.

( 11 ) Viś. takes the verse ' *adhivinna-striyai* ' &c. ( on Yāj. II. 152 ) as applicable to a wife superseded without any ground of

supercession allowed by the texts; while Mit. does not introduce any such qualification.

As Viśvarūpa quotes Kumārila's Śloka-vārtika and is mentioned by the Mit. as an authoritative commentator it follows that he flourished between 750 A. D. and 1000 A. D. A greater approximation as to the date of Viśvarūpa can be made, if the identity of Viśvarūpa with Sureśvara be held established. Sureśvara, as he himself tells us in the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, the Taittiriyaopaniṣadbhāṣya-vārtika and other works, was a pupil of the great Śaṅkarācārya whose generally accepted period is 788-820 A. D. Mādhvacārya in several works of his quotes as Viśvarūpa's passages from the well-known works of Sureśvara. For example, the Parāśara-Mādhaviya ( vol. I, part I, p. 57 ) quotes a kārīkā of Sureśvara as that of Viśvarūpācārya.<sup>543</sup> In the Vivaraṇaprameyasamgraha (Vizianagaram series p. 92 ) also Mādhava quotes a verse from the Brhadāranyakopaniṣadbhāṣya-vārtika as Viśvarūpa's.<sup>544</sup> In the Puruṣārthaprabodha<sup>545</sup> of Brahmānanda-bhāratī ( ms. in Bhau Daji collection, Bombay ) composed in 1476 ( probably of the Śaka era ) the author speaks of the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi as a work of Viśvarūpa. In the Saṅkṣepa-Śaṅkara-jaya Viśvarūpa is said to be the author of the two vārtikas on Śaṅkara's bhāṣya.<sup>546</sup> According to tradition embodied in the various lives of Śaṅkara, the latter had four pupils, Sureśvara, Padmapāda, Totaka and Hastāmālaka. Several works mention Viśvarūpa as one of the four pupils and omit the name Sureśvara. For example, in the Dvādaśa-vākya-vivaraṇa of Gopāla ( Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. No. 557, p. 227 b ) the four pupils of Śaṅkara are named as Viśvarūpa, Padmanābha, Totaka and Hastāmālaka. In the Mānasollāsa-vṛttānta-vilāsa of Rāmātīrtha we are expressly told that Sure-

543 इदं च वाच्यं निवृत्त्यर्थं विवक्षितं नालिके विवक्षितं वाच्यं उक्तं—आद्ये कलाधे इत्यादि ह्यपस्तम्बस्मृतेर्वचः । कलवच्यं समाचष्टे निवृत्त्यानामपि कर्मणाम् ॥ The sutra of अपस्तम्ब is आप, ध. सू. I. 7. 20. 3 and the कारिका occurs in the बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्भाष्यवार्तिक ( I. 1. 97 ).

544 The verse is on p. 640 of the बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्भाष्यवार्तिक.

545 इत्येवं नेष्टुर्मसिद्धौ महाशेखरविस्तमे । श्रीमद्विष्वक्विरूपारूपेराचार्यैः करुणार्णवैः ॥ ( folio 6 ).

546 इत्येवं स उक्तो भगवत्पदेन श्रीविष्वक्विरूपो विदुषां वरिष्ठः । चकार भाष्यद्वयवार्तिके (तेन) आज्ञा गुरुणा ह्यविचारणीया ॥ संक्षेपशङ्करजय 13.68 (Aufrecht's Oxford Cat p. 257 ).

śvara is another name of Viśvarūpa, a pupil of Śaṅkara ( vide Mitra's Notices vol. V, No. 1763, p. 82). In the Saptasūtra-saṁnyāsapaddhati ( Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 296 ) the four pupils are said to be Svarūpācārya, Padmācārya, Totaka and Pṛthivīdhara. The Guruvaiśākāya (Vanivilas ed.) identifies Sureśvara and Viśvarūpa (II.59) and makes him a pupil of Kumārila and Śaṅkara. It may therefore be held as fairly established that Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara are identical. Some corroboration is afforded by the fact that Viśvarūpa quotes Gauḍapāda the 'paramaguru' of Śaṅkara and holds the same philosophical views as those of Śaṅkara. Just as Viśvarūpa quotes Kumārila's Śloka-vārtika, Sureśvara also in his Taittirīyopaniṣad-bhāṣya-vārtika quotes a *karika* of Kumārila and styles the latter Mīmāṃsakaṁ-manya.<sup>547</sup> This shows that Sureśvara treated Kumārila with scant respect, which seems unlikely if he was at any time Kumārila's pupil. Viśvarūpa in his introduction<sup>548</sup> performs an obeisance to the Sun, the great serpent ( Śeṣa ), Tilaksvāmin and Vināyaka. The Bhāmī of Vācaspati-miśra has a similar salutation. Vācaspati-miśra wrote his Nyāyasūci-nibandha in 841-42 A. D. i. e. he was almost a contemporary of Śaṅkara and his pupils. The learned editor of Viś. tells us that in a commentary on Viś. called Vacanamālā Sureśvara is bracketed with Manu and Yogīśvara ( Yājñavalkya ) as an expounder of Śāstra ( i. e. dharmasāstra ).<sup>549</sup> Therefore that commentator looked upon Viś. and Sureśvara as identical. From all these several considerations it follows that

547 मोक्षार्थं न भवतेत तत्र काम्यनिषिद्धयोः । निषेधेनिसिद्धे कुर्यात्पत्न्यवापनिष्ठासथा ॥  
इति मीमांसकमन्यैः कर्मोक्तं मोक्षसाधनम् । त. उ. भाष्यवार्तिक I. 9-10. The verse  
मोक्षार्थं &c. is श्लोकवार्तिक ( संबन्धाक्षेपपरिहार verse 110 ).

548 प्रणम्यार्कं महानागं तिलकस्वामिनं तथा । विनायकं च सद्गोभिः स्मतिरुद्योत्यते मया ॥  
विश्वरूप, vide याज्ञ. I. 289 आदित्यस्य सदा पूजां तिलकस्वामिनस्तथा । महागण-  
पतेभ्येव कुर्वन् सिद्धिम्वाप्नुयात् ॥ . The Bhāmī has मूर्तेण्डतिलकस्वामिमहागण-  
पतीन् वषम् । विन्ववन्वाप्नमस्यामः सर्वसिद्धिर्विधाविनः ॥ . तिलकस्वामी would mean  
तिलकविषयः स्वामी. The मिताक्षरा reads तिलकं स्वामिन्स्तथा.

549 अवनम्य मनुसुरेश्वरयोगीश्वरतीमःकिणगुहचरणात् । शास्त्राणां व्याकर्तृन् कर्तृन्पि  
देवता निःशिलाः ॥ One of the verses at the end of the वचनमाला is  
भवभूतिनिबन्धनोद्धो तिभिर्भोमप्रतिवादिके गुरोः । सकटाक्षद्विरीक्षणपूर्वं ( वः १ )  
पनिने मामयमुद्धरिष्यति ॥ . Vide Trl. Cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22,  
pp. 4458-4460 for वचनमाला.

Viśvarūpa flourished about 800-825 A. D. But this problem presents further difficulties. The mutual relations of Sureśvara, Bhavabhūti, Umbeka and Maṇḍana are a great puzzle. I have dealt with this question in JBBRAS for 1928, pp. 289-293. The conclusions arrived at there are that Maṇḍana's literary activity lies between 690-710, that of Umbeka between 700-730 and Sureśvara's between 810-840 A. D. and that Umbeka and Bhavabhūti are identical, but that Maṇḍana and Sureśvara are separated by about 100 years.

Dr. Jolly has brought together in the Journal of Indian History (vol. III. pp. 1-27) some valuable information about Viśvarūpa.

In several later works a digest called Viśvarūpa-nibandha is frequently cited. That appears to be the composition of another Viśvarūpa altogether. For example, the *ṣaṇ-ṇavati-śrāddha-nirṇaya* of Śivabhaṭṭa (which is later than 1650 A. D.) tells us that Viśvarūpācārya composed a *viśvarūpa* (commentary) on the *Śrāddha-kalikā*.<sup>550</sup> The *Kṛtyacintāmaṇi* of Śivarama (D. C. No. 221 of 1879) quotes several<sup>551</sup> verses from Viśvarūpanibandha on Sapinḍa relationship in marriage, which are not found in the *Balakṛiḍā*, but which agree remarkably with the words of the *Mit.* on Yāj. I. 53. The *Varṣakriyākaumudī* (pp. 378, 380) mentions Viśvarūpa-nibandha and quotes two verses cited therein. The *Tithi-nirṇaya-sarvasamuccaya* (later than 1450 A. D.) quotes certain *karikās* of Viśvarūpa on the 18 varieties of *Ekādasi*.<sup>552</sup> The *Kālanirṇayasiddhāntavyākhyā* (composed in 1653 A. D.) quotes certain verses of Viśvarūpa on the question of the disposal of food prepared for a marriage when a period of impurity or death supervenes.<sup>553</sup> The

550 अत एवोक्तं शास्त्रकलिकायां--मासिकानि सर्पिण्डं च अमावास्या तथाब्दिकम् । अन्ने-  
मेव तु कर्तव्यं यस्य भार्या रजस्वला ॥ इति । अन्नेनैव कर्तव्यं न त्वामान्नादिनेति च  
कलिकाविवरणेपि श्रीमद्विष्णुपाचार्यध्यानानम् । Ms. in the Bhadkamkar  
Collection, folio 7 b.

551 विश्वरूपनिबन्धे । एवमुक्तशकारेण पितृवन्धुषु सप्तमाह । ऊर्ध्वमेव विवाहस्य पञ्च-  
माहानुबन्धुतः ॥ सप्तमाहो भिद्यते यस्मात्पूर्वजादुभयत्र च । तमादाय गणे ( गणेह )  
धमिन्वरं यावच्च कथ्यकाम् ॥ इति । सूत्र्याचिन्तामणि folio 150. The *Mit.* says  
'सन्तानभेदेपि यतः सन्तानभेदस्तमादाय गणयिद्यावत्सप्तम इति सर्वत्र योजनीयम्'.

552 एवं स्मार्ताभिप्रायेण विश्वरूपेणापि अष्टादश भेदा उक्ताः । Ms. in Bhadkamkar  
collection folio 19 a.

553 Ms. in Bhadkamkar collection folio 137 b on verse 82.

Nirṇayasindhu also quotes verses of Viśvarūpa. From these data it follows that a Viśvarūpa composed a commentary on Srāddha-kalikā and also wrote a digest on matters of ācāra and other topics of dharma in prose and verse. Raghunandana in his Udvāhatattva (ed. by Jivananda, p. 116) names a Viśvarūpa-samuccaya. It is likely that it is the same as Viśvarūpa-nibandha.

### 61. Bhāruci.

The Mit. on Yāj. ( I. 81 ) says that Bhāruci like Viśvarūpa held the view that the rule ' itau bhāryān gacchet ' was a *niyama* and not a *parisanikhyā*. On Yāj. II 124 the Mit. says that the explanation of ' the fourth share ' to be given to unmarried sisters offered by Asahāya and Medhātithi was the proper one and not that of Bhāruci. The Parāśaramādhaviya<sup>554</sup> and the Sarasvativilāsa ( para 133 ) inform us that Bhāruci was of opinion that unmarried sisters were only entitled to a provision for their marriage and were not entitled to a fourth share.

Bhāruci, being mentioned by the Mit., is certainly older than 1050 A. D. Rāmānujācārya in his Vedārthasaṁgraha (reprint from the *Pandit*, ed. of 1924, p. 154) mentions six ācāryas that preceded him as expounders of the Viśiṣṭādvaita system, viz. Bodhāyana, Tanka, Dramiḍa, Guhadeva, Kapardin and Bhāruci. Similarly the Yatindramatadipikā<sup>555</sup> of Śrīnivāsadaśa (Ānandāśrama ed.) enumerates ( p. 2 ) a host of teachers as the predecessors of Rāmānujācārya in propounding the Viśiṣṭādvaita system. Vyāsa is the reputed author of the Vedāntasūtras, Bodhāyana is said to have composed a *vṛtti* on the Vedānta-sūtras, called Kṛtakoti according to the *Prapañca-hṛdaya* ( p. 39, Trivandrum ed. ). Tanka and Brahmanandin are identical. Dramiḍa is credited with the authorship of a *bhāṣya* on the Vedānta-sūtras ( which is quoted by Rāmānuja in his *bhāṣya* on II. 2. 3 ). Nāthamuni is said to have been the grand-father of Yāmuna-muni, who was born about 916 A. D. Rāmānuja refers to him with great reverence as his teacher's teacher ( *parama-guru*, vide *Vedārtha-saṁgraha*, p. 149 ) and is said to have been young

<sup>554</sup> भास्वचित्तु चतुर्थभागपदेन विवाहसंस्कारमात्रोपयोगिं द्रव्यं विवक्षितं, अतो दासभास्वम-  
संस्कृतकन्यानां नास्तीति मन्यते । परा. मा. vol. III, 2. p. 510.

<sup>555</sup> ' व्यास-बोधायन-गुहदेव-भास्वि-ब्रह्मनन्दि-द्रमिदाचार्य-शीपराज-नाथमुनि-पतीश्वर-  
प्रभृतीनां मतानुसारेण &c. )



when Yāmuna died ( vide J R A S for 1915, p. 147 and I. A. for 1909, p. 129 ). It is therefore obvious that the teachers are arranged by the Yatindramatadīpikā in chronological order. Hence Bhāruci, being placed earlier than even Dramiḍa and Nāthamuni, was comparatively an ancient author and could not have flourished later than the first half of the 9th century. Bhāruci the jurist also flourished before 1050. It is difficult to believe that there were two famous writers of the same name nearly about the same time. Hence it may provisionally be held that Bhāruci the writer on dharmaśāstra and Bhāruci the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosopher are identical. If this identity be accepted, then Bhāruci the writer on dharmaśāstra becomes comparatively an early writer, being at least as old as Viśvarūpa. His views agree on several points with those of Viśvarūpa, which is a circumstance that lends some corroboration to the date proposed for him.

One interesting point about Bhāruci deserves mention here. From numerous notices contained in the *Sarasvatīvilāsa* it appears that Bhāruci either commented upon the *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* or wrote some work in which he took great pains to incorporate explanations of several sūtras of Viṣṇu. For example, para 637 tells us that Bhāruci explained the word 'bija' occurring in a sūtra of Viṣṇu as 'piṇḍa'.<sup>556</sup> In para 674 we are told that Bhāruci explained the word 'niṣkāraṇa' in a sūtra of Viṣṇu and that he held that a daughter's son has not to perform the śrāddha of his maternal grandfather if the latter has a son. Sudarśanācārya in his comment upon *Apastambagr̥hya* ( 8. 21. 2 ) ascribes the same view to Bhāruci and quotes the very words of Bhāruci.<sup>557</sup> Vide J B B R A S for 1925 pp. 210-211 for further examples. There is nothing unnatural in Bhāruci, the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosopher, having composed a commen-

556 यथाह भारुचिरेतद्विष्णुवचनम्याख्यानात्सरे बीजशब्दः पिण्डवाचीति । स. वि. para 637 ( pp. 422-23 of Mysore ed. ). The sūtra of विष्णु is 'बीजपहणानुविधायमंशं गृहीत्वात्' स. वि. para 636.

557 अत्र भारुचिः । निष्कारणमिति वदता विष्णुना समनन्तरकर्तृणां पुत्रादीनां विद्यमानत्वे दोहित्रस्य न कर्तृत्वसंक्रान्तिरिति । स. वि. para 674 ( p. 427 ). The sūtra of विष्णु is 'दोहित्रस्य मातामहश्चादौ निष्कारणम्'. The words of सुदर्शनाचार्य are इममेवार्थं भारुचिरप्याह यस्मिन्पक्षे अपुत्रो मातामहः पुत्रिकस्तुतथासितद्रव्यहारी तस्मिन्पक्षे तस्य पिण्डदाननियमः इत्यादिना ग्रन्थेन ।



tary on the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. The extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra contains doctrines peculiar to the Viśiṣṭādvaita system such as the worship of Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva, the four Vyūhas of Vāsudeva &c. If Bhāruci was a Viśiṣṭādvaitin he would naturally turn to the sūtra of Viṣṇu as having the greatest claim on his attention. Many of the sūtras of Viṣṇu quoted in the Sarasvativilāsa with the explanations of Bhāruci are not found in the printed text of Viṣṇu, on which Nandapaṇḍita commented in the first half of the 17th century. It appears that the Sarasvativilāsa had before it a larger version of Viṣṇu current in the south (vide note 118, p. 70 above).

On scores of points there is divergence between the views of Bhāruci and those of the Mit. Bhāruci differed from the Mit. as to the definition of *daya* and *vibhaga*, he allowed *nīyoga* to childless widows, while the Mit. condemned it in the case of all widows; Bhāruci, like Viśvarūpa, did not mention *sapratibandha* and *apratibandha* *daya*; Bhāruci, like Viśvarūpa, held that a coparcener who concealed some joint property was not guilty of theft, while the Mit. held that he was. Vide J B B R A S for 1925 pp. 211-13 for more examples and details.

## 62. Śrīkara

The Mit. on Yāj. II. 135 alludes to the view of Śrīkara and others that the widow succeeded as heir to her deceased husband's estate if it was small.<sup>558</sup> The Smṛtisāra<sup>559</sup> of Harinatha attributes the same view to Śrīkara and disapproves of it. On Yāj. II. 169 the Mit.<sup>560</sup> cites the view of Śrīkara about that topic and disapproves of it. Viśvarūpa also gives two explanations of that verse of Yāj., the first of which agrees with that of the Mit. and the second is akin to Śrīkara's.

558 एतेनाल्पधनविषयत्वं श्रीकरादिभिरुक्तं निरस्तं वेदितव्यम् ।

559 न च स्वल्पचलत्वे ( धनत्वे ? ) पत्नी दुहितर इति बहुधनमेवाभावात्पुत्रा इति वचनमिति श्रीकरमतमुचितम् । स्मृतिसार I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 128a.

560 अध्याविदितदेशान्तरे यतः कालान्तरे वा विपन्नरतदा मूलसमाहरणाशकेर्विक्रितारमदर्शयित्वैव स्वयमेव तद्धनं नाष्टिकस्य समर्पयेत् । नापमेवासौ वृद्धो भवतीति श्रीकराचार्येण व्याख्यातं तदिदमनुपपन्नम् । मिताक्षरा, the s. vi. p. 107 (Mysore ed.) quotes these very words ' अध्याविदित ... समर्पयेदिति श्रीकरस्यैवकादय आहुः । विज्ञानेश्वरस्तु &c. '

The works of Jñmūtavāhana ( viz. the Dāyabhāga and the Vyavahāramātrkā ), the Smṛticandrikā and the Sarasvativilāsa contain very interesting notices of Śrīkara's views. Many of them were brought together by me in J B B R A S for 1925, pp. 213-215. Śrīkara like Viśvarūpa held the view that 'duhitarah' in Yāj. refers to the *patrika*, he allowed the parents of a childless person to succeed together at the same time. The Dāyabhāga very severely criticizes the views of Śrīkara on the succession to re-united members, on *vidyadhana* and on Yāj. II. 24 ( about enjoyment for 20 years ).<sup>561</sup> Most of the views attributed to Śrīkara were also entertained by Viśvarūpa or are more antiquated than Viśvarūpa's.

Śrīkara was probably a writer from Mithilā and seems to have propounded the view of spiritual benefit as the criterion for judging superior rights of succession. The Smṛtisāra<sup>562</sup> of Harinātha ascribes such a view to a Śrīkara-nibandha.

Whether Śrīkara wrote a commentary on a smṛti or a general digest ( nibandha ) it is difficult to say. The Smṛticandrikā<sup>563</sup> says that Śambhu, Śrīkara and Devasvāmin compiled digests of smṛtis and added their own explanations of them. The Smṛtyarthasāra<sup>564</sup> of Śrīdhara asserts in the introductory verses that Śrīkantha and Śrīkarācārya filled up the gaps in the smṛtis that were scattered about ( by introducing order out of chaos ). Śrīkara's explanations of Yājñavalkya are frequently cited by the Mit., the Dāyabhāga and

561 Vide व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 47 where श्रीकर is the first of a host of writers who held, following Yāj. II. 24, that adverse possession for twenty and ten years in the case of immoveable and moveable property respectively conferred ownership.

562 Vide स्मृतिसार ( I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 147 a ) भूतसन्तानाभावे तत्पितृसन्तते-स्तद्वनं तदभावे च तत्पितामहसन्तते: ... इति त्रयाणामुदकं कार्यमित्यादिना दर्शितम् । एतदुर्ध्वं त्रयाणामपि जन्मजनकक्रमेणैव पूर्ववत्सन्निधानादध्याहितेति सपिण्डाभावे सकुलपानां धनभागितेति अनन्तरः सपिण्डादयः इत्यादिना दर्शितम् ।

563 ये पुनः स्मृतिसमुच्चयकाराः शम्भुश्रीकरदेवस्वाम्यादयः संप्रचुद्धारविषयविभागयोः शिक्षाचारं मन्यमाना उद्धारादिविषयाणि स्मृतिवाक्यानि विचारयितुं सन्धिवित्तरं चकुरे । स्मृतिच० ( ख. section p. 266 ).

564 श्रीकण्ठश्रीकराचार्यैः भूतिस्मृतिपुराणयैः । स्मृतिशास्त्रेष्वनेकेषु विपरीतैर्गोष्पनेकधा । अनु-हानुपकारार्थं स्मृतिष्विच्छदं प्रयत्नतः । पुराणस्यायमीमंसासाङ्गवेदैः प्रयुक्तम् ॥ स्मृत्यर्थ-सार ( D. C. ms. No. 44 of 1870-71 copied in संवत् 1495 has these verses ).

others. But the Mit. does not connect Śrīkara's name with Yājñavalkya as a commentator, though Viśvarūpa is expressly so connected. It appears therefore more likely that Śrīkara wrote a digest of *smṛtis* in which he paid particular attention to the explanation of the words of Yājñavalkya. The Rājanītiratnākara<sup>165</sup> of Candēśvara quotes the views of Śrīkara on *rājanīti*, one of which is that the poor and helpless are entitled to a share of the royal wealth.

Hemādri<sup>166</sup> quotes the view of Śrīkara on Viṣṇu and disapproves of the faults found therein by the author of the Paṇḍita-pariṇāṣa.

As Śrīkara is quoted by the Mit., he is certainly earlier than 1050 A. D. As his views agree largely with Viśvarūpa's, he may provisionally be regarded as nearly of the same period as Viśvarūpa's. He cannot be earlier than Asahāya who is named both by Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi, though both of them are silent about Śrīkara. Hence Śrīkara must be placed somewhere between 800 and 1050 A. D. and probably flourished in the 9th century.

This Śrīkara must be distinguished from another Śrīkara, the father of Śrinātha.

### 63. Medhātithi.

Medhātithi is the author of an extensive and erudite commentary (*bhāṣya*) on the Manusmṛti. It is the oldest extant commentary on that *smṛti*. The *bhāṣya* of Medhātithi was first published about forty years ago by Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik in Bombay and recently Mr. J. R. Gharpure of Bombay brought out an edition of Medhātithi which closely follows Mandlik's edition. A critical edition of the *bhāṣya* based upon all the available Mss. is a great *desideratum*. An English translation of the *bhāṣya* by M. M. Dr. Ganganath Jha is in progress and several parts have been published so far. In the following Mr. Gharpure's edition has been used. The *bhāṣya* as printed is corrupt in many places, particularly in the 8th, 9th and

<sup>165</sup> 'राजधने दीनानायादिसकलपाणिनामंशित्वं बहुनायकत्वाद्वाय्वादिनाश्च्योति युक्तिरिति गोपाललक्ष्मीधरश्रीकरादयः ।' राजनीतिरत्नाकर pp. 40-41 (ed. by Jayasval).

<sup>166</sup> अत्र श्रीकरः प्रह । यदा गतकाले अमावास्याद्वयं भवति तदा मिथुनादितरेष्वामासी-  
भावात् । . . . अत्र च पण्डितपरितोषकता दुष्प्रमाणमिदम् । अनुत्पन्नमेतत् । . .  
तेन श्रीकरणां मतमेव साधु । चतुर्थे. III. 2, pp. 900-903.

12th *adhyāyas*. In Mr. Chhapure's edition there is no *bhāṣya* on verses 182-202 of the 9th chapter.

Bühler in his learned and exhaustive Introduction to the *Manu-smṛti* (S. B. E. vol. 25) brings together a good deal of information about *Medhātithi* (pp. CXXVIII-CXXVI). In J B R A S for 1925 pp. 217-221 I have offered criticisms on some of Bühler's views and have given certain additional information.

In several Mss. of the *bhāṣya* at the end of several *adhyāyas* occurs a verse<sup>167</sup> which says that a king named Madana, son of Sahāraṇa, brought copies of *Medhātithi*'s commentary from another country and effected a restoration (*jīṛṇoddhāra*). This does not refer to the restoration of the text of *Medhātithi*, but to the completion of the library of the king, who was Madanapāla, son of Sadhāraṇa and flourished, as we shall see later on, in the latter half of the 14th century.

Dr. Jolly (Tagore Law Lectures p. 6) holds *Medhātithi* to be a southerner on account of the fact that his father's name was Virasvāmin and on account of the attention paid to his *bhāṣya* by southern writers. It cannot be said that names ending in 'svāmin' were a monopoly of the south. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* gives several literary celebrities whose names ended in 'svāmin' (e. g. V. 34 mentions a Śivasvāmi). Kṣīrasvāmin was a Kāśhmīrian. The south has always been famed for preserving Mss. of valuable works from the north. Mss. of the *Kāvya-lāṅkāra* of Bhāmaha, a Kāśhmīrian, are very rare and have been found only in the south. Bühler (p. CXXIII) seems to be right in holding that *Medhātithi* was a Kāśhmīrian (or at least an inhabitant of Northern India). In explaining such words as 'svaraṣṭre' and 'janapadaḥ' (Manu VII. 32 and VIII. 42) *Medhātithi* introduces Kashmir. He gives (on Manu VIII. 400) the monopoly of the sale of elephants as a privilege of the kings of Kashmir where saffron abounds.<sup>168</sup> He says

167 मान्वा काप मनुस्मृतिस्तदुचिता व्याख्या हि मेधातिथेः सा लुप्तैव विधेर्वशात् कश्चिदपि प्राप्य न यत्तुस्तत्कम् । क्षीणोन्मोदो मदनः सद्धारणसुतो देशान्तरादाहृतैर्जीर्णोद्धारमन्वीकरत्तत इतस्तत्पुस्तकैल्लिखिते ॥ सद्धारण is a *Prākṛit* form of साधारण.

168 यानि भाण्डानि राजोपयोगतया यथा हस्तिनः काश्मीरेषु कुङ्कुमभाषेष्ु पटोर्णादीनि प्रतीचयेष्वन्या दाक्षिणात्येषु मणिमुक्तादीनि &c. Should we not read यथा हस्तिनः काश्मीरेषु कुङ्कुमं प्राचयेषु पटोर्णादीनि ? The meaning then would be elephants are the monopoly of kings everywhere, saffron in Kashmir &c.

that the rainbow is called 'vijñāna-chāyā' in Kashmir (on Manu IV. 59). He very frequently refers to northerners e. g. on Manu III. 234 he says 'kutapa' is the word for what is well-known as 'kambala' among northern people and on III. 238 he says 'northern people wrap their heads with *śaṭakas*' (garments). He says on Manu II. 24 that in the Himālayas in Kashmir it is not possible to perform the daily *sandhya* in the open nor is it possible to bathe every day in a river in 'Hemanta' and 'Śiśira'. On Manu II. 18 he says 'in other countries, some say, people marry one's maternal uncle's daughter; but that is opposed to the words of Gautama' (4. 3) and proceeds 'even in that country taking food in the same plate with (or in the company of) one whose thread ceremony is not performed is not at all regarded as dharma (but as improper conduct)'. This is clearly a reference to Baudhāyana Dh. S. (I. 1. 19) according to which 'mātulasutā-paripāyana' and taking food in the same plate with one whose *upanayana* is not performed are two of the five usages peculiar to the south. It is fair to add that later writers like Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa (Nirṇayasindhu, 3rd pariccheda on sāpīṇḍya) regard Medhātithi as a southerner.

Medhātithi quotes from or names numerous *smṛti* writers, such as Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Vasiṣṭha, Viṣṇu, Śaṅkha, Manu, Yājñ., Nārada, Parāśara, Brhaspati, Kātyāyana and others. He refers to Brhaspati as a writer on 'varta' (Manu VII. 43 and IX. 326) and to Brhaspati and Uśanaś as writers on politics and government (Manu VIII 285, VII. 2 and 155). On Manu VII. 43 he refers to *Cāṇakya* as a writer on 'dāṇḍanīti'. In numerous places he seems to have drawn upon Kauṭilya's work. For example, on Manu VII. 155 in interpreting 'pañcavarga' as 'kāpaṭika, udāsthita, grhapatika, vaidehika and tāpasavyaṅjana' he explains them almost in the words of Kauṭilya (I. 2). On VII. 148 he quotes the five *aṅgas* of *mantra* in the very words of Kauṭilya.<sup>169</sup> Vide also his remarks on Manu VII. 54 (testing of ministers by *upadhas*). He names Asahāya (on 8. 156) and certain writers as *Smṛtivarṇa-kāraḥ* (on II. 25). Bühler is not quite accurate (p. cxx, n. 1) when he states that 'Medhātithi gives only once the name of an

569 इमान्यद्वानि कर्मणामारम्भोपायः पुरुषद्वयसंपत् देशकालविभागः विनिपातप्रतीकारः कार्य-  
सिद्धिरिति । मेधातिथिः, compare कॉटिल्य I. 15 'कर्मणामारम्भोपायः ... कार्य-  
सिद्धिरिति पञ्चाद्वे मन्त्रः' ।

early commentator'. On VIII. 3 he refers to the interpretations of Bhartr̥yajña. He refers to the interpretations of Yajvan (on VIII. 151 and 156). Yajvan is only the last part of a name (as in Deva-rājajayvan). He quotes the interpretation of Manu by Upādhyāya (on II. 109, IV. 162, V. 43, IX. 141 and 147). Bühler holds that Medhātithi refers to his own teacher. It is more likely that Upādhyāya, like Yajvan, is the name or part of the name of a previous commentator of Manu. On VIII. 152 the explanations of R̥ju are twice cited. On IX. 253 Medhātithi cites the view of one Viṣṇusvāmin.<sup>570</sup> From the tenor of the quotation it appears that Viṣṇusvāmin was a writer on Mimāṃsā and not a commentator of Manu as Bühler thought (p. CXX, n. 1). Some Mss. read the word preceding Viṣṇusvāmi as 'kovara', others as 'kāvara'. It is probably 'kāvera' (residing on the Kāverī river).

He quotes (on Manu I. 19) a verse from the Sāṅkhyakārikā ('prakṛter mahān &c'). He speaks of Vindhyavāsa<sup>571</sup> as a Sāṅkhya and says that he does not admit a subtle interim body (antarābhava-deha). This is probably taken from Kumārila's words.<sup>572</sup> He repeatedly refers to the *purāṇas*, tells us (on III. 232) that they were composed by Vyāsa and contained accounts of creation. He quotes (on XII. 118) a verse from the Vākyapradīpa.<sup>573</sup>

He tells us (on II. 6) that the Pāṇcarātras, Nirgranthas (Jains) and Pāsupatas were outside the pale of Vedic orthodoxy.<sup>574</sup>

Medhātithi had drunk deep at the fountain of the Pūrva-mimāṃsā. His bhāṣya is full of the terms *vidhī* and *arthavāda*. He quotes Jaimini's sūtras frequently and applies them to the interpretation of smṛti texts at every step. Vide J B B R A S for 1925 p. 219 for examples. He cites passages from Śabara's *bhāṣya* (e. g. on III. 1). He mentions Kumārila by name (on I. 3) and as Bhaṭṭapāda (on Manu II. 18).

570 अतो यावद्दी वाचिकलभ्युतिः सा सर्वार्थवाद् इति कोवरविष्णुत्वामी ।

571 सांख्या इ केचिन्मन्त्राभवाभिच्छांति विन्ध्यवास्यभूतयः । मेधातिथि on मनु I. 55.

572 अन्तराभवदेहस्तु निषिद्धो विन्ध्यवासिना । श्लोकवार्तिक p. 704.

573 उक्तं च वाक्यप्रदीपे—न तदस्ति च तन्मास्ति इत्यादि । Dr. Kielhorn told Dr. Bühler that the verse is not found in the वाक्यप्रदीप of हरि (B. B. E. vol. 25, CXXIII, n. 1)

574 एवं सर्वं एव बाह्या भोजकपाञ्चरात्रिकनिघन्थानार्थवाद्वाशुपतप्रभृतयः ।

Bühler at first took the remark (on Manu XII. 19) about 'Śārīraka' as<sup>575</sup> referring to Śāṅkara's bhāṣya on the Vedāntasūtra, but later on changed his opinion (S B E vol. 25, p. cxxii) and held that it probably implies a reference to the Śārīraka sūtras. Bühler's considered opinion does not seem to be right. The words 'yathēha rājā ... apaiti' are a summary of Śāṅkara's bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra II. 1. 34 and II. 3. 42. and I. 2. 11-12. On Manu II. 83 he refers to the Upaniṣad-bhāṣya<sup>576</sup> on Chāndogya II. 23. 4 and says that that passage has been differently explained in the bhāṣya. Śāṅkara does explain that passage of the Chāndogya differently. But this is not all. In various other places Medhātithi seems to have in view the Śārīraka-bhāṣya of Śāṅkara. For example, on I. 80 he has<sup>577</sup> before him Śāṅkara's bhāṣya on the sūtra 'lokavat tu līlākāivalyam' (Vedāntasūtra II. 1. 33). He, however, seems to have favoured the position that the attainment of mokṣa is due<sup>578</sup> not to mere correct knowledge but to the combination (*samuccaya*) of knowledge and karma (vide remarks on Manu VI. 32, 74-75,

575 मनु च धर्माधर्मयोरिच्छां प्रति नियन्तुते ऐश्वर्यं ह्रियते । तथा शारिरके दर्शितं यथेह राजा सेवानुरूपं ददामि न च तस्मैश्वरत्वमपेति अतो महत्परमभ्रमाणां पश्यत इति व्यपदिश्यते ।

576 उपनिषद्भाष्ये चैतन्मया ध्येयत्वं चरितुं ह्यनुपयोगिनं यद्वर्जितं । मेधातिथिः. The उपनिषद् passage is 'तद्यथा शङ्कुना सर्वाणि पर्जाणि संतृण्णानि एवमेकहारेण सर्वा वाक् संतृण्णा' . मेधातिथि explains 'सर्वा ह्यर्था वाग्यवहारानतीतो वाचश्च सर्वस्या ओङ्कारो मूलम् । तथा च श्रुतिः । तद्यथा शङ्कुना &c. ... अन्तर्धानमनुरूपमतिरिचय-भाषावतिर्वा । कथं पुनः सर्वा वागोङ्कारेण संतृण्णा । चेदिदमस्तत्पदेऽङ्कारोऽर्पकत्वमुक्तम् । लौकिक्या अपि तदादर्शिनो वाक्यानि स्वरित्वापस्तम्बवचनात् ।' . शङ्कराचार्य explains 'यथा शङ्कुना पर्जन्यालेन सर्वाणि पर्जानि पर्जाविसृजयतामि संतृण्णानि पिद्धानि व्याप्ता-नीत्यर्थः । एवमेकहारेण ब्रह्मणा परमात्मनः प्रतीकमूनेन सर्वा वाक् शब्दजानां संतृण्णा । अकारो वा सर्वा वागित्यादिश्रुतेः ।' .

577 लीलायापि कौतुकेनापि लोके राजादीनां मनुसिर्हस्यत इति ब्रह्मविदः । मेधा०, 'यथा लोके कर्षापदातेचनरय राज्ञो ... लीलारूपः मनुच्यो भवन्ति' शाङ्करभाष्य.

578 On I. 50 he says 'परब्रह्मावातिस्तु मोक्षलक्षणा केवलानन्दरूपा ज्ञानात् ज्ञानकर्म-समुच्चयप्राप्तेति इत्यामः ।' ; on मनु VI. 74-75 'इदं तु ज्ञानकर्मणोः समुच्चयान्मोक्ष इति श्लोकद्वयं ज्ञापकम् ।' ; on XII. 87 अतश्च ब्रह्मनिष्ठपरेणापि वेदाभ्यासा-द्युत्पन्नुत्थेयानि ।



and XII. 87-90). This was probably due, as Kullūka remarks<sup>579</sup> (on I. 3), to his being a profound student of Mīmāṃsā.

From Medhātithi's bhāṣya it is perfectly clear that the text of Manu on which he commented was practically the same that we have now. He refers to ancient (*ciraṇtana*) expositors of Manu (on V. 127) and to former (*pūruva*) expositors (IV. 176, II. 134, X. 21). He discusses various readings in several places (vide III. 119, IV. 99, 185, 229, VIII. 53). On VIII. 182-183 he notes<sup>580</sup> that the order of the verses was traditionally different. Kullūka also notices that those two verses and the next two were read in one order by Medhātithi and Bhojadeva and in another by Govindarāja. On 9. 93 he notes that according to some that verse is not Manu's.<sup>581</sup>

Medhātithi's bhāṣya is full of very interesting information. But for want of space it cannot be analysed in detail. The Mit. (on Yaj. II. 124) refers to the view of Asahaya and Medhātithi (on Manu 9. 118) about the fourth share to be given to an unmarried sister at a partition between brothers and follows it in preference to Bhārucci's. On Yaj. III. 24 the Mit. tells us that certain texts of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga about varying periods of impurity for Brāhmaṇas and others were not accepted as authoritative by Dhātēśvara, Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. According to him<sup>582</sup> *śaṅkṛyāsa* does not mean the giving up of all the obligatory duties laid down by *śāstra*, but the giving of *śaṅkṛāra*. He<sup>583</sup> allowed a brāhmaṇa to adopt even a kṣatriya boy. He explains away the well-known verse 'naṣṭe mṛte... paṭiranyo vidhiyate' by

579 मेधातिथिस्तु कर्ममार्गावात्सत्या वेदस्य कार्यमेव तद्वत्तुर्धस्तं वेत्तीति कार्यतत्त्वार्थमिति ध्यायेत् ।

580 The verses are यो निक्षेपं याच्यमानः &c. and साक्ष्यभावे &c. मेधातिथिः says on the first व्यन्यस्तक्रमेण श्लोकः सामान्यायै पठ्यते । प्रथमस्यार्थश्लोकं पठित्वा साक्ष्यभाव इति पठितव्यम् । ततः स याच्य इति । एवं पाठो युक्तः ।

581 केचिद्विद्वद्भिरन्यथैव श्लोकः .

582 अथाप्युच्येत कर्मसंन्यासिनो निवृत्तिमार्गावस्थापिनो नैव केचिन्नाश्वार्थविधयः सन्ति । नायं शास्त्रार्थः । अहंकारममकारत्याग एव संन्यासो वक्ष्यते नाशेषशास्त्रार्थत्यागः । मेधा० on मनु VI. 32.

583 सरां न ज्ञातितः किं तर्हि कुलानुरूपैर्गुणैः क्षत्रियादिरपि ब्राह्मणस्य दत्तको युज्यते । मेधा० on मनु 9. 168.

taking the word 'pati' in its etymological sense and says<sup>584</sup> that the verse suggests that in order to maintain herself in such calamities the woman may take service with another person as her protector.

Medhātithi quotes several verses from his own work called *Smṛtīviveka* on Manu II. 6 (in all 24 verses) and on X. 5. he says that he has dealt with the topic of mixed castes in *Smṛtīviveka*. That work therefore was either entirely in verse or contained numerous verses. The *Parāśara-Mādhaviya* (vol. I, part 2, pp. 183-186) has a long quotation in verse on the duties of *yatis* from a work called *Smṛtīviveka* and the same work several times quotes verses attributed to Medhātithi (vol. I. part 1 p. 276 and part 2 p. 172). Hence the *Smṛtīviveka* cited by the *Parāśara-Mādhaviya* most probably is Medhātithi's work. Lollata<sup>585</sup> an early writer quotes several verses of Medhātithi in his work on *śrāddha*. In the *Tithinirṇaya-sarvasamuccaya* (Bhadrakamkar collection) several verses of Medhātithi on obstacles to marriage such as death are quoted.<sup>586</sup> In the *Yatidharmasamgraha* of Viśveśvara-sarasvatī (Ānandāśrama ed. p. 27) two well-known verses about '*aṅgamaibhūna*' (viz. *śrāddha-kīrtanaiḥ* &c.) are ascribed to Medhātithi and another verse<sup>587</sup> is cited (on the same page) about the six duties of *yatis*. These quotations show that Medhātithi

584 तत्र पालनात्पतिमन्यमाश्रयेन सार्वकर्मोद्दिनात्मवृत्त्यर्थम् । मेधा० on मनु. 5. 156,

585 पुत्रमावे सपिण्डा मानसपिण्डाः शिष्याश्च द्युः, तदभावे कृत्विगाचार्याविति मेधातिथि-स्मरणम् । (folio 4b of the ms. of *श्राद्धकरण* by लोलताचार्य in the आनन्द-अश्रम library at Poona); जज्ञाशौचमृताशौचविषये श्राद्ध मेधातिथिः । पादपक्षालने श्राद्धे स्वनलस्थापनं कृतम् । मधुपर्के विवाहे वै आशौचेऽप्युष्वन्माचरेत् । (ibid. folio 10a).

586 वधूवरार्यं घटिते सुनिश्चिते वरस्य गेहेष्वथ कन्यकायाः । मृत्युर्वादि स्यान्मनुजस्य चित्त-  
(चित्त ! )दानं कुर्यात्सलु जातमङ्गलम् ॥ (folio 45 b) ; वाद्यानान्तरं यत्र कुलयोः  
कस्यचिन्मृतिः । तदा संपत्सरादूर्ध्वं विवाहः शुभदो भवेत् ॥ (folio 46 a) ; चोले च  
व्रतकाले च विवाहे व्रतकर्मणि । भार्या रजस्वला यस्य प्रायस्तस्य च (न ! ) शोभनम् ॥  
† folio 47 a) ; पृथग्मातृजयोः कार्यो विवाहस्त्येकवासरं । एकस्मिन्मण्डपे चैव पृथग्वे-  
दिकयोस्तथा ॥ (folio 51 a). The first two verses occur in *मदाधर's* com-  
mentary on the *पारस्करगृह्य* and the last three are cited in the *कस्यचिन्ता-*  
*मणि* of शिवराम (D. C. ms No. 221 of 1179-80, folios 54 b, 55a, 56 b.)

587 निष्ठाटनं जपो ध्यानं स्नानं शौचं सुरार्चनम् । कर्तव्यानि चरेद्वापि यतिना नृपदण्डवत् ॥  
पतिधर्मसंग्रह.

wrote an extensive work in verse on several topics of dharma. It is to be fervently hoped that this work of Medhātithi would be brought to light some day or other. Coming as it does from such an erudite and ancient writer, it would throw a flood of light on the development of dharmaśāstra.

As Medhātithi names Asahāya and Kumārila and most probably quotes the views of Śāṅkarācārya, he is later than 820 A. D. As the Mit. looked upon him as an authoritative writer, he must be earlier than 1050 A. D. Most probably he flourished between 825 and 900 A. D. Kullūka<sup>588</sup> on Manu III. 127 says that Medhātithi is much earlier than Govindarāja (1050-1100 A. D.). Lollāṭa is mentioned as a predecessor in the Smṛtyartha-sāra of Śrīdhara, which was composed between 1150-1200 A. D. So Lollāṭa is much earlier than 1150 A. D. He looked upon Medhātithi as a writer whose work was as authoritative as a smṛti. A work called *Prakāśa*<sup>589</sup> which is quoted in the *Kalpataru* appears to have mentioned Medhātithi. Hemādri quotes at great length Medhātithi's comments in several places.<sup>590</sup> Hence the above date is amply corroborated. This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that, though he names Asahāya, he does not mention Viśvarūpa, Bhārucci or Śrīkara. If by Miśra<sup>591</sup> in his comment on Manu XII. 118 he refers to Vācaspati-miśra, the author of the *Bhāmati* and other works, then he will have to be placed after 850 A. D.

#### 64. Dhāreśvara Bhojadeva.

The Mit. (on Yāj. II. 135) says that Dhāreśvara tries to reconcile the conflicting texts about the right of the widow to succeed to her husband's estate by saying that she succeeded if her husband was separate and if she was willing to submit to *nivṛga*. On the same verse the Mit. says that following Manu 9. 217 Dhāreśvara placed the paternal grand-mother immediately after the mother as an heir and even before the father. On Yāj. III. 24 the Mit. says that certain texts of *Ṛṣyaśrīṅga* about impurity on death were not

588 मेधातिथिप्रभृतिभिर्गोविन्दराजादपि वृद्धतरैरनभ्युपेतत्वात् ।

589 Vide note 185.

590 Vide चतुर्वर्गः III. 1. 1062-63 where मेधातिथि's comment on मनु III. 265 is cited.

591 पद्मानुद्गराणामपि एकत्वप्रतिपादनपरत्वादेव यादृजः शयस्सस्य मिश्रैः कृत एव क्लेशः

accepted as authoritative by Dhāreśvara, Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. Vide (sec. 60 on Viśvarūpa) about the remarks of the Smṛticandrikā on Dhāreśvara and Viśvarūpa. The Hāralatā<sup>592</sup> (p. 117) remarks (as does the Mit. on Yāj. III. 24) that Bhojadeva, Viśvarūpa, Govindarāja, and the Kāmadhenu did not cite certain texts as Jātūkarṇa's and that therefore they were not authoritative.

That Dhāreśvara is to be identified with Bhojadeva of Dhārā, perhaps the most famous Indian prince as a patron of learned men, follows from several considerations. The Dāyabhāga<sup>593</sup> cites Bhojadeva and Dhāreśvara without making any distinction between the two. Some views that are ascribed to Dhāreśvara in one work are ascribed to Bhojadeva in another. The Vivādatāṇḍava of Kamalākara ascribes to Bhojadeva the same views as to the widow's rights as are ascribed to Dhāreśvara by the Mit. Mss. of the Rājamārtanḍa (commentary on the Yogasūtras) have colophons saying that the work was composed by Dhāreśvara Bhojarāja. Dhāreśvara is styled *ācārya* by the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 24) and *sāri* by the Smṛticandrikā (II p. 257). Works on numerous branches of knowledge were composed by (or in the name of) Bhoja of Dhārā. On poetics we have two extensive works of his, viz. the *Sarasvatikanthābharaṇa* and the *Sṛṅgāraprakāśa*. A verse at the<sup>594</sup> beginning of the Rājamārtanḍa tells us that Bhoja composed a work on grammar, a commentary on the Yogasūtra and a work on medicine called Rājamrgaṅka just as Patañjali wrote on these three subjects (vide Mitra's Notices of Mss, vol. I, p. 115 for the medical work of Bhoja called Rājamārtanḍa alias Yogasāra). He composed a work on astronomy called Rājamrgaṅka. A work of his on the Śaiva *āgama* called *Tattva-prakāśa* has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. There are several other works ascribed to him, which need not be

592 यानि जातुर्कर्णान्मा वचनानि लिखितानि तानि भोजदेव-विष्णुरूप-गोविन्दराज काम-  
धेनुकद्रिलिखितस्वाम्यपुराणविरोधाच्च निर्मूलायेव ।

593 दायभाग (p. 53, ed. of 1829) 'अथ वा धारेस्वरपुरस्कृतो वचनार्थः । इच्छया विभाग-  
दानमवृत्तस्य पितुः पेतामहधने सदशं स्वाम्य पुत्रैः सह न तत्र स्वोपार्जितधन इव न्यूना-  
धिकविभागमिच्छातः कर्तुमर्हतीति ।'; दायभाग (p. 280) 'अत एव भोजदेवेनापि  
रुतारुतदुहितधिकारे सङ्गमतिरिचमिधाय यथा पितृधने स्वाम्यामिति वचनं लिखितम् ।'

594 शब्दानामनुशासनं विदधता पातजले कुर्वता वृत्ति राजमृगाङ्गसंज्ञकमपि ध्यातव्यता  
वेद्यके । वाक्येतेष्वपुत्रा मल्लः कणभृता मर्जेव येनोद्धतस्तस्य श्रीरणरत्नमल्लनृपतेर्वाचो  
जयन्त्युपपन्नाः ॥ Intro. 4th verse.

set out here. That he composed an extensive work on the principal subjects of dharmaśāstra follows from the numerous references to him contained in the Mit., the Dayabhāga, the Hārata and other works. The Śuddhi-kaumudī<sup>595</sup> (B. I. edition) of Govindānanda frequently speaks of a work called Rājamartāṇḍa of Bhoja on śrāddha. The Jayasīṃha-kalpadrūpa (p. 26) quotes Rājmārtāṇḍa and Bhojarājīya on the same page. Whether Bhoja composed on Dharmaśāstra one work or two (as he composed two on poetics), and whether his work was a commentary or an independent digest it is difficult to say. M. M. Haraprasādaśāstri in one of his reports threw out the suggestion that the Kāmadhenu was the work of Bhoja, but this is entirely wrong, as the words of Śrīdatta in his Pitṛbhakti<sup>596</sup> will show.

Besides the two points noted above (about widow's rights and about the grandmother), there are others on which the Mit. and Dhāreśvara disagreed: viz. Dhāreśvara held ownership to be known only from śāstra, while the Mit. held it to be *laukika* (vide Viramitrodaya pp. 528, 536); Dhāreśvara held that the word 'duhitarah' in Yaj. stands for *putrika* in the order of succession (Smṛti-candrikā II, p. 295-96). On other points the views of Dhāreśvara coincide with those of the Mit., viz. on the usage of giving a special share to the eldest son having fallen into desuetude, on the daughter's son's right to succession, on the father's inability to give a greater or smaller share to his sons in ancestral property on a partition during his life-time. Vide my article on Bhojadeva in JBBRAS for 1925 pp. 223-224 for details of these and other views ascribed to Bhojadeva. A few other references may be noted here. The Nirṇaya-mṛta<sup>597</sup> (p. 68) quotes a Bhojarājīya text. In the Kālaviveka of

595 अत एव राजमार्तण्डे भोजराजः-आहुविष्ने समुत्पन्ने मृतस्यापिदिने दिने । अमावास्या प्रकुर्वति पदन्त्येके मनीषिणः ॥ p. 18. Vide also the आहुक्रियाकौमुदी p. 480 for the same verse from the राजमार्तण्ड, which is perhaps more frequently quoted by गोविन्दानन्द than any other nibandha.

596 तदेतानि वाक्यानि राजालिखितत्वान्नादेयानीति केचित् । तदयुक्तं कामधेनावपि राज-निबन्धवच्छिष्टपरिग्रहसंशयं नाहन्तीति चेत्, न राजालिखितत्वस्यादर्शनेनाप्युपपत्तेः । न हि यावन्ति स्मृतिवाक्यानि तावन्ति सर्वाण्येव राजा दृष्टानीति प्रमाणमस्ति । वितुमार्क (folio 58 of the D. C. ms No. 152 cf 1898-95).

597 यत्तु भोजराजीयं-न दिवा न निशासु च विधिहता न च सप्तमीशिवसम्प्रे । इदं सप्तमीशिवनिषेधवत् । निर्णयामृत.

Jimatavāhana two verses about taking food at the time of eclipses are cited from Bhojadeva (p. 539). In several works certain views are stated to be those of a Bhūpālapaddhati or of Bhūpāla or of Rāja. The reference seems to be to a work of king Bhoja. For example, in the Dānaratnākara a Bhūpāla-paddhati and Bhūpāla are frequently quoted.<sup>598</sup> The Samayapradīpa<sup>599</sup> and Ācārādarsa of Śrīdatta speak of both Bhūpāla and Rāja. In other works also the views of Bhoja are often referred to as those of Rāja (the king *par excellence*). For example, the Ekāvali<sup>600</sup> (a work on Poetics) says that in the Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa the king accepted only one *rasa*. The Varṣakau-mudī (p. 107) says that a certain verse is cited by the Gaṅgāvākyā-vali without naming the author, but as it is not cited by the Rāja and the rest, it is unauthoritative.

The several *tattvas* of Raghunandana mention two works of Bhojadeva or Bhojarāja. For example, the Tithitattva (Jivananda vol. I, p. 17) cites a text as quoted in the Bhujabalabhīma by Bhojarāja; similarly in the Śraddhatattva, (Jivananda vol. I, p. 266) two texts are cited as quoted by Bhojadeva in Bhujabalabhīma. Raghunandana also mentions Rājamārtanḍa of Bhojarāja (vide Āhnikatattva, vol. I, p. 451). He often cites the Rājamārtanḍa and the Bhujabalabhīma on the same page without the author's name (e. g. vide Udvahatattva, vol. II, p. 124). Raghunandana often speaks of a Brhad-Rājamārtanḍa along with the Rājamārtanḍa on the same or the next page (vide Tithitattva, vol. I, pp. 25-26 and Jyotistattva pp. 605 and p. 655). That the Bhujabalabhīma and the Rājamārtanḍa are two different works appears to be clear. Whether the Brhad-Rājamārtanḍa and the Rājamārtanḍa are distinct works is not quite clear. (Vide Tri. Cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for

598 पद्मस्तनवतीस्तद्वद् मङ्गलविष्णुमहेश्वरम् । श्लोकपालमसहेताभि स्ववाइनसमन्विताम् ॥ इति श्लोकार्थपादो नृपालपद्धतिषोडश्विपर्योटः । दानरत्नाकर (D. C. ms. No. 114 of 1884-86) folio 34 b; vide folios 19a, 28a, 29a, 50b for नृपाल.

599 तदेष गोडीयवचनानि प्रमाणवता तदनुसारेण व्यवस्थोक्ता । नृपालादिमते तु समन्वे-कादशषोर्वाचनिकी व्यवस्था निधयन्तरेषु प्रधानकालानुक्रमवादादुदयकालम्भापिन्यादिरिति । समयप्रदीप (D. C. ms. No. 371 of 1875-76) folio 8 b; केचिच्च राजाय-लिखितवाक्यबलान् युगाद्येषु युगान्तेषु संक्रान्तिषु विण्ढं न मन्यन्ते । समयप्रदीप folio 54 a; इदं च योषाइनवाक्यं राजायलिखितमपि बहुजनसंमतशक्तिखितम् । पयके पदार्थ (D. C. ms. No. 342 of 1875-76) folio 29 a.

600 राजा तु नृपारमेकमेव भूतारप्रकाशे रसमुदीचकार । एकावलि P. 98 (B. S. series).



1919-22, p. 4562, No. 3079 for Bhujabalanibandha of Bhojarāja in 18 adhyāyas on astrological matters in relation to dharmasāstra such as *strijātaka*, *karnādivedha*, *vrata*, *vivāhamelaka-dāśaka*, *grha-karmapraveśa*, *saṁkrāntisnāna*, *dvidāśamāsakṛtya*). The Bhujabalabhīma is also mentioned by Śulapaṇi and by Rudradhara in his *Śraddhāviveka*.

Bhoja of Dhāra, according to the Bhojaprabandha, had a long reign of 55 years. There are three certain dates of his. A grant of Bhoja is dated *saṁvat* 1078 (i. e. 1021-22 A. D.). *Vide* I. A. vol. VI, p. 53; *vide* also I. A. vol. 41, p. 201 for Bhoja's grant dated *saṁvat* 1076 Māgha (Jan. 1020) and E. I. vol. XVIII, p. 320 for Betma plate of Bhoja dated 1076 Bhādrapada (September 1020 A. D.). His astronomical work, the Rājamṛgāṅka, takes *śake* 964 (1042-43 A. D.) as its initial date.<sup>601</sup> Bhoja's uncle Muñja was slain by Tailapa between 994-997 A. D. and Muñja was succeeded by Sindhura or Sindhula also styled Navasahasāṅka. An inscription of Jayasinha, the successor of Bhoja, is dated *saṁvat* 1112, i. e. 1055-56 A. D. (*vide* E. I. vol. III, pp. 36-50). Therefore Bhoja must have reigned between 1000 and 1055 A. D.

There is a work named *Dharma-pradīpa* by Bhoja (Deccan College No. 26 of 1874-75). It is a work by another Bhoja later than 1400 A. D., as it quotes *Vijñāneśvara* and the *Madanapārijāta*. It was composed by an assembly of *pandits* at the bidding of king Bhoja of Aśapura, son of Bhāramalla. The ms. was copied in *saṁvat* 1695 (i. e. 1638-39 A. D.).

#### 65. *Devasvāmin*

The *Smṛticandrika* tells us that *Devasvāmin* composed like Śrīkara and Śambhu a work in the nature of a digest of *smṛtis* (*smṛti-samuccaya*). *Vide* note 563 above. The commentary of Nārāyaṇa of the Naidhruva gotra, son of Divākara, on the Aśvalayana-grhyasūtra<sup>602</sup> says that it relies upon the bhāṣya of *Devasvāmin* on the same work. Gargya Nārāyaṇa, son of Narasinha, in his commentary on the Aśvalayana-śrautasūtra, tells us that he follows the bhāṣya of *Devasvāmin* thereon. It is hardly

601 शाक्यो वेदतुल्यन्दानो रविमो माससंपुलः । अधो देवान्वितो द्विस्थस्त्रिवेदघ्नस्तयोर्हृतः ॥ राजमृगाङ्क ( D. C. ms. No. 105 of 1873-74 ).

602 आश्वलायनगृह्यस्य भाष्यं भगवता कृतम् । देवस्वामिसमाख्येन विस्तीर्णं तस्यसादृतः ॥



likely that two writers of the same name flourished about the same time. Hence it may be assumed that Devasvāmin wrote bhāṣyas on the Āśvalāyana Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras and a digest of smṛtis, where he discussed all topics of dharma, such as ācāra, vyavahāra, āśauca &c. The commentary of Bhaṭṭoji<sup>603</sup> on the Caturvīṃśatimata refers to the view of Devasvāmin on śraddha and āśauca. Hemādri<sup>604</sup> (vol. III, part 2, p. 324) and Mādhava (on Parāśara, vol. I, part 2, p. 328) also quote Devasvāmin. The Smṛticandrikā quotes the views of Devasvāmin on vyavahāra and āśauca several times. For example, Devasvāmin<sup>605</sup> explained the word Yautaka differently from the Nighaṇṭu (which explained it as the wealth that was given to a woman when she was seated on the same seat with her husband at the time of marriage). Devasvāmin explained that the words of the Saṁgraha<sup>606</sup> that, when a son was born to one of several full brothers, he stood as a son to all and that the same rule applied to several co-wives when one of them had a son, meant that in both cases another son should not be adopted. Devasvāmin held the view (like Bhojadeva) that the word 'dubhitr' in Yājñavalkya's verses on succession meant *putrika*.<sup>607</sup> Devasvāmin explained

603 देवस्वामिमाधवपारिजातकारप्रभृतयस्तु मासिके आशौचेनोपहृते मृतकानन्तरशुद्धिदिन एव कर्तव्यं पुरस्तदहरेव वेति । चतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्यान p. 135 (Benares ed.).

604 यदि पूर्वाह्णे पर्यसन्धिः समाप्येत तदा नितरामेव च शोभनं यदि पुनरपराधे रात्रौ वा तदहरोप्य शोभने याग इति । हेमाद्रि (कालनिर्णय) III, 2, p. 324; vide pp. 496 and 565 of the same volume for mention of देवस्वामी.

605 देवस्वामी तु पितृगृहलब्धं भर्तृगृहलब्धपेक्षया पृथग्धनतया मातुर्धनं मातुर्धनं मातुर्धनं तच्चिन्त्यम् । स्मृतिच. II, p. 285; vide श्री. p. 696 'भर्तृगृहलब्धपृथग्धनतया पितृगृहलब्धं मातुर्धनं योतुकम् । यौतुशब्दस्याभिधेयमप्यर्थः । यु मिश्रणाभिधेयोरिति धातुपाठात् । युतसिद्धाविति प्रयोगाच्चेति देवस्वाम्याह तदसत् ।'.

606 The verses of the संग्रह are : यदेकजाता बहवो भ्रातरस्तु सहोदराः । एकस्यापि सुते जाते सर्वे ते दुषिणः स्मृताः ॥ बहूनिमेकपत्नीनामेव एव विधिः स्मृतः । एका चेत्पुत्रिणी तासां पिण्डवस्तु स इष्यते ॥. The स्मृतिच. (II, p. 289) says 'तस्य पूर्वोक्तं सहोदराणां देवस्वामिना तावयार्थ उक्तः उभयत्र नाम्न्यः पतिनिधिः कार्य इति चन्द्रेण'. The same words occur in the स. वि. (para 392 and p. 305) and in the दत्तकमीमांसा (p. 42).

607 एवं सोपपत्तिकी पत्न्यभावे दुहितृगामिता मृता सहस्पतिनैव यद् दुहितृगामि धनमिति विधायकं वचनजातं तदुत्थिकाविषयमेव न पुनरुत्थिकादुहितृविषयमिति धारेश्वर-देवस्वामिदेवराजमतं स्मृतितन्त्रत्वाभिज्ञत्वाभिमानोन्मादकल्पितं निरस्तं वेदितव्यम् । स्मृतिच. II, 295.

Manu<sup>608</sup> 9. 141 as saying that the adopted son (in the particular case mentioned by Manu) took all the wealth and the *gotra* of his adoptive father. Vide *Smṛticandrikā* (Mysore ed.) on *āśauca* p. 22. The *Vaijayanī* or *Nandapaṇḍita* (on *Viṣṇu* 22. 32) quotes the view of *Devasvāmin* that on the death of unmarried daughters mourning was to be observed for ten days.<sup>609</sup> The *Smṛticandrikā* quotes a verse from *Devasvāmin*<sup>610</sup> on *śrāddha* also.

In the *Prapañcahrdaya* (Tri. S. series, p. 39) we are told that *Devasvāmin* composed a brief gloss on the 12 *adhyāyas* of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra* and the four *adhyāyas* of the *Saṃkarṣakāṇḍa*, seeing that the *bhāṣyas* of *Bodhāyana* and *Upavarṣa* were vast. The Govt. collection of Mss. at Madras has *Devasvāmin*'s *bhāṣya* on the *Saṃkarṣakāṇḍa* (vide Tri. Cat. vol. III, part I, Sanskrit C, p. 3841). There are not sufficient data available to establish the identity of this writer with *Devasvāmin*, the writer on *dharmaśāstra*.

As the *Smṛticandrikā* quotes *Devasvāmin* so profusely, he cannot be later than 1150 A. D. His earlier limit can be determined in several ways. *Gārgya Nārāyaṇa*'s comment on *Āśvalāyanaśrauta* (II. 1. 14) is quoted by *Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana*, who is himself quoted by *Hemādri*. Therefore *Gārgya Nārāyaṇa* could not have flourished later than 1100 A. D. (vide *Bhandarkar's Report on search for mss.*, 1883-84, pp. 30-31). Therefore *Devasvāmin* probably flourished about 1000-1050 A. D., if not earlier. The fact that *Devasvāmin* held certain views similar to *Bhojadeva*'s also corroborates the chronological position thus assigned to him.

## 66. *Jitendriya*

*Jitendriya* is one of those writers who at one time held an eminent position but in course of time sank into unmerited oblivion. The works of *Jimūtavāhana* bear abundant testimony to the fact that *Jitendriya* wrote an extensive work on *dharmaśāstra*. In his *Kalāviveka* (p. 380) *Jimūtavāhana* says that *Jitendriya*<sup>611</sup> wrote on the

608 अत्र तृतीयपादार्थो देवस्वामिना विवृतः तदीयं सर्वं रिक्थं गोत्रं च हरेतेवेति ।

609 देवस्वामी त्वमसास्वपि दशाहमाह ।

610 श्राद्धविघ्ने समुत्पन्ने अन्तरा मृतसूतके । अनावास्थां प्रकुर्वीत शुद्धिमैके मनीषिणः ।  
स्मृतिच० II. p. 385.

611 जितेन्द्रियश्च परांशुकसंघमहुरिव रथचलयोग्लोके । कृतमपि कालनिरूपणमपुना  
निःसारतां याति ॥

topic of *kāla* (i. e. on determining doubtful points about the months, the tithis, *samkrāntis*, &c. and the religious rites to be performed on them). In several passages of the *Kalaviveka* the very words of Jitendriya are quoted. Jitendriya said that a rite that occupies in performance only a short time must be performed at the principal time indicated for it<sup>612</sup> (and not at a *gaṇṇa* time). From another quotation it appears that Jitendriya controverted the views of a predecessor Sambhramabhaṭṭa.<sup>613</sup> Jitendriya is said to have enumerated the names of the fifteen *muhurtas* of the day from the *Matsyapurāṇa*<sup>614</sup>; vide pp. 257, 367 of the *Kalaviveka* for other places where the views of Jitendriya on *kāla* occur. In the *Dayabhāga* of Jimūtavahana also Jitendriya is frequently mentioned. The *Dayabhāga* says that, if a man takes another's gold believing it to be iron or takes what is another's believing (in good faith) that it is his own, Jitendriya held in his remarks on the section of *prayacitta* that he is not guilty of theft.<sup>615</sup> The peculiar doctrine of the *Dayabhāga* that the widow of a person, whether he was separate or a member of a joint family, succeeded to her deceased husband's estate had been already expounded by Jitendriya.<sup>616</sup> The view of Jitendriya was that whatever is acquired by a person without using means or materials jointly owned by all members of a family is his exclusive property and that *maitra* (gifts of a friend) and *audvāhika* are

612 तथा जितेन्द्रियेणाप्युक्तं यत्पुनरस्वकालीनमेव कृत्यं स्वकाले समापयितुं शक्यते तन्मो-  
क्षपदैलोः कर्मवेतस्यस्यासामर्थ्यस्याभावान्मुख्यकाल एव कर्मानुष्ठानमित्यन्तम् ।  
कालविवेक P. 489.

613 अस्यापि एवंविधानि संधर्ममहकल्पिताम्युपेक्षणीयानि इत्येदन्तं, तदयमतिममृतमो  
क्षः कथं सुन्दरमतिना जितेन्द्रियेणामिन्द्रिताः । कालविवेक P. 255.

614 अत एव जितेन्द्रियेण 'रोद्विभेदश्च मेघश्च ... भटः पञ्चदश स्मृताः ॥' एतान्मास्य-  
पुराणोक्तानेकैकमुहूर्तपरिमितान् यावन्निवतक्रमसंज्ञानभिधाय दर्शितम् । कालविवेक  
p. 370.

615 अत एव प्रायश्चित्तकाण्डे जितेन्द्रियेण भणितं यदि स्वर्णमेव परकीयं लोहदिबुद्ध्या  
गृह्णाति असुवर्णं सुवर्णैबुद्ध्या आत्मीयसदृशं परकीयमेवात्मीयबुद्ध्या गृह्णाति सर्वत्र  
नापहारनिपातिः सर्वत्र यथावस्तु परकीयमुद्धेरभावात् । दायभाग P. 350 (ed. of  
1829, p. 224 of Jivananda).

616 अतोऽविशेषेणैव विभक्तत्वाद्यनपेक्षयैवापुत्रस्य भर्तुः कृत्स्नधने पत्यधिकारो जिते-  
न्द्रियोक्त आदरणीयः । दायभाग P. 256.

only cited (by Yāj.) as examples of this proposition.<sup>617</sup> Jitendriya held the daughter's son entitled to succeed after the daughter, just as Viśvarūpa, Bhoja and Govindarāja did. In the Vyavahāramātrkā of Jimūtavāhana also Jitendriya's views are cited (on pp. 302, 334). This shows that he wrote also on procedure in law courts. Jitendriya is also referred to in the Dāyatattva of Raghannandana.<sup>618</sup> But no other early writer quotes Jitendriya. Therefore it appears that Jitendriya was probably a Bengal writer and flourished about 1000-1050 A. D. and that he was completely eclipsed by the brilliant Jimūtavāhana.

### 67. Bālaka.

Bālaka like Jitendriya is no more than a name to us. Jimūtavāhana's works make frequent reference to him. He held the view that the daughter's son, not being expressly mentioned as an heir by Yāj., came in after those expressly mentioned from the widow to the brother.<sup>619</sup> The Dāyabhāga notices that Bālaka read a text of Āpastamba in a wrong way.<sup>620</sup> Bālaka said that the words of Śaṅkha 'svaryātasya-aputrasya bhrātṛgāmi dravyam... jyeṣṭhā vā patnī' apply either to a widow belonging to a caste other than her husband's or to a very young widow or in case her husband was undivided or re-united.<sup>621</sup> Bālaka says that when some property is acquired by one brother by means of learning, other brothers are not entitled

617 जितेन्द्रियेणापि बहुप्रकारं विमृशोक्तं तदस्य यावदुक्तप्रपञ्चस्य संक्षेपेणायमर्थः प्रत्येतव्यः यत्किञ्चिद्वनमसाधारणोपायाजितं तदसाधारणं प्रदर्शितमिदं वन्ते । दायभाग p. 189.

618 अत एव परस्त्रीयत्वेन विशेषतो जानतस्तद्वहारे रत्नेभ्यं न तु स्वद्रव्यधर्मेण परद्रव्यव्यवहर्तुर्वापि जितेन्द्र- (जितेन्द्रियः) दायभागमापन्नविषयैककृतमन्तम् । दायतत्त्व p. 182 (vol. II of Jivansanda's ed.); compare the view of बालक set out below from the दायभाग (note 623.).

619 यत् बालकवचनं पत्नी दुहितरभ्येव पितरौ भ्रातरस्तथा इत्यादि नियतकमादधस्तन एव दौहित्रस्याधिकार इति तद् बहुस्यतिविरोधाद् बालवचनमेव । दायभाग p. 282.

620 इदं बालकेनाकुलीकृत्य पठितं यत्तु धर्मेण द्रव्याणि प्रतिपादयति ज्येष्ठस्तं वित्तसम्भवं कुर्यादिति तदनाकरम् । दायभाग p. 161. The sūtra is Āp. Dh. 8. II. 6. 14. 15 'यस्तु धर्मेण द्रव्याणि प्रतिपादयति ज्येष्ठोऽपि तमभागं कुर्यात्.'

621 यच्च बालकेनोक्तं— अस्तवर्णाविषयं वा युवत्यभिमाणं वा अविभक्तसंतुष्टविषयं वा सङ्गदिवचनं इति तेनाभ्यवस्थितशास्त्रार्थकथनेनात्मनो बालकपक्षमेव प्रकटिकृतं सम्यग्देहादेकतरानुष्ठानानुपपत्तेः । दायभाग p. 262. Here there is a play on the word बालक.

to that wealth.<sup>622</sup> The *Dāyabhāga* refers to a passage from *Bālaka* in which the latter relies on the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* example of *mudga* and *māṣa*.<sup>623</sup> In the *Vyavahāramātrkā* of *Jimūtavāhana* (p. 346) it is stated that *Bāla* held the same views as those of *Śrīkara-miśra* on a certain point. In the *Prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇa* of *Bhavadeva* a writer named *Vāloka* is mentioned (vide *JASB* 1912 at p. 336). This seems to be a Bengali scribe's way of pronouncing the name *Bālaka*. *Bālaka* is mentioned in *Raghunandana's Vyavaharatattva* (p. 47) also as holding the view with *Śrīkara* and others that adverse possession for twenty years conferred ownership in the case of immovable property.<sup>624</sup> *Śūlapāṇi* in his *Durgotsaviveka* twice quotes the views of *Bālaka* and once refutes the latter.<sup>625</sup> Hence it appears that *Bālaka* was an eastern or Bengal writer, composed a work on several branches of *dharmaśāstra* (such as *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta*) and flourished before 1100 A. D.

#### 68. Balarūpa.

In the *Smṛtisāra* of *Harinātha* (I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 128a ff) there is a long passage setting out the views of *Balarūpa* on the question of the succession to a childless man. In the *Vivāda-candra*<sup>626</sup> of *Misaru-miśra* the opinions of *Balarūpa* (*Balarūpamata*)

622 बालकेनाप्युक्तं न ह्येकेन धात्रा विद्याद्विना लब्धेऽनरपामधिकारसंभवः प्रमाणाभावादि-  
त्यन्तेन । दायभाग p. 100.

623 अतो यच्चालकवचनं यथा मुद्रापचारे मापप्रतिनिधौ मुद्राणां माषाणां च यज्ञसंबन्धे—  
अयस्त्रिधा वे माषा—इति माषा निविद्धाः, तथात्मीयानात्मीयहरणेषु अनात्मीयापहारो  
निविद्धः, तद्वालवचनमेव पूर्वस्याहृतस्य स्तेयपदार्थस्वेवाभावात् । दायभाग p. 356.

624 तस्माद्याज्ञवल्क्यादिवचनाद्विशतिवर्षदशवर्षादिकालेभ्यो एव स्वत्वं जनयति तथा काल-  
प्राप्तिचलेन बीजमहुरं जनयति तरबश्च कुसुममिति स्वामिना चापरित्वकेषु शास्त्रोक्त-  
कालनिर्माणान्त्वाम्यमन्यस्य भवति यथा जयंन राक्षः परराष्ट्रघने इति । एवमेव  
श्रीकरबालकजोऽलोकभवदेवमहर्ष्यलयाणिकुल्लकमहर्षण्डेश्वरमाश्रित्यवर्षमानोपास्याय-  
मभूतयः । व्यवहारादपि तादृगेव । व्यवहारादपि p. 223 ( *Jivavanda* vol. II ).

625 इति आश्विनाधिकारियादिष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनमात्रदर्शिना बालकेनात्र विषये पूर्वदिने नवमी-  
कृत्यं युष्मादिति यदुक्तं ' भगवतः प्रवेशादिविस्तर्गान्ताश्च याः क्रियाः ' इत्यादि  
वचनेन विरोधात्तद्वेद्यम् । दुर्गास्तवविवेक p. 16 ( *Sanskrit Śāhitya-pariśad* ed. ),  
Vide p. 9 also for reference to बालक's view on देवीपूजा.

626 ब्रह्मिण्यामभावे तदन्वयस्तत्पुत्रादिर्भिभजेदित्यर्थः । मालुम्ब्य इति बालकपुत्रतः ।  
विवादचन्द्र ( D. C. ms. No. 57 of 1883-84 ) folio 35a ; बालरूपमते तु संनृष्ट-  
सङ्गोदरत्वमपि संनृष्टविभागघटने हेतुः । *ibid.* folio 35a.

that the words of Yāj. ( II. 117 *tābhya rtenvayaḥ* ) mean the offspring of the mother and on the succession to reunited coparceners are cited. In the *Vivādacintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati<sup>627</sup> the views of Balarūpa are frequently cited. Relying on the words of Parāśara, Balarūpa held that an unmarried daughter was entitled to preference over a married one as an heir to a sonless man. As regards the verse of Hārita that if a young widow was *karkaṣā* ( quarrelsome, 'suspected of unchastity ' according to others ), then she was to be given maintenance alone ( out of her husband's estate ), Balarūpa's view was that it refers to the widow of a re-united coparcener.<sup>628</sup> Balarūpa was of opinion that *ātmabandhus*, *pīṭṭbandhus* and *mātṛbandhus* succeeded in the order stated.<sup>629</sup> The *Kalādarśa* of Ādiṭya-bhaṭṭa names Balarūpa among the authorities on which it relies. This shows that Balarūpa wrote not only on *vyavahāra* but also on *kala*.

As Harinātha and the *Vivādacandra* mention Balarūpa he is certainly earlier than about 1250 A. D. The important question is whether Bālaka and Balarūpa are identical. I think, though with some hesitation, that they are identical. The difficulty is caused by the fact that Harinātha speaks of 'the author of Balarūpa,' which implies that Balarūpa is a *work* and *not* an *author*, while the others speak of Balarūpa as an *author*. The *Dāyabhāga* always speaks of Bālaka and never of Balarūpa, while the Mithilā writers, Misaru-misra, Vācaspati and Harinātha, speak of Balarūpa and not of Bālaka. Bālaka is not mentioned by any writer belonging to a province other than Bengal. It is not likely that there were two early authors belonging to the same locality on *vyavahāra* bearing two names so nearly the same as Bālaka ( or Bāla ) and Balarūpa. Moreover if we read one quotation from the *Dāyabhāga* between the lines ( vide note 621 ) where Jīmūtavāhana makes fun of Bālaka by charging him with having exposed his *Balarūpatva* ( being Balarūpa, being childish ) it appears that the *Dāyabhāga* looked upon Bālaka and Balarūpa as identical. If so Bālaka or Balarūpa

627 अपुत्रस्य कुमारी रिषभं गृह्णीतास्तद्भावे चोदा येति पराशरवचनात्तथैवापि क्रम इति बालरूपः । विवादचिन्तामणि p. 153.

628 संसृष्टिभार्यापरमिति बालरूपः । विवादचिन्तामणि p. 152.

629 एतेषां क्रमेणाधिकारः । बालरूपोप्येव । विवादचिन्तामणि p. 155.



becomes an ancient writer, who flourished certainly before 1100 A. D. As he held the same views as Śrīkara and an antiquated view about the rights of the daughter's son he must not be later than 1050 A. D.

### 69. Yogloka

Yogloka like Jitendriya and Balaka is a writer about whom we know only from the works of Jimūtavāhana and Raghunandana. He is the last of the series of writers enumerated in one place by the Kālaviveka as having dealt with the subject of *kāla* (vide note 611 above). The Vyavahāra-mātrkā of Jimūtavāhana very frequently<sup>610</sup> cites the views of Yogloka and generally twits him with thinking himself as being a logician or a new-fangled (*navo-tārkikam-manyā*) logician. Both in the Kālaviveka and the Vyavahāramātrkā Yogloka is generally cited for being refuted (e. g. pp. 457-58, 465, 483 of the Kālaviveka). It is only very rarely that Jimūtavāhana agrees with Yogloka (as on p. 369 of the Kālaviveka). From certain passages of the Kālaviveka it follows that Yogloka composed two works, one called Brhad-Yogloka (larger work) and the other styled Svalpa-Yogloka (a smaller-work).<sup>611</sup> It appears that Yogloka was later than Śrīkara and accepted certain illustrations given by the latter.<sup>612</sup> The Vyavaharatattva of Raghunandana informs us that like Śrīkara and Balaka, Yogloka held the view that twenty years' adverse possession of immoveables conferred ownership (vide note 624 above). The same work tells us that the Maithilas followed the view of Yogloka that the verse of Kātyāyana (*yadyekadeśa-vyāptāpi... nṛṇām*) was intended to apply to a case where a litigant threw down the challenge that if even one out of several

610 Vide pp. 291, 293, 295, 310, 312, 313, 347.

611 योग्लोकेन तु स्वल्पबृहद्व्यन्धमेवेन द्वयमेवोक्तं यत्स्वल्पनिरूपणाक्षमत्वात् । कालविवेक  
p. 365 : तस्मान्मूसार्थानि कथञ्चित्पुनः योग्लोकस्य बृहद्व्यन्धे प्रसिद्धम् । अत्रैव स्वल्प-  
व्यन्धे व्यन्धेषु च निबन्धेषु दर्शनाद् योग्लोकीयबृहद्व्यन्धपुरातनपुस्तोभवात् ।  
तस्मात्स्वयमेवेतद् योग्लोकेनापि बृहद्व्यन्धे लिखितम् । कालविवेक p. 273; vide  
also pp. 117, 221-490 for references to योग्लोक.

612 यत्तु हर्षलोदाहरणं तार्किकमन्यस्य योग्लोकस्य मदीयेयं कनागता भूतिभाषायां  
मदीयेयं दशवर्षमुज्जमानतात् इति श्रीकरोदाहरणस्वीकरणं तदसंगतम् । व्यवहारमनुका  
p. 302.



items of property charged were brought home to him as having been stolen by him, he would restore all the items claimed.<sup>633</sup>

The foregoing establishes that Yogloka wrote at least on *kala* and *vyavahāra* and composed two treatises on *kala*.

Jimūtavāhana<sup>634</sup> says that a predecessor of his styled Dikṣita criticized a certain reading of Yogloka's, i. e. Yogloka preceded Dikṣita, who was a predecessor of Jimūtavāhana. Jimūtavāhana further refers to ancient (*purātana*) mss. of Yogloka's work. Hence Yogloka must have preceded Jimūtavāhana by at least a hundred years. He is later than Śrīkara (note 632 above). Therefore he must have flourished between 950-1050 A. D.

#### 70. *Vijñāneśvara*

The *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara occupies a unique place in the Dharmaśāstra literature. Its position is analogous to that of the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali in grammar or to that of the *Kāvyaaprakāśa* of Mammata in Poetics. It represents the essence of dharmaśāstra speculation that preceded it for about two thousand years and it became the fountain head from which flowed fresh streams of exegesis and developments. Under the decisions of the Courts in British India, the *Mitākṣarā* is of paramount authority in several matters of Hindu Law (such as adoption, inheritance, partition etc.) throughout India except where, as in Bengal, the *Dāyabhāga* prevails.

The *Mit.* professes to be a commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*. In the colophons of several mss. it is described as *Rju-mitākṣarā*, *Pramitākṣarā* or simply *Mitākṣarā*. These names are probably due to some of the verses appended at the end of the commentary.<sup>635</sup> The *Mit.* is not only a commentary explanatory

633 *व्यवहारतत्त्व* p. 217 (*Jīvananda* vol. II) 'न च यद्येषां मध्ये एकमपि मया गृहीतं विभावयसि तदा सर्वमेव दातव्यमिति प्रतिज्ञाविषयत्वमेकदेशविभावितत्वं यथमस्योति ज्योत्स्नोऽकमतानुसारिर्भिन्नमतं युक्तमिति वाच्यम् ।'.

634 *श्रावण* इति तु पठितं योज्यतेन तद्वदुपदर्शने भवतीति दीक्षितेनोक्तम् । *कालाविवेक* p. 280.

635 इति वाङ्मयस्वयमुनिशास्त्रगता विवृतिर्न कस्य विहिता विदुषः । प्रमिताक्षरापि विपुला रचयती परिचिञ्चति श्रवणयोरन्तम् ॥ गम्भीराभिः प्रसन्नाभिर्वाग्मिर्नृपस्ता मिताक्षरा । अनल्पार्थाभिरल्पाभिर्विकृतिर्विहिता मया ॥



end containing the personal history appear to be genuine. They occur in the oldest Mss. of the Mit. such as the Government of Bombay Ms. dated *śukasāhvat* 1389.

The author of the Mit. was a profound student of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* system. Throughout the Mit. discussion of *Pūrvamīmāṃsā nyāyas* and their application to *dharmaśāstra* are sown broadcast. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. I. 81 (whether it is a *niyama* or *parisanikhyā*), I. 86, II. 114, II. 126, II. 265 &c., may be consulted. The Mit., as the very name implies, is generally concise and to the point. But in his desire to make his work a repository and synthesis of varied *smṛti* dicta the author does not mind if he has occasionally to expand his commentary to enormous lengths. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. III. 265 and 290 occupies several pages of closely printed text.

As the *Mitākṣarā* names *Viśvarūpa*, *Medhātithi* and *Dhāreśvara*, it must have been composed after 1050 A. D. The *Smṛticandrikā*<sup>638</sup> of *Devanabhāṭṭa* (which as will be seen later on was composed about 1200 A. D.) several times criticizes the views of the Mit., viz. the latter's remarks that the giving of an additional share to the eldest son is disapproved of by the people, the reasons given for preferring the mother to the father and the definition of *daya*. *Vijñāneśvara* is named in the *Kalpataru* of *Lakṣmīdhara*<sup>639</sup> (composed in the 2nd quarter of the 12th century). This shows that the Mit. was composed before 1120 A. D. A greater approximation can be arrived at in several ways. The *Kalpataru* mentions

638 यत्पुनर्विज्ञानेऽप्येतेषां सत्यमप्यं विषयो विभागः ... द्वयः । एतदपि शास्त्रात्रेणैतदुद्धारविषयविभागादौ लोकचिद्वैशेषितं प्रत्युक्तं विद्यागुणपुण्यकर्मसंपन्नज्ज्ञेयादौ भागाधिक्ये लोकानुरागो दृश्यत इति यत्किंचिदेतत् । स्मृतिच० II. p. 266 ; 'न च दायशब्देन यदन्नं स्वामिसंबन्धदेव ... तदुच्यत इति दायविशब्दनिरूपणार्थं मिताक्षरायामुक्तं युक्तम्' स्मृतिच. II. p. 267 ; 'विता सफलानुपेक्ष्यपि साधारणो माता तु न साधारणीति प्रत्यासत्त्वतिशयोक्तीति विमलम्भसदृशमिदं न हि जननीजनकचोर्जन्यं प्रति संप्रतिकर्तारतम्यमस्ति ।' स्मृतिच० II. p. 297.

639 'क्षत्रधर्मस्तु ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणं दासकर्मणि न कारयेदिति विज्ञानम्परस्परसः' folio 380 of the Benares Sanskrit College transcript of *कल्पतरु* (ca. 12th c.).

Vadibhayaṃkara<sup>640</sup> who, the Viramitrodaya<sup>641</sup> tells us, was an admirer and follower of Vijñāneśvara and yet found fault with his explanation of Yāj. II. 51 ( rikthagrāha ṣṭam &c. ). Therefore the Mit. must have been composed at the latest before 1100 A. D. Among the Calukyas of Kalyāṇa, the only king named Vikramārka or Vikramāditya during whose reign Vijñāneśvara could have flourished is Vikramāditya VI who reigned for over fifty years from about 1076 to 1127 A. D. Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. I, part 2, pp. 446-453, I. A. vol. 48 p. 6 ( for pedigree of the Calukyas of Kalyāṇa with dates ), I. A. vol. 12 p. 212 ( for an inscription of Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla dated *lake* 1047 ) and I. A. vol. 22, pp. 296-298. From all these considerations it follows that the Mit. was composed between 1070-1100 A. D.

Out of the numerous commentaries on the Mit. those of Viśveśvara, Nandapāṇḍita and Bālabhadda are the most famous. Vide sections 93, 105, 111. Considerations of space preclude any detailed statement of the doctrines peculiarly associated with the name of Vijñāneśvara. There are however some which must be mentioned. He laid down ( on Yāj. I. 52 ) that wherever the word *sapinda* occurred, it denoted either directly or mediately connection with particles of one body ( i. e. blood-relationship with an ancestor ). He also strictly adheres to the principle that propinquity is the guiding principle in matters of inheritance and succession. He divides *daya* into *apratibandha* and *sapratibandha* and affirmed that sons, grandsons and great-grandsons acquired by birth ownership in ancestral property. On all these matters he is diametrically opposed to Jīmūtavāhana.

Aufrecht in his great catalogue makes conflicting statements about a work called Āsaucaśaka. On I. p. 55 he notes that Āsaucaśaka is a work of Harihara with a commentary by Vijñāneśvara and again on I. p. 571 he ascribes Āsaucaśaka-ṭīkā to Vijñāneśvara. On I. p. 762 he ascribes the Āsaucaśaka and Daśaśloki-vivaraṇa to Harihara and appears to distinguish him from that Harihara who

640 शोभ्यस्य जगती गतः पुत्रो वा तत्सहोदरः । भार्यापुत्रवती धर्म्या ज्ञातयः परिकीर्तिताः ॥  
इति वादिभयंकरे बृहस्पतिदत्तनाम् । *ibid.* folio 230.

641 विज्ञानेश्वरानुयायी यथात्र वादिभयंकररुदाह । अहो यत् जगत्स्यात्विज्ञानेश्वरयोगिनः ।  
पूर्वापरविरोधेन नामुक्तानामद्वयम् ॥ परिमित्रोदय p. 350 ( Jīvananda ).

composed a bhāṣya on Pāraskaraghyasūtra. On I. p. 79; he corrects himself by saying that Harihara wrote only the commentary on the Āsaucadaśaka and that the latter is identical with the Daśaśloki-vivaraṇa. On III. p. 121 he is doubtful whether the Āsaucadaśaka is a work of Vijñāneśvara. In the Deccan College collection there is an ancient Ms. (No. 196 of 1884-1887) of the Āsaucadaśaka.<sup>642</sup> It was copied in *samvat* 1578 Mārgaśīrṣa (i. e. December 1522 A. D.). It distinctly says that Vijñāneśvarayogin composed in ten Śārdūla-vikriḍita stanzas a work on *āsaucā* and that Harihara composed a commentary on it. In the Bhadkamkar collection there is an old Ms. of the Āsaucadaśaka, the colophon of which ascribes the work to Vijñāneśvara. Vide I. O. cat. p. 565, No. 1749 for a ms. of Āsaucadaśaka with Harihara's commentary dated *samvat* 1589 (1532-33 A. D.) That the Āsaucadaśaka was a very popular work follows from the several commentaries thereon that are available even now. Raghunātha<sup>643</sup>, son of Mādhava and nephew of the famous Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, composed a commentary on the Daśaśloki in śaka 1500 (D. C. No. 82 of A. 1882-83). There is another commentary on the same work by Bhaṭṭoji (D. C. No. 99 of 1582-83). Harihara quotes in his bhāṣya, besides several well-known smṛtikaras, a work called Viśvadarśa (folio 4b).<sup>644</sup> Harihara, the commentator of the Pāraskaraghyasūtra, is described as the pupil of Vijñāneśvara in several mss. Harihara in his bhāṣya on Pāraskaraghyā quotes Vijñāneśvara and Kalpataru. The Viśvadarśa praises Vijñāneśvara very highly.<sup>645</sup> Therefore it appears that

642 The ms. begins: अथ विज्ञानेश्वरविरचितमुनिज ( न ) भाष्योर्मिताक्षरामध्यात् । आशौचदशकवृत्ति वदति हरिहरो हरि नावा ॥ अत्र तावद्विज्ञानेश्वरयोगीन्द्रभनुवर्णी-  
त्मकस्य जन्मनि सूतो भवं सूतकं मरणे शचे भवं शालं सूतकशापास्तद्वयं वृत्तदशकं  
शादूलविक्रीडितेन चकार तत्रायं वृत्तमाह मातुर्गर्भविपरिवर्धे &c. The colophon at  
the end is इत्याशौचदशकभाष्यं श्रीहरिह(र)विरचितं समाप्तम् ।

643 *rpunāth* criticizes विज्ञानेश्वर 'यत् विज्ञानेश्वरेण प्रतिलोमानां त्वाशौचाभाव एवेत्युक्तं  
तद्वचनविरोधादुपेक्षणीयम् । प्रतिलोमा धर्महीना इत्येतत् पाकवशाद्यभिप्रायम्'  
folio 19b.

644 संप्रति विशेषो विन्यादर्शात् 'यत्सखीणां त्रिरात्रं पितृविपदि भवेत्'.

645 यथा वे विज्ञानेश्वरविरचितेयापि महतो महामर्तुः कीर्तिस्त्रिजगति यथा दुष्पकृदिति ।  
यथा ( तथा ! ) श्रीमन्नारायणननुज धन्य प्रतिगृहं स्फुरद्देव्यादर्शं स्फुरतु तव कीर्तिः  
सुकर्तितः ॥ IV. 52: श्रीरामस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य च यथा रामायणे भारते कीर्तिर्भाति  
यथा च मुञ्जतृपतेः सा कारिका भूषणम् । श्रीमद्वन्य मितक्षरादिषु यथा श्रीवृद्धमर्तु-  
स्तथा विन्यादर्शनिबन्धने तप शुभश्लोका जयन्त्युजिताः ॥ ms. of विन्यादर्श  
( in Bhadkamkar collection ),

Vijñāneśvara composed the *Āśaucadaśaka* *alias* *Daśaśloki* and that Harihara, who was either Vijñāneśvara's pupil or not very far removed from him (as he is quoted by Hemādri) composed a commentary thereon. The first verse of the *Daśaśloki* is cited below as a specimen of the concise style attempted by the author.<sup>646</sup>

Aufrecht (II. p. 50 and I. p. 236) credits Vijñāneśvara with a *bhāṣya* on *Trīṃśat-śloki*, a work in thirty *Sragdharā* stanzas on *āśauca*. This work together with the commentary was printed in *pothi* size at Benares in *sahvat* 1918 (1861-62 A. D.). The printed text contains<sup>647</sup> the same colophon at the end and date as the D. C. ms. No. 217 of 1879-80, which was copied in *sahvat* 1711 *Caitra* (i. e. April 1655 A. D.). It is extremely doubtful, however, whether Vijñāneśvara wrote a *bhāṣya* on the *Trīṃśat-śloki*. In the *bhāṣya* Vijñāneśvara and the *Mitākṣarā* are cited by name.<sup>648</sup> The manner of referring to them rather suggests that the commentary on the *Trīṃśat-śloki* was composed by some person other than Vijñāneśvara, who, however, drew largely on the *Mit.* There is a ms. of the *Trīṃśat-śloki* with a commentary in the *Bhau Daji* collection which is ascribed to Hemādri on the cover (vide *BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 209, No. 667*).

In the Madras Govt. mss. library there is a ms. of the *Vyavahāra-siromaṇi* of Nārāyaṇa, who says that he learnt *dharmasāstras* under Vijñāneśvara (*adhitya dharmasāstrāṇi Vijñāneśvara-sadguroḥ*). The work deals with the *vyavahāra* portion and was composed for the benefit of the un-initiated (*bālabodhārtham*). The ms. contains the portion dealing with the king's duty to look into the disputes of people, the time for doing that, *sabhā*, definition of *prāḍ-vivāka* (judge), the plaint and its defects, *āsedha* (restraint of the

646 मातुर्गर्भापत्तवधं त्रिदिवस्स मासत्रयेतो यथा मासाहं त्रिषु सूतकावधिरतः स्नानं त्रितुः सर्वदा । ज्ञानीनां पतनादि जातमरणे पित्रोर्दशाहं सदा नाम्नः माहू तदपेति सूतक-वशाद्मातुर्दशाहं परम् ॥

647 The colophon is इति विज्ञानेश्वरकृते त्रिशच्छ्लोकीयमार्थं संपूर्णम् ।

648 त्रिरात्रं दशरात्रं वा ... सूतकं मातुरेष हि ॥ इत्येतद्व्याख्यानसमये विज्ञानेश्वराचार्यैः स्पष्टीकृतम् ॥ p. 3b of the printed text and 2b of the ms. The verse referred to is याज्ञ. III. 18. On verse 14 of the *त्रिशच्छ्लोकी* we have 'एतच्च आचार्यपिन्धुपाध्यायान् ... न ध तेः सह संविशेत् ॥ इत्येतद्व्याख्यानमिताक्षराणां स्पष्टीकृतम्' p. 9b of the printed text and 5a of the ms.



defendent ), means of proof the eighteen titles of law, *ṛiṇādāna*, *nikṣepa*, *sambhūya-samutthāna*, *dattapradānika*, *abhyupetya-aśuśrūṣā*, *vetanasya-anapākarma*, *asvāmivikraya*, *vikriyāsarṇipradāna*, *kritvā-nuśaya*, *samayasyānapākarma*, *simāvivāda*, *stri-purūṣayoga*, *dāyavi-bhāga*. The work breaks off in the middle of the explanation of the verse 'patni duhitaraścaiva'. He closely follows the *Mitākṣarā* in all that he says; but in one place he expressly differs from his teacher, viz. whereas the *Mitākṣarā* mentions four different times for partition, *Nārāyaṇa* says that there are really two times of partition, when the father desires partition and when the son or sons desire it.<sup>648a</sup> On *sambhūyasamutthāna* he quotes a passage from *Kauṭilya* (the ms. uses this form ), which agrees closely with the printed text ( vide *Arthaśāstra* III. 14, p. 186, ed. by Shama Sastrī ).<sup>648b</sup>

### 71. *Kāmadhenu*

This was an ancient digest on the various branches of *Dharmaśāstra*. Unfortunately no ms. of this work has yet come to light. The *Kalpataru* of *Lakṣmidhara* refers to the view of *Kāmadhenu* and others that what was bestowed upon a slave (*dāsa*) by his master through favour was also under the control of the master.<sup>649</sup> The *Hāratalā* which was composed in the third quarter of the 12th century several times mentions the views of *Kāmadhenu*.<sup>650</sup>

648 a अनया चानुर्विषयमस्मद्गृहचरणोर्मितासराणां प्रतिपादितं वितुरिच्छायां पुच्छेच्छायां च विभागः संभवति गान्धर्वेति कालद्वयमेव विभागस्थितिं तु युक्तम् । न च विभ्रनन्तरकाल एक इति श्रेयिष्यमिति वार्थं विभ्रनन्तरकालेपि पुत्राणामिच्छानावे विभागस्थेयमावेव तत्कालद्वय एवानन्तरकालस्याप्यन्तर्भावितम् ।

648 b अत्र विशेषमाह कौटिल्यः । अग्निष्टोमादिषु दीक्षणीयाया ऊर्ध्वं च आपन्नः पञ्चमर्मस्तु लमेत सोमविक्रयादूर्ध्वं चतुर्थं प्रवर्ग्योद्वासनादूर्ध्वं तृतीयमग्निष्टोमीयादूर्ध्वं पादोर्ध्वं माष्यं-दिनादूर्ध्वं समयेनीतासु दक्षिणासु भवतीति ।

649 On the verse of कल्याण 'दासस्य हि धनं यत् स्वात् स्वामी तस्य प्रभुर्नतः' the कल्याण says 'यदा भसादे स्वामिना दासस्य कृते दत्तं तत्र दासधनेपि स्वामी प्रभुरिति प्रकाशहलायुधकामधेनुशारिजातप्रभृतयः ।' folio 876 of the कल्याण (Benares College transcript).

650 e. g. on p. 41 'अन एव जातमृते मृतजाते वा कुलस्य श्रिताग्रामिति इतिवचनं कामधेनुकृता गर्भस्त्रावाशौचप्रकरणे लिखितम् ।'. Vide pp. 117, 174, 200 also for other references to the कामधेनु and note 296 above.



Śrīdharmacārya, in his *Smṛtyarthasāra*,<sup>611</sup> enumerates the Kāmadhenu among the works and writers who dwell upon the teachings of the Smṛtis. The *Vivādaratnākara*<sup>612</sup> of Caṇḍeśvara speaks of the Kāmadhenu several times. In the *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī* certain verses from the Kāmadhenu are cited in connection with the rites on certain *tithis* of the month of Āśvina (p. 261). Śūlapāṇi in his *Śrāddhāviveka* names as his authorities the Kāmadhenu and other digests after the smṛtis.<sup>613</sup> The *Samayapradīpa*<sup>614</sup> of Śrīdanta notices that the Kāmadhenu read 'dvitīya caitramāsasya,' while the *Kalpataru* read 'trītiyā.' The same reading of the Kāmadhenu is noticed in the *Smṛtisāra* of Harinātha (I. O. cat., No. 634, folio 79b). In the *Rājanītiratnākara* the Kāmadhenu is quoted on the definition of 'rāja' and on the two varieties of rulers (pp. 2 and 5). In Hemādri there is a quotation from *Smṛtikāmadhenu* (vol. IV, p. 992) about the freedom in *kalī* from incurring sin on account of contact with great sinners.

The question arises who is the author of the Kāmadhenu. If we rely upon a highly paronomastic passage of the *Vyavahāraratnākara*<sup>615</sup> of Caṇḍeśvara, Gopāla was the author of the Kāmadhenu. In the *Rājanītiratnākara* (p. 81) Gopāla is said to have held, with

651 कामधेनौ मदीयेष्यो कल्पवृक्षलताश्च । शम्भुद्विवेकद्वारलङ्घनयश्च भवितुम् ॥

मन्वायनेकस्मृतिषु व्याख्यातृवृत्तिरादितम् । स्मृत्यर्थसंसारं वक्ष्यामि सुज्ञानुष्ठानशिद्धये ॥

Intro. verses 4-5 (Ānandāśrama ed.). प्रदीप्ते is a wrong reading for प्रदीये.

652 यं कामधेनुरुयाति सकल्पवृक्षो(क्षा?)यं सेवते निजकलाय स पारिजातः । तं वैरिगोत्रभिदमुच्चसहस्रदृष्टिं चण्डेश्वरं तुल्ययितुं कृतमे भवन्तु ॥ विवाद्रत्नाकर (verse at the end) ; there is a play on the words कामधेनु, कल्पवृक्ष (कल्पतरु) and पारिजात which are names of works on धर्मशास्त्र also; vide विवाद्रत्नाकर pp. 78, 80, 135, 498, 651 for other references to the कामधेनु.

653 The ध्वाद्विवेक begins विलोक्य धर्मशास्त्राणि कामधेनवादिसंग्रहान् । विवेकः पार्वणादीनां क्रियते शूलपाणिना ॥

654 अत्र च कामधेनौ द्वितीया चैत्रमासस्येति लिखिते कल्पतरौ तृतीयेति लिखितं तद्व्यपाटद्वेधे व्योतिःशास्त्रं मधो तृतीयेति वाटाच्येनृतृतीयं वाह्या । समयप्रदीप D. C. ms. No. 471 of 1875-76, folio 53b.

655 यन्मयायामृतसेचनात्सफलतां पुष्पाणि कल्पद्रुमः सयः पल्लवमातनोति नितरां श्रीपारिजातोपि सः । गोपालस्य च कामधेनुरमणं काम्यार्थदुग्धं स्वचं संदुग्धे स्वयमेव कर्य भवने सेव्यो न रत्नाकरः ॥ व्यवहाररत्नाकर (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 66). कल्पद्रुम (कल्पतरु), पारिजात, कामधेनु and रत्नाकर have two senses.

Lakṣmidhara and Śrīkara,<sup>656</sup> the view that on the state wealth poor and helpless people have a claim and that the state perishes if the supreme authority is wielded by many (and not by one). The same work (p. 84) cites the opinion of Gopāla that the coronation rites mentioned in works on *rajañiti* are merely illustrative and that according to the particular usages of countries and families a king may be proclaimed without those rites by merely being seated on a throne.<sup>657</sup> The *Pitrabhakti* of Śrīdatta expressly mentions that it is based on the works of Gopāla and others. The *Viramitrodaya* cites the view of Gopāla that *vyavāhara* comes under what is called *jalpa* in the technique of the Nyāya system and that the view of Miśra that *Vyavāhara* is comprised under the term *vāda* of the same system is wrong. Whether the Gopāla mentioned by Mitramiśra is the same as the author named by Candēśvara it is difficult to say. But it seems to me that they are identical. Aufrecht in his great catalogue (I. 93) ascribes the authorship of the Kāmadhenu to Śambhu. Whence he derived this information is not clear. The authors and works cited by him do not, so far as I know, ascribe the Kāmadhenu to Śambhu. It is true that Śambhu is credited by the *Smṛticandrikā* with a digest on *dharmaśāstra* (vide note 563 above) and the *Smṛtyarthasāra* also names him as one of the authorities on which it relies. Hemadri<sup>658</sup> also tells us that Śambhu was a *nīlāndha-kāra* and refuted the views of Medhatithi on Manu III. 125. The *Smṛticandrikā* frequently cites the views of Śambhu on *vyavāhara* and generally refutes them. For example, on the word 'pitarau' occurring in Yaj. II. 135 Śambhu remarked that no difference should be made between the parents (father and mother) as heirs, since whoever out of the two took the wealth of their son it would come

656 Vide note 565 above.

657 गोपालमते त्वमिच्छादिपर्यन्तमुपलक्षणं यथादेशकुलाचारं सिंहासनदानादि तदव्यवहारः इति ।

658 यत् गोपालेन तत्त्वनिर्णयेषु कथात्वाद्वात्स्वमेवास्तेति मिश्रमतत्त्वेनोपन्यस्य अयमङ्ग-कलकत्वात् स्थापनापसान्वाद्य च जल्प एवास्मिति तन्निरस्तं तद् द्वयमप्ययुक्तम् ।  
वरि० p. 3.

659 द्वौ देवे ... कमुभयत्र वा ॥ यद्यप्येकैकमुभयत्र वेत्यस्य किमिरेव न भवतीति तेनैवाकं तत् शम्भुर्भुविर्भिन्नचन्द्रकारैः पृथक्कृतमिति अभ्याभिर्वादिष्यते । चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. p. 1148 : तदेवं तावद् दक्षिणाम्नां ह्यमरनदम्भं नृपासनामायिषि शम्भुश्चन्द्रधरप्रसूतयः चतुर्वर्ग III. 1. p. 1331.

to both.<sup>660</sup> Vide also *Smṛticandrikā* II, pp. 205, 216. Therefore Śambhu also, being mentioned by the *Smṛticandrikā* and the *Smṛtyarthasāra*, is certainly earlier than 1150 A. D. In this state of the authorities I am doubtful whether Śambhu was the author of the *Kāmadhenu*. I am inclined to hold that he was not the author of that work and that Gopāla was the author. This conclusion is somewhat strengthened by the fact that the *Smṛtyarthasāra* mentions both *Kāmadhenu* and Śambhu as authorities on which it relies. If Śambhu had been, in the opinion of the *Smṛtyarthasāra* the author of the *Kāmadhenu*, the mention of both would have been superfluous. Mr. Jayasāl (in JBORS for 1927, vol. XIII, parts 3-4, p. VII) ascribes the *Kāmadhenu* to Bhoja, but this is wrong (vide p. 277, note 576).

As the *Kāmadhenu* is named as an authority by the *Kalpataru* and the *Hāratala* it is certainly not later than 1100 A. D. It cannot be very much earlier since it is not mentioned by Medhatithi and the *Mitākṣarā*. It may therefore be assigned to the period between 1000 and 1100 A. D.

## 72. Halāyudha

The *Kalpataru*<sup>661</sup> of Lakṣmidhara in its *vyavahāra* section quotes the views of a jurist Halāyudha several times. The *Vivādaratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara mentions Halāyudha dozens of times. In the *Smṛtisāra* of Harinātha<sup>662</sup> Halāyudha-nibandha on possession is quoted. The *Smṛtisāra* also says (folio 140 a) that Halāyudha favoured *niyoga* by the widow of a son-less deceased person and deprived the widow of succession to her deceased husband if she did not submit to *niyoga*. This was the view of Dhāreśvara also. According to Halāyudha<sup>663</sup> parents succeeded before brothers to a deceased person

<sup>660</sup> बहूकं सम्मुना अश्वकधनत्वाद् दम्पत्योरेन केनचिद्वृत्तमानमुभयार्थमिति न विशेषो वक्तव्य इति तदुक्तम् । स्मृतिच० II, p. 298.

<sup>661</sup> Vide note 649 above; and folio 380 (of Benares Sanskrit College transcript).

<sup>662</sup> अत्र इत्युपनिबन्धे स्वरसः । आगमस्मरणाङ्काले सागमेव भुक्तिः प्रमाणं त्रेषुरधिक-भोगे तु आगमास्मरणे भुक्तिः प्रमाणं स्मार्तकाले क्रिया भूमेः ... पुरुषागता इति कात्यायनवचनात् । हानिपतिपादकानां च वाक्यानां प्रमाणपरिपालनकर्तव्यताशेषात् । स्मृतिसार (I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 107 b).

<sup>663</sup> बाह्यवल्केन वितरो धातरो इति भ्रातृसङ्घादेषु पित्रोरेधिकार उक्तः स पितृपितामहाजित-धनविषयः । वापितृद्वयविरोधार्जितं तत्पित्रोः सङ्घादेषु भ्रातृणामेव । स्मृतिसार folio 140 b.

if the property in the hands of the deceased was ancestral, but that if it was acquired without detriment to ancestral property then brothers succeeded even before parents. Halāyudha is cited in the *Vivādacintāmaṇi* also, e. g. Halāyudha<sup>664</sup> held the view that the verse of Yāj. ( II. 126 ) was intended to convey that where joint property was concealed by a member and was discovered after partition, he did not incur the guilt of theft. This same view was held by Jitendriya and others. Raghunandana quotes Halāyudha in his *Divyatattva*, *Dayatattva* and *Vyavaharatattva*. The *Vira-mitrodaya*<sup>665</sup> also quotes Halāyudha.

The foregoing shows that the work of Halāyudha, the jurist, was a very valuable one. This Halāyudha must have flourished before 1100 A. D., since the *Kalpataṛu* ( 1125-1150 A. D. ) looked upon him as an authority. As Halāyudha is not mentioned by any of the early commentators like Medhātithi and by the Mit. and as he held opinions similar to those of Dharmśvara, Jitendriya and others, he cannot well be placed earlier than 1000 A. D. Therefore he flourished between 1000 and 1100 A. D. He was probably a Maithila or Bengali writer, as, among the comparatively early writers on dharma, it is the writers of the north, particularly of Mithila and Bengal, that rely upon him as a great authority.

The name Halāyudha ( an epithet of Balarāma, the brother of Kṛṣṇa ) was a common one in India. It seems to have been borne by several eminent writers and this fact has created a great deal of confusion. There is one Halāyudha who was the author of the *Abhidhanaratnamālā* ( edited by Aufrecht ), the *Kavirahasya* ( edited by Sourindra Mohan Tagore in 1879 and by Heller in 1900 ) and probably the *Mṛtasāṅghavāṇi*, a commentary on the *Chandaḥ-sūtra* of Piṅgala. In the *Kavirahasya* he gives the various forms of roots in the several conjugations and connects all verses with Kṛṣṇa, the

664 अम्बोन्वावहृतं . . . स्थितिः ॥ अत्राविमक्तत्वादेव विभागे प्राप्ते वचनारम्भोश्च चौर्य-  
दोषाभावं ज्ञापयतीति हलायुधः । विवादचिन्तामणि p. 143. *Vide* दायतत्त्व ( p. 182  
*Jivananda*, vol. II ) for the same view of हलायुध.

665 'अक्षः पादभक्त्यभ्योत्पत्तिरिति निहास्तुलाधारपट्ट इति निहास्तुला । दाड्यपयोगकः कलिक  
इति हलायुधः ।' वीर० १२. 254; वीर० p. 572 says हलायुध read in मनु  
9. 207 स निवांस्यः for स निवांस्यः ( निवांस्यः ).

emperor of the Deccan (Dakṣiṇāpatha).<sup>666</sup> This Kṛṣṇarāja was most probably the Rāṣtrakūṭa emperor Kṛṣṇa whose dates range from 940 A. D. to 959 A. D. ( vide JBBRAS, vol. 18, page 239 ; Bom. Gazetteer I., part 2, p. 210 ; I. A. vol. 11, p. 109 and Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, pp. 8-9. ). In the colophon to the Mṛtasañjivani the author is described simply as bhaṭṭa-Halāyudha. In that commentary verses are quoted as illustrations wherein Muñja alias Vākpatirāja is highly extolled.<sup>667</sup> Muñja was slain by Tailapa between 994-997 A. D. Hence Halāyudha, the author of the commentary on Piṅgala, must not have flourished much earlier than the latter half of the 10 century. It is not unlikely that Halāyudha after being at the court of the Rāṣtrakūṭas migrated to Avanti when the star of Muñja, who was himself a scholar, rose on the horizon of central India and when the fortunes of the Rāṣtrakūṭas waned. But this Halāyudha who hailed from the Deccan cannot be the first Halāyudha who appears to have flourished in Mithilā or Bengal.

There is another Halāyudha, author of a famous work called Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva printed at Benares in saṃvat 1935. But this was not available to me and hence I used a Ms. of it in the Deccan College collection ( No. 9 of A 1883-84 ). He gives some account of himself and his family in the introductory verses. He belonged to the Vātsya gotra and was a son of Dhanañjaya who is described as dharmādhyakṣa ( judge ). Lakṣmanasena, the king of Bengal, gave him dharmādhikāra ( i. e. made him judge ).<sup>668</sup> He had two elder brothers<sup>669</sup> Paśupati and Līlāna of whom the former composed Śrāddha-kṛtya-paddhati and Pakayañña-paddhati and the latter the

666 अस्वगस्त्यमुनिज्योत्स्नापवित्रे दक्षिणापथे । कृष्णराज इति कृयातो राजा साम्राज्य-  
दीक्षितः ॥ verse 6 ( Heller's ed. ). Verse 164 ( Heller ) describes him as  
राष्ट्रकुलोद्भूतः.

667 a. k. जयति भुवनेकधीरः सौरायुधतुलितविपुलबलविभवः । अश्वरतवित्तवितरणनिर्जित-  
व्याधिपो मुञ्जः ॥ स जयति वाक्पतिराजः &c.—मृतसञ्जीवनी 4th chap.

668 बाल्ये स्थापितराजपण्डितवदः श्वेताशुचिम्बोज्ज्वलच्छत्रोत्तिकमङ्गमहत्तनुपदं दृष्ट्वा नये  
यौवने । वस्त्रे यौवनशेषयोभ्यमसिलस्मात्पालनारायणः श्रीमल्लस्मणसेनदेवनृपतिर्धर्मा-  
धिकारं ददौ ॥ verse 12 ; vide also Peterson's cat. of Ulwar mss. p. 138,  
extract No. 356.

669 भ्राता पद्मतिमयजः पशुपतिः भ्राद्रादिकृत्ये व्यधादीशानः कृतवाम् द्विजाह्निकविधौ  
ज्योत्सोपरः पद्मतिम् । verse 24.

Dvijāhnikā-paddhati. He tells us in the Brāhmaṇasarvasva that he composed Mīmāṃsāsarvasva, Vaiṣṇavasarvasva, Śaivasarvasva, Paṇḍītasarvasva.<sup>670</sup> Unfortunately no Ms. of any of these works has so far been discovered. The chief object<sup>671</sup> of the Brāhmaṇasarvasva is to explain the meaning of the *mantras* used by Brāhmaṇas in daily observances from the brushing of the teeth to going to sleep and in the *sanskāras* on birth, marriage, death etc. He wrote for the Vājasaneyā Kāṇva Śākhā and acknowledges<sup>672</sup> his debt to Uvaṣa who wrote a bhāṣya on the Vājasaneyā Saṁhitā in Avanti while Bhoja ruled the earth (mahīm Bhoje praśāsati). In some introductory verses and the several colophons of the sections of the Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva Halāyudha styles himself *avasathika*, *mādharmādhyaṅga* or simply *dharmādhyaṅga*, *dharmādhikārin* and his brother Paśupati also is styled *avasathika*. It is very difficult to say what is the exact meaning of this last word. It probably means one who regularly performs all the *gṛhya* rites.<sup>673</sup> Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. Mss. for 1919-1922, pp. 5165 for a ms. of Paṇḍita-sarvasva which deals with the usages of varṇas and āśramas, tiṭhi, śuddhi, the time for śrāddha, jyotiḥśāstra, marriage, gifts, prāyaścitta, pratiṣṭhā &c. But whether it is Halāyudha's work it is difficult to say from the extracts given.

The time when Halāyudha the author of the Brāhmaṇasarvasva flourished can be easily settled as he was the dharmādhyaṅga of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. The Adbhutasāgara was begun in *lake* 1090<sup>674</sup>

670 मीमांसासर्वस्वं वैष्णवसर्वस्वमकृतं शैवसर्वस्वम् । पण्डितसर्वस्वमसौ सर्वस्वं सर्वधीरानाम् ॥  
verse 19.

671 दन्तधावनमारम्य यावदन्वेष्टिमीरिता । मन्त्राणां तावता नस्मिन् व्याख्यानमुपदर्शितम् ॥

672 व्याख्यातो मतिशालिनायमुपदाचार्येण वेदः परम् । अस्पष्टं तदपीत्यनेन विबुधा विष्मयसिद्धेः पदेः । सम्प्रदादिद्विजकर्ममन्त्रवचसां व्याख्यानमेतत् कृतम् &c.

673 Compare पारस्करगृह्य I. 2. 1-2 'आवसथ्याधानं दारकाले । दायकाल एकेचम् ।'

674 शाके सनयसेन्दुव्ये आरेभेद्रुतसागरम् । गोशेन्द्रकुञ्जराजानस्तन्महातुर्महीपतिः ॥  
अन्धेस्मिन्प्रसमात् एव तनवं साम्राज्यरक्षामहादीक्षापर्यागं दीक्षणान् निजकृतेर्निष्पत्ति-  
मन्वध्यसः । नानादानमिनाम्बुससञ्चलन्तः ( ? ) सूर्यात्मजासङ्गमं गङ्गनद्यां विरचय्य  
विजयपुरं भार्यानुयातो गतः ॥ श्रीमल्लकमणसेनमूपतिरिष्टलाभ्यो सङ्ख्ययोगतो निष्पन्नो-  
द्भुतसागरः कृतिरसौ बल्लालभूमिभुजः ॥ &c. folio 3a of D. O. ms. No. 231 of  
1887-91.

( i. e. 1168-69 ) by Ballāla-sena and it was ultimately finished by his son Lakṣmaṇasena. That these verses are not spurious follows from a reference in the *Todarānanda-saṁhitā-saukhyā* about the position of the constellation of the Great Bear according to the *Adbhutasāgara* in the *śake* year 1082 ( 1160-61 A. D. ) while Ballālasena was ruling.<sup>675</sup> The *Saduktikarpāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa<sup>676</sup>, who was a contemporary of Lakṣmaṇasena, furnishes us with the exact year of the accession of Lakṣmaṇasena viz : that *śake* 1127 corresponded with the 27th year of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign, i. e. he began to reign in 1178-79 A. D. Therefore the literary activity of Halāyudha, the author of the *Brāhmaṇasarvasva*, lies between 1175-1200 A. D. There is, I am aware, a very heated controversy about the dates of Ballālasena and his son Lakṣmaṇasena, but I am inclined to hold, particularly on account of the explicit reference contained in the body of the *Adbhutasāgara*<sup>677</sup> itself and in the *Todarānanda*, that Lakṣmaṇasena came to the throne about 1178-79 A. D. The *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* and the *Paṇḍitasarvasva* of Halāyudha are quoted by Raghunandana in the *Āhnika* ( pp. 389, Jivānanda, vol. I ), *Prāyaścitta* ( pp. 531, vol. I for *Paṇḍitasarvasva* ) and other *Tattvas*. Sourindra Mohan Tagore ( introduction to *Kavīrahasya* p. I-II ) says that Ādiśūra brought to Bengal five *Brāhmaṇas* from Kanoj of whom Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa was the most famous and was the author of the *Prayogaratna* and also of the *Venīsaṁhāra* and that Halāyudha was 16th in descent from that Nārāyaṇa. These traditions of the matchmakers of Bengal and panegyrists of big families are entirely worthless for literary and chronological purposes,

675 <sup>4</sup> अविम्वाराभिप्रायेण चाद्रुतसागरे भुजपसुदशमित १०८२ शके श्रीमदल्लालसेन-  
राज्यादौ वर्षेकषष्टिमोऽस्य मुनयस्त्वास्व विशासात् तस्य चाभिषायायम् folio 39b of  
टोडरानन्दसंहितासौख्य D. C. ms. No. 915 of 1886-92.

676 शके सप्तविंशत्यधिकशतोत्तमदशशते शरदाम् । श्रीमदल्लालसेनस्यतिपस्य (सेकविंशेवदे ॥  
सहितुर्गत्या फाल्गुनविशेष परार्थेदेतेषु कुतुकात् । श्रीधरदासेनेन सप्तदशिकांशतः चक्रे ॥  
Vide *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1927, vol. III, p. 186; vide also  
*J A S B* 1921, p. 7, *Ind. Ant.* vol. 48 / for 1919 / at 171-176  
and *Ind. Ant.* 1922, p. 146, 158 for discussion of the date of  
लक्ष्मणसेन. Vide *E. I.*, vol. XV, p. 278 for the views of Mr. R. D. Banerji  
who holds that लक्ष्मणसेन ascended the throne in 1110-19 A. D.

677 In the printed edition of the *अद्रुतसागर* ( at p. 235 ) we have अतस्तत्र तेनै-  
तद् घनधारम्भशकाद् वर्षाधिपगणनं सनपदशोपशके &c. ( published in 1905 by  
Prabhakari and Co. ).



particularly for events of comparatively early times. In their zeal to extol their patrons' families to the skies they were most unscrupulous and threw to the winds all chronology. The *Prayogaratna* was composed at Benares by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa whose family migrated from Paithan in the 16th century, while the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* was composed about a thousand years earlier. Yet both works are fathered upon Nārāyaṇa, the ancestor of the rich and influential Tagore family.

There is yet another *Halāyudha*. On the *Śrāddhakalpasūtra* of Kātyāyana a commentary called *Prakāśa* was composed by Halāyudha, son of Saṅkarṣaṇa (vide BBRAS cat. No. 518, p. 170). In this commentary he refers to Karka, Kāmadhenu, Kalpataru, Govindarāja, Lakṣmaṇopādhyāya, Mitakṣarā, Śaṅkhaḍhara and Paśupati. He is therefore later than 1150 A. D. He cannot be identified with the author of the *Kavirahasya*, as the latter flourished much earlier under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Nor can he be the same as the jurist Halāyudha, since the latter is named in the *Kalpataru*, which in its turn is quoted in the *Prakāśa*. The *dharmaśāstra* of Lakṣmaṇasena was a son of Dhanañjaya, while the author of the *Prakāśa* was a son of Saṅkarṣaṇa. The *Śrāddhakāśikā* of Kṛṣṇa (Gujarati Press ed. p. 430) on the *Navakaṇḍikā* or *Śrāddhakalpasūtra* of Kātyāyana says that first Karka<sup>678</sup> explained the *sūtra* in pregnant words and then Halāyudha explained it and yet it remained as difficult as before. Kṛṣṇa is mentioned in the *Nirṇayasindhu* and the *Śrāddhamayūkha* of Nīlakaṇṭha. Therefore Halāyudha, the author of the *Prakāśa* on Kātyāyana must have flourished before 1509 A. D. and later than 1150 A. D.

Vide J. A. S. B. 1915 pp. 327-336 where M. M. Chakravarti brought together interesting information about Halāyudha.

### 73. *Bhavadevabhāṭṭa*

The *Vyavahāratattva* of Raghunandana and the *Viramitrodaya* tell us that Bhavadevabhāṭṭa composed a work called *Vyavahāratilaka* on judicial procedure. The *Vyavahāratattva*<sup>679</sup> tells us that Bhavadeva

678 कर्को व्याख्येयं कर्मवचने सूत्रं दत्तोद्देशाद् दुर्बोधं च ततो हलायुध इति व्याख्येय-  
संज्ञाप्यकृतम् ॥

679 'अस्तव्यस्तपद्वापि अनन्वितार्थपदव्याप्तमिति व्यवहारनिलके भवदेवभट्टः' । व्यवहार-  
तत्त्व (p. 207, vol. II, Jivananda) : भवदेवेन तु अस्तव्यस्तपद्वापि पाठं  
लिखितवानन्वितार्थपदव्याप्तमिति व्याख्यानं व्यवहारनिलके । शीरो p. 85.

read 'astavyastapadavyāpi' instead of 'yadvyastapadamavyāpi' in Kāryāyana's verses enumerating the blemishes of *uttara* (defendant's reply). The Vyavahāratattva<sup>660</sup> mentions Bhavadevabhāṭṭa's discussion and illustration of a reply (*uttara*) with a weak plea (*kāraṇa*). The same work informs us that Bhavadeva held the same views on adverse possession as Śrīkara, Bālaka and others did (vide note 624 above). The Vivādacandra of Misarumiśra<sup>661</sup> several times refers to the views of Bhavadeva. The Viramitrodaya<sup>662</sup> gives in great detail the remarks of Bhavadeva on the well-known text of Sumantu about killing an *ātatāyin*. The Sarasvativilāsa<sup>663</sup> and the Vaijayanti of Nandapaṇḍita quote the very same views of Bhavadevabhāṭṭa on Sumantu's text.

The foregoing brief discussion shows that Bhavadeva's Vyavahāratilaka must have been a valuable work on judicial procedure. Unfortunately that work has not yet come to light.

Bhavadeva also wrote several other works.

In the Deccan College collection there are two Mss. (No. 9 of 1895-98 and No. 263 of 1887-91) of a work of Bhavadeva variously named Karmānuṣṭhānapaddhati or Daśakarma-paddhati or Daśakarmadipika. M. M. Chakravarti in his informing article on Bhavadeva (J. A. S. B. 1912, pp. 333-348) says that the work has often been printed. I was not able to secure a copy. That work<sup>664</sup> deals with

660 दुर्बलकारणोत्तरं यथा ममेवं भूः क्रमागतत्वादिति वायुके ममेवं भूर्दशवर्षभुज्यमानत्वादिति यद्युत्तरं तत्तु धनमात्रप्रयुक्तं पश्यतोऽनुवर्तो ह्यभिर्धनस्य दशवार्षिकीति याज्ञवल्कीयं बलिं किं तु नैतद्युक्तं परेण भुज्यमानाया भूमेर्वैशतिवार्षिकीति भूमिमात्रविषयकं तत्परार्थेनापादितत्वादिति भवदेवमहाः । व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 208.

661 इत्य हस्येत सप्ताह्नुक्तसाक्ष्यस्य साक्षिणः । अत्र यद्यपि भवदेवेन कृतदिव्यस्वेति लिखितं तथाप्युक्तसाक्ष्यस्येति विधानादकृतादिव्यस्यापि द्रष्टव्यं कृतदिव्यस्वेति प्रायोपादः । विवादचन्द्र (folio 51a of D. C. ms. No. 57 of 1883-84) ; 'भवदेवेन तु न रोगामिहान्तिमरणं भुद्धिं तस्य विनिर्दिशेदिति लिखितम् ।' *ibid* (folio 55 b).

662 अत्र भवदेवमहाः । न य सुमन्तुवचनेन नाततायिवधदोषोऽन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणादित्यनेन विरोधः सूत्रच्छेदापरिहानात् । तथाहि सूत्रप्रथमिदम् । आततायिवधे नेत्येकम् । दोषोऽन्यत्रेत्यपरम् । गोब्राह्मणात्तानाः पादश्रितं कुर्वीदित्यन्यत् । *ibid* p. 22.

663 Vide स. वि. p. 154 (Mysore ed.) and वेजयन्ती on विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 5. 189 (I. O. cat. No. 915 folio 50a).

664 It begins चतुर्वदन्सप्तप्रचतुर्वेदकुटुम्बिने । द्विजानुष्ठेयसत्कर्मताक्षिणे महान्ने नमः ॥ गृह्यसूत्रार्थमालोचन उन्मोहानामिदं क्रमात् । कृता श्रीभवदेवेन कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धतिः ॥

the ten principal rites and ceremonies to be performed by Brāhmaṇas who study the Sāmaveda. The principal subjects are :—The *Homa* to the nine planets (*Navagraha-homa*), *mātrpūjā*, *pāṇigrahaṇa* and other essential rites of marriage, *homa* on the fourth day after marriage, *garbhādhāna*, *puṁsavana*, *simantonnayana*, *śeṣyantihoma* (*homa* when a woman is on the point of delivery), *jātakarma*, *niṣkramaṇa*, *nāmakaraṇa*, *annaprāśana*, *cūḍākaraṇa*, *upanayana*, *saṁāvartana* (the student's returning from the teacher's house after finishing his studies), *Śalākarma* (first entrance in a new house).

Another work of Bhavadeva, who is styled *Bālavalabhi-bhujaṅga* therein, is the *Prāyaścittanirūpaṇa* (I. O. cat. No. 1725 p. 554, Mitra's notices, vol. IX, No. 3138, pp. 214-15). In that work he mentions over 25 *smṛtikāras*, the *Matsya* and *Bhaviṣya* purāṇas, *Viśvarūpa*, *Śrīkara* and *Baloka* (? *Balaka*). This work was held in high esteem, as the *Smṛtiratnākara*<sup>685</sup> of Vedācārya places Bhavadeva after Manu among the authorities on *prāyaścitta* that he follows. The *Varṣa-kriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda (B.I. series) quotes a text from Bhavadevabhāṭṭa on the *prāyaścitta* for eating in a solar or lunar eclipse (p. 106).

There is yet another work of Bhavadevabhāṭṭa called *Tautātita-matatilak*, a ms. of which exists in the India Office (cat. No. 1591). It is doubtful whether that ms. contains the whole of the work. That work is concerned with elucidating the doctrines of the *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā* system from the standpoint of Kumārīlabhāṭṭa (who is also called *Tautātita*). From the colophons at the end and elsewhere it appears that the work was intended to explain Jaimini I. 4 and II. 1, but in the body of the work contained in the Ms. only sūtras from the first *pāda* of the 2nd adhyāya are dwelt upon. Bhavadeva is styled *Bālavalabhibhujaṅga* here also and invokes a terrific curse<sup>686</sup> upon those who would borrow from his work without acknowledg-

685 मन्वादिस्मृतिशास्त्रार्थं भवदेवादिसंमतम् । शयश्चित्तमहं वक्ष्ये विज्ञाय पापनिवृत्तौ ॥  
स्मृतिरत्नाकर (I. O. cat. p. 473).

686 The colophon at the end is इति श्रीबालवलभीभुजङ्गपरनाम्नो महर्षिभषदेवस्य  
कृतो तौतातितमतिलके द्वितीयस्याध्यायस्य पथमः पादः । यो नाम कश्चिदिह  
संविदितं ममेवं ग्रन्थान्तरे लिखति वा पठति स्वयं वा । मत्कृतं तामननुकीर्त्य स  
कीर्तिलोपान्निःसंततिजगति जन्मशतानि भूयात् ॥

ing their debt. The work opens with the well-known sūtra 'bhāvarthah karmasābdah &c. (Jaimini II. 1. 1). It goes on explaining the principal topics of Jaimini's 2nd adhyāya, first *pāda*. The sūtras explained are II. 1. 1, 5, 9, 10, 13, 24, 30-35, 38, 40 46-49. It mentions the bhāṣyakāra (Śabara), Vārtika (folio 12 a), Gurumata (17b), Prabhāṭara (21b), Vārtikakārapāda (22 b, in the plural). It frequently quotes kārīkās from the Tantravārtika with the words 'taduktam.' Hemādri<sup>687</sup> quotes Bhavadeva's explanation of the words of Kumārila allowing an option between *jāghanya* and *ajya* and disapproves of it. Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. Mss. for 1919-1922 p. 5527 for the same work.

Unexpected light is thrown on the personal history of Bhavadeva-bhaṭṭa by an inscription found in the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśvara in the Puri District of Orissa edited by Kielhorn in E. I. vol. VI, p. 203, which eulogises Bhavadeva-bhaṭṭa, the identity of the author Bhavadeva with the person eulogised being established by the unique epithet, Bālavālabhībhujaṅga applied to the latter.<sup>688</sup> The eulogy is composed by a person called Vācaspatikavi. Bhavadeva belonged to the Sāvārṇa gotra of the Kauthumi school of the Sāmaveda. The family belonged to Siddhalagrāma in Rāḍhā (west of the Hugli and south of the Ganges). Bhavadeva's remote ancestor Bhavadeva obtained in gift the *agraśāstra* of Hastinibhaṭṭa from the Gauda king. The father of Bhavadeva was Govardhana, a warrior and a scholar. His mother was Saṅgokā, daughter of a Vandhyaghaṭṭiya Brāhmaṇa. With the advice of Bhavadeva king Harivarmadeva is said to have reigned long in prosperity. Bhavadeva is stated in the above mentioned inscription to have composed works on *hora* (astrology), *smṛti*, and *nīlmaṇṣā*. Bhavadeva is eulogised as a great builder. He constructed a reservoir of water in Rāḍhā, he set up a stone image of Nārāyaṇa and founded a temple in which he placed images of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta, and Nṛsiṃha. He also gave

687 तथा च जायन्त्याधिकरणसिद्धान्ते जायन्त्याव्ययव्योर्विकल्पे वार्तिककृतोक्ते भवदेवेनोक्तम् ।  
इदं त्विह एकवचनम् । कथं सामान्यविहितेन ज्येन विशेषविहितजायन्त्याधिकरणः सर्वत्र  
सामान्यविशेषशास्त्रयोर्वाच्यवाचकभावोच्छेदः सङ्गतः । नेतृत् । द्वयोरपि विशेषशास्त्रत्वात् ।  
&c. अन्तर्वर्गः ( कालनिर्णय ) p. 120 Vide also p. 404 for another reference  
to भवदेव.

688 इत्यथ सल्लु बालवलमीभुजङ्ग इति नाम नारतं केन । भीमांसयापि सल्लुकमाकर्णित-  
वर्जितोद्गीतम् ॥ verso 24.

to Harimedhas female attendants, dug a tank and laid out a garden. Neither Kielhorn nor Chakravarti has attempted any explanation of the epithet *Balavalabhibhujāṅga*. I hazard an explanation. Bhavadeva probably made some innovation in the structure of the roofs or balconies of the temples he built and he was therefore styled a lover (a gallant or paramour) of little (*bala*-small sized or girlish) *valabhis*. From the nature of the character Kielhorn conjectured that the inscription belonged to the 12th century A. D.

The date of Bhavadeva can be approximately settled to be about 1100 A. D. as he is quoted by Hemādri, the Vivādacandra of Misaru and the Smṛtisāra of Harinātha. He is certainly earlier than 1200 A. D. A period of at least half a century must have elapsed before a Bengal writer like Bhavadeva came to be looked upon as an authority on *mīmāṃsā* by Hemādri who wrote in distant Berar. It appears that he was quoted in the Karmopadeśinī of Aniruddha (I. O. cat. No. 1853, p. 474). But that Ms. is bound up with another work by a later author and the reference in the cat. is not quite clear. If we rely on the Viramitrodaya, a work called Pradīpa criticised the views of Bhavadeva on the verse of Yaj. II. 24 (about adverse possession for 20 and 10 years). Bhavadeva held that twenty years' enjoyment of immovable property by a stranger implied that the real owner meant to abandon it for the benefit of the stranger enjoying it, that such abandonment for the enjoyment of another leads to the inference of the extinction of previous ownership and that the property being abandoned by the owner in favour of the stranger who takes hold of it, ownership also (of the stranger) arises. The Pradīpa<sup>689</sup> points out that it does not invariably follow

६८९ मवदेवस्तु ... तस्मादेवं वाच्यं यदयं यधोको भोगः पूर्वस्वामिनो भोक्तुर्द्व्येन त्यागात् तत्स्वत्वन्तसमर्थापयति अनुमापयति वा । ... तथा च तदुद्देशेन स्वके तापरिसङ्गणादेव परस्य तत्र स्वत्वमप्युपपद्यते । ... अत्र श्रद्धीकृतः । यत्र हि मत्तन्त्ये- (ये ! ) दानीं नात्र फलसम्भावना तदधुना तत्तत्त्वा एव भुक्त्वा (भुंक्तां ! ) पश्चादेतत्सङ्काशा-त्सफलोपभोगां भुवं यद्दीव्यानीत्यभिर्सेधाद्य भुम्बादिस्वामी तत्र परोपभोगं क्षमते तच्चापि विनात्यभ्याधिको भोगोऽस्ति स्वामिनस्तदुद्देशेन त्यागश्च नास्तीति व्यभिचारान्ने-राभोगस्य पूर्वस्वामिस्वत्वाद्यगे ग्रामाग्यम् । किं च भूस्वामी सचेताः किमिति वृथैव तत्र स्वत्वं जह्यात् । न ह्यत्र दृष्टमुद्देशं नाप्यदृष्टं धर्मशास्त्रोक्तिकर्तव्यताविरहान् । ... नापि यदुद्देशेन यत्पश्यते तत्तस्य स्वमिति नियमः । उद्देश्येनागृहीति व्यभिचारात् ।  
वीर० p. 213-14.

M. D. 39.

that, because a stranger is allowed to enjoy land, the owner intends to abandon the land for the stranger, nor is it an invariable rule that what is abandoned for another becomes the property of that other. It will be shown later on that the Pradīpa must have been composed before 1150 A. D. Hence it follows that Bhavadeva flourished about 1100. He cannot be very much earlier than that, as he is not mentioned by any writer of the 11th century and as he not only mentions Kumārila and Prabhākara, but also writers who criticised Prabhākara's views.

There were several other later persons named Bhavadeva who wrote on topics of Dharmaśāstra such as Bhavadeva, author of Danadharmaprakriyā (middle of 17th century), and Bhavadeva, the author of Smṛticandrikā, who flourished in the first half of the 18th century.

On Bhavadeva's Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati there is a commentary called Saṁsārapaddhatirahasya.

#### 374. Prakāśa.

A work called Prakāśa has been quoted by very early *nibandha-karas*. The Kalpataru quotes the interpretation of Prakāśa, Halāyudha and Kāmadhenu on a verse of Kātyāyana.<sup>690</sup> The Vivādaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara cites the views of Prakāśa scores of times (e. g. p. 131, 145, 456, 460, 462, 471, 485, 504 etc.). Frequently Prakāśa is coupled with Parijāta (e. g. p. 497). On page 518 of the Vivādaratnākara a remark of Prakāśa wherein both Asahāya and Medhatithi are named is cited.<sup>691</sup> The Dānaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara quotes a passage of Saṁvarta with Prakāśa's explanation of it.<sup>692</sup> In the Śraddhasaukhyā of Tōḍarānanda Prakāśa's explanation

690 Vide note 521 above. On पणे जितः, one of the 15 kinds of *dēsas* enumerated by नारद, the कल्पतरु quotes the remarks of the प्रकाश 'पयस्मिन्निवादे पराजितो भवामीयादिपरिमाणेन दासीभूतः दूतजित इति प्रकाशपरिजातो।' (folio 368 of Benares Sanskrit College transcript).

691 विद्वा दत्तमिति स्त्रीधनमाधोपलक्षणमित्यसहायमेधातिथिरिति (० धी इति) प्रकाशकारः । वि. र. (on मनु 9. 198). Vide p. 509 of वि. र. where प्रकाश cites मेधातिथि alone 'पत्यनुज्ञातेनाप्यदसोऽप्यलङ्कारो यो मण्डनार्थं भूतः सोऽपि दास्यदेर्न हर्तव्य इति मेधातिथिरिति प्रकाशः'.

692 'संवर्तः । सर्वेषामेव दानानामेकजन्मानुगं फलम् । इदं कश्चिन्निर्गोरीणां सप्तजन्मानुगं फलम् ॥ गोषोऽत्र गायः प्रकरणात् । गोरी अष्टवर्षा कन्वते प्रकाशः ।' दानरत्नाकर (D.C. ms. No. 114 of 1884-85 folio 52 b).



of the word 'Yānevata' occurring in a passage of Śaṅkha about the fruits allowed in śrāddha is quoted.<sup>691</sup>

These quotations establish that *Prakāśa* was a work that not only dealt with vyavahāra, but also with such topics as *dāna*, *śrāddha* etc.

Whether the *Prakāśa* was an independent work or a commentary is somewhat doubtful. But from a passage of the *Vivādaratnākara* it seems to follow that it was a commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*. There we are told that the *Kalpataṛu*<sup>692</sup> read 'abhijānata' for 'avijānata' in Yāj. II. 258, but that since that reading is opposed to *Yājñavalkya-prakāśa*, *Halayudha* and *Pārijāta* it must be, regarded as a wrong reading. As it is a reading of Yāj. himself that was being discussed, it would be somewhat strange if it were said that it was opposed to Yāj. and *Prakāśa* and therefore it is necessary to suppose that *Yājñavalkyaprakāśa* is one work.

The *Vivādacintāmaṇi* in several places gives the explanation of *Prakāśa*.<sup>693</sup> The *Smṛtisāra*<sup>694</sup> gives at great length the explanation of *Prakāśa* on the controversial verses of Yāj. (II. 138-139). The *Viramitrodaya*<sup>695</sup> quotes at length *Prakāśa*'s explanation of *Manu* (9. 207) and disapproves of it on the ground (among others) that the verse can more clearly be explained so as to convey

693 'आश्वान्वानेवतानिस्त्रुमुद्धाकाभन्वदादिमान् । . . . आदृकालोपपादयेत् ॥ यानेवतः काश्मीरे बोद्ध इति मसिद्धः । प्राचीनामलकामिति प्रकाशकारः ।' आदृसोस्य folio 42 a ( D. C. ms. No. 257 of 1884-87 ).

694 कल्पतरो तु अविजानतेति स्थाने अभिजानतेति पाठो दर्शितः स तु याज्ञवल्क्यप्रकाश-इत्यायुध-पारिजातविरोधात् प्रमादशब्द इति लक्षितः । वि. र. p. 198.

695 विद्ययापि साधारणधनानुपलेपेण यदर्जितं तदेवाविमात्रमिति प्रकाशकारः । तन्न उभयोपादानार्थक्यात् । वि. चि. p. 135 ; 'परिसंख्यानचलापितृभानुपितृष्वरेष विभागपूर्वकं धनभेदं संसर्ग इति प्रकाशः ।' वि. चि. p. 157 ; vide pp. 130, 140 also.

696 प्रकाशे तु मृतस्य संसृष्टिनो धनं संसृष्ट्यपहरेत् गृह्णीयात् । विभागकाले अज्ञातगर्भायां पितृभार्यायां पश्चादुत्पन्नस्यासंसृष्ट्येष दद्यात् । सोदरस्य तु संसृष्टिनो धनं संसृष्टी सोदरो गृह्णीयान्न निजोदरः संसृष्ट्यपीति पक्षस्यापवादः । अम्योदर्वस्तु संसृष्टी धनं गृह्णीयादिति शेषः । नाम्योदर्वधनं हरेदिति संसृष्ट्यपीत्यनेन संबध्यते &c. स्मृतिसार ( I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 148 b ).

697 Vide वीर. p. 572 ; the same also occurs in वि. चि. p. 130.



a meaning similar to that of Yaj. II. 116. The Prakāśa is mentioned in the Dāyatattva (vol. II, p. 173) and in the Śuddhitattva (vol. II, p. 288).

As the Prakāśa is quoted in the Kalpataru it is certainly earlier than 1125. It mentions Medhātithi. Besides the Mit. does not refer to it. There is room for thinking that it follows the Mit. Yaj. II. 116 is, according to the Vivādaraṇākara,<sup>698</sup> explained by the Prakāśa in almost the same words as the Mit. It is possible that both borrow from the same original. At all events the Prakāśa must have been composed between 1000 and 1100 A. D.

Hemādri frequently cites a work called Mahārṇavaprakāśa.<sup>699</sup> According to the latter the sandal unguents, flowers, incense, lamp presented in śrāddha are to be offered to the Brāhmaṇas invited and not to the *pitṛs*. In another place Hemādri quotes the explanation of the word '*nimantraya*'<sup>700</sup> given by the Mahārṇavaprakāśa. In some places Hemādri refers to a work called Smṛtimahārṇava or simply Mahārṇava.<sup>701</sup> It appears to me that all these three are the names of the same work. The question then arises whether the Smṛtimahārṇavaprakāśa is the same as the Prakāśa mentioned by the Kalpataru and Caṇḍeśvara. In the present state of our knowledge it appears that they are identical. The Madanapārijāta (p. 93) quotes a verse from the Smṛtimahārṇava about *upākarma*.

#### 75. Pārijāta.

Several works bear the appellation Pārijāta such as the Vidhānapārijāta (composed in 1625 A. D.), the Madanapārijāta (about 1375 A. D.) and the Prayogapārijāta (between 1400-1500). But

<sup>698</sup> अत्रापि प्रकाशः किंचिदसारमपि दत्त्वा पृथक्क्रिया विभागः कर्तव्यः तत्पुत्राणां विवादनित्युत्तरमिति । वि. र. p. 485 ; यत्किंचिदसारमपि दत्त्वा पृथक्क्रिया विभागः कार्यः विद्वा । तत्पुत्रादीनां दायनिपृष्टा मा नृदिति । मिताक्षरा.

<sup>699</sup> किं गन्धतुल्यपुष्पदीपाच्छादनानि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो देयान्युत वितुम्य इति । तत्र तावद्ब्रह्मनार्धदर्शनन्यायोपलब्धोर्ब्राह्मणेभ्यो देयानिति महार्णवप्रकाशकतो मन्यते । चतुर्वर्गं. III. 1. 1031.

<sup>700</sup> निमन्त्रणं नाम देवपितृकार्यार्थोऽप्रत्यारुषेणो नियोग इति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारः । अध्येषणपूर्वकमभ्युपगमसंपादनमिति मेधातिथिमहार्णवप्रकाशकारो । चतुर्वर्गं. III. 1. 1131 ; vide also p. 1151 for another reference to महार्णवप्रकाश.

<sup>701</sup> तथा च स्मृतिमहार्णवे आह पुनः । गर्माष्टमे वर्षे वसन्ते ब्राह्मण आन्यान्मुपनाययेत् । चतुर्वर्गं. III. 1. 112 ; on pp. 183, 545 of the same only महार्णव occurs.

there was an ancient work called *Pārijāta* quoted by even some of the earliest *nibandhakāras*. The *Kalpataru* several times quotes the views of a work called *Pārijāta*. The *Prakāśa* and *Pārijāta* are frequently mentioned<sup>702</sup> together in the *Kalpataru* and the *Vivādaratnākara*. The latter regarded the *Kalpataru*, *Pārijāta*, *Halāyudha* and *Prakāśa* as its most eminent predecessors.<sup>703</sup> The *Dānaratnākara*<sup>704</sup> quotes several times the views of *Pārijāta* on gifts. The *Smṛtisāra* of *Harinātha* sets out at length the order of succession to a sonless man according to the *Pārijāta* ( vide I. O. Ms. No. 301, folio 134 a ). One of the striking opinions of the *Pārijāta* was that the widow of a sonless man should raise offspring by *niyoga* and give the wealth of the deceased to the son so born.

From the above it appears that the *Pārijāta* was an independent work on *vyavahāra*, *dāna* and other topics. Being quoted by the *Kalpataru* it was earlier than 1125 A. D. and as it held views similar to those of *Bhojadeva* and *Halāyudha* on the widow's rights and as it is not quoted by the *Mit.* or other earlier works it must be assigned to a date between 1000-1125 A. D. In I. L. R. 12 Cal. 348 at p. 356 the learned judges hold that the *Pārijāta* frequently cited as an authority by the *Vivādaratnākara* is the *Madanapārijāta*. But this is entirely wrong. The latter work, it will be shown ( vide sec. 93 ), was composed about 1375, while the *Vivādaratnākara* was composed about 1320 A. D. Hence the *Pārijāta* of the *Vivādaratnākara* is the ancient work mentioned in the *Kalpataru*.

#### 76. *Govindarāja*.

The commentary of *Govindarāja* on the *Manusmṛti* was published by *Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik* and a portion of it was published by

<sup>702</sup> कात्यायनः । विष्णुप्रोक्तजैनं चैव नमस्त्वपरिमर्दनम् । शायो दासीसुताः कर्तुः कच्छादि-  
घट्टणं च यत् ॥ नमस्त्वपरिमर्दनं वरिषापनम् । नमस्त्वे परिमर्दनं संवाहनमिति पारि-  
जाताः । कल्पतरु folio 368 ( Benares S. College Transcript ) : vide notes  
649 and 690 above.

<sup>703</sup> कल्पद्रुमे वाप्यथ पारिजाते हलायुधे वाप्यथवा प्रकाशे । दत्तारमरमादाधिकं च यत्-  
दूधाति रत्नाकर एक एव ॥ verse at the end of वि. र.

<sup>704</sup> कल्किभ्यस्तु दक्षिणामात्रम् । भूपालसागरपारिजातादयोप्येवम् । दानरत्नाकर folio  
28 a ; अथवा तुलापुरुषवर्द्धं गुरवे निवेद्यार्थमन्विभ्यो दद्यादिति पारिजातः । *ibid*  
folio 28 b ( about कामधेनुमदान ).

Dr. Jolly in the *Manuṭikāsaṃgraha*. In his commentary<sup>705</sup> on Manu III. 247 and 248 he tells us that he has treated at greater length the subject of those verses in his own work called *Smṛtī-mañjarī*. Kullūka<sup>706</sup> in his comment on Manu IV. 212 twits Govindarāja with having explained 'ugra' in one way in his commentary on Manu and in a different way in his *Mañjarī*. A Ms. of a portion of the *Smṛtīmañjarī* exists in the India Office (cat. p. 47<sup>1</sup>).

From these two works a brief account of the personal history of Govindarāja can be extracted. The colophons at the end of the *Manuṭikā* describe Govindarāja as the son of bhaṭṭa Mādhava. The first verse<sup>707</sup> of the *Smṛtīmañjarī* and one at the end (though somewhat corrupt) give the information that he was the son of Mādhava and grand-son of Nārāyaṇa and appears to have lived on the holy banks of the Ganges.<sup>708</sup> Those who like Sarvadhikari identify Govindarāja with Govindacandra, prince of Benares, are therefore entirely wrong since he was a Brāhmaṇa and not a Kṣatriya. The first verse<sup>709</sup> of his *Manuṭikā* contains an obeisance to god (or Śiva) and states that he had received the śāstra of Manu in an unbroken tradition of teacher and pupil and that he had examined previous commentaries of Manu.

705 'साधितं चैतत्सविस्तरं स्मृतिमञ्जरीमनुपञ्जिकायां च । इह तु ग्रन्थकारमयात्र प्रतार्यते (प्रस्तौयते ।)' on मनु III. 247; 'इति सपिण्डीकरणसावत्सरिकेपि स्मृतिमञ्जरीमनुपञ्जिकायां विस्तरतो निरूप्यते' on मनु III. 248.

706 गोविन्दराजो मञ्जरीमुप राजानमुक्तवान् । मनुवृत्तौ च श्रद्धायां क्षत्रियोत्पन्नमभ्यधात् ॥

707 स्मृतिविरचितैस्तेषां ऋषेर्द्विरुक्तिपरत्वात्सामसिलकललज्यालुसार्थमतो मतसंहतिम् । अल्लि-  
सदसिलं गोविन्दस्यभिरं गुरुसंज्ञावपुषिततनुर्हानामोदः स माधवनन्दनः ॥ स्मृति-  
मञ्जरी 1st verso.

708 स्मृतिमञ्जरी folio 150 b 'स्वादिनिपुल्लिगल्लज्जलल्लज्जकीर्तिनारायणस्य तनयात्मज उषिचकाय । वाक्यावलीमसिलसत्त्वरणावतंसाद् (तंता ! ) गोविन्दराज इह माधव इह भूमिः ( ! इह माधवभूमिरार्यः ) ॥'.

709 संसाराध्वगतागतकुमन्तृषार्पणसूक्ष्मशिं शनैश्चालानगलसंप्रदायगुरुतः प्राप्ते मनोः शास्त्रे । दृष्ट्वा ग्रन्थरुदाशयाननुवृत्तिं व्याख्यान्तराणामिमां टीकां शास्त्ररुदाशयानुसरिणीं गोविन्दराजो व्यधात् ॥

The Smṛtis mentioned by him in the two works of his are given below.<sup>710</sup> Besides he mentions the Vāyupurāṇa (on Manu III. 232) and Purāṇa in general (on Manu I. 74 and 80). He frequently quotes the Gṛhyasūtras, also the Bahvṛcagṛhyapariśiṣṭa, the Yoga-sūtra. He says (on Manu 2. 23) that Mleccha countries like Āndhra and others were not fit for performing sacrifices. He appears to have held like Medhātithi the view that *mokṣa* was to be attained by a combination of *jñāna* and *karma*.<sup>711</sup> As compared with the bhāṣya of Medhātithi his commentary is very concise. Kullūka largely drew upon Medhātithi and Govindarāja, mentions them hundreds of times, criticizes<sup>712</sup> both of them and particularly holds up Govindarāja to ridicule often enough.<sup>713</sup> Kullūka notes that Govindarāja in opposition to Medhātithi and Bhojadeva arranged Manu 8. 181-184 differently (putting 8. 182 as the last of those four verses). In the printed edition there is no comment of Govindarāja on the verses of the 9th chapter from verse 72. But it appears that the Dayabhāga had that part of the commentary, as it quotes the views of Govindarāja on the rights of the daughter's son which could have appeared only on Manu IX. 130-136.

A few words may now be said about the Smṛtimañjarī, Mss. of which are rare. At the end of the India office Ms. a summary of the contents of the whole work is given (for which see footnote

710 अङ्गिरसु, आपस्तम्ब, उशनसु, कश्यपाङ्ग, काश्यप, गौतम, बलुर्विशतिमत्, देवल, नारद, पराशर, पेटिनसि, मचेतसु, मृदुमचेतसु, मृदुस्थानि, बौधायन, यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, वसिष्ठ, विष्णु, व्यास, शङ्ख, शातातप, वृद्धशातातप, पद्मविश्वाम्मत, संवर्त, सुमन्तु, इतरीत.

711 On मनु 2. 28 गोविन्दराज ४४७४ 'ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयान्मोक्षावाते'.

712 Note the following where गोविन्दराज is criticized by कुल्लुक. मनु. II. 1, 22, 127; III. 11, 53, 127, 129, 285; IV. 7, 162; VI. 14, 79, 86; VII. 94, 211; VIII. 37, 142-143, 184, 333; IX. 68, 136, 141, 162, 206; X. 3; XI. 82, 180; XII. 86.

713 On मनु II. 125, III. 50 and VIII. 37 गोविन्दराज is held up to special ridicule. इत्य गोविन्दराजेन विशेषमविवृण्वता । अथकमङ्गीकृतमृतो स्वदारसुरतं यतेः ॥ on मनु III. 50 : स्वेषु तिष्ठन्ति पदद्वितयं न विवक्षितम् । इमां गोविन्दराजस्य राजाङ्गा नद्वियामहे ॥ on मनु V. 104. It should be noted that the printed text of गोविन्दराज on मनु V. 104 is corrupt as it reads 'स्वेषु तिष्ठन्ति विवक्षितम्'.

below ).<sup>714</sup> It appears that the *Smṛtimanjari* dealt with all principal topics of dharmaśāstra such as the *samśkāras*, the daily duties viz : bath, *saṁdhyā*, *brahmajyāna*, the duties of the student, householder, the forest hermit, and the *śaṇḍyāsin*, the duties of the four *varṇas*, gifts, the purifications of various materials, foods forbidden and allowed, impurity on birth and death, *sapindikas* and *śamāncakras*, funeral rites, *śrāddha* and its various details, *prāyaścitta*. The ms. in the India office deals with the *adbikari* for *prāyaścitta*, the *parīṣat* ( i. e. the assembly of learned men who are to determine what *prāyaścitta* is to be prescribed ), the means of atoning for sins and violations of religious duties, the *prāyaścittas* for the *maheṣapātakas* ( viz. the murder of a Brāhmaṇa, drinking wine, theft of gold, incest ) and for other lesser and similar sins, meaning of the word *prāyaścitta*, *prāyaścittas* for killing men of Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra classes and for killing women, *prāyaścittas* for the killing of a cow and of various beasts and birds, *prāyaścittas* for eating forbidden or polluted food and for selling articles forbidden to be sold, secret *prāyaścittas*. The India Office Ms. which deals only with *prāyaścittas* contains 152 folios. This gives us an idea as to how extensive the whole work must have been

714 अस्मै सुप्रतिपत्तये काण्डानि लिख्यन्ते । तपाद्यो परिभाषाकाण्डे गर्भाधानादि उप-  
नयनादि । संशोषासनविधिः । अन्ये मन्त्रचारिधर्माः । अभयनादि । पुनरन्ये मन्त्रचारि-  
धर्माः । मन्त्रपञ्चाविधिः । विषाह्यादिगृहस्थधर्माः । शूद्रधर्माः । वृष्यपदेशाः । स्नानविधिः ।  
यमनियमकाण्डम् । आश्विनिकम् । दानविधिः स्थापविधिः प्रोषितमर्तृकाधर्माः । द्रव्य-  
शुद्धिः नृत्तादिशौचं आचमननिमित्तानि द्विराचमननिमित्तानि आचमनापवादाः ।  
आचमनविधिः । अत्रैव प्रतिषेध्याः । कमण्डलुधर्मा । अम्पदाचमनगतम् । स्नानशुद्धिः ।  
सचेतानि । मक्षालनादिशौचम् । इति कायिकम् । सौवर्णादिशौचं वेलादिशौचं तथा  
सिद्धान्तादि भूम्यादि उदकादि अशुद्धपवादाः । भोजनविधिः । मर्यामस्यप्रकरणम् ।  
भेतशुद्धिः । ब्राह्मणशौचं क्षत्रियाद्याशौचं जननाशौचं, अनुजाताद्याशौचं शिष्याशौचं  
सपिण्डसमाजोदकत्वं बीजसंस्पृष्टाशौचं देशान्तरगृताशौचमाचार्याशौचमनेकाशौच-  
संनिपाताद्याशौचम् । निर्हरणादि । अनुगमनाद्याशौचम् । उदकक्रियादि पिण्डदानादि ।  
अस्थिसंशयः । उदकादिनिषेधः । स्पर्शाशौचम् । यमनियमाः । श्राद्धप्रकरणम् ।  
कालादि । ब्राह्मणपरिक्षा । भोजनविधाः । वर्णाभिमुख्यणादि । देशः कालः । अग्नेषोति-  
कर्तव्यता । ब्राह्मणसंस्था । पुनरन्येति कर्तव्यता । अमावास्यादिश्राद्धम् । एकोद्दिष्टं  
सपिण्डीकरणम् । आम्बिकं मातृश्राद्धम् । अन्ये श्राद्धधर्माः । वृद्धिश्राद्धम् । वानप्रस्थ-  
काण्डे प्रजितकाण्डम् । शूद्रधर्मकाण्डम् । अनुलोमपतिलोम । तद्द्वयपदेशकाण्डम् ।  
मातृश्राद्धकाण्डम् ।

embracing as it did the entire field of dharmaśāstra. In the body of the work contained in the Ms. frequent references occur to other parts of<sup>714</sup> the Smṛtīmāñjarī such as saṁskarakāṇḍa, the abhakṣya-kāṇḍa, the śrāddhakāṇḍa. One interesting fact about Govindarāja is that, though a northerner, he permitted<sup>715</sup> marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter and said that the prohibition against marrying a girl of the maternal uncle's *gotra* applies only to the son of a *putrikā*. The Ms. in the India Office is an ancient one, being copied in *satvat* 1467, Āśvina dark half, Saturday (i. e. October 1411 A. D.) during the reign of Mahārājā Udayasinha at Vasuravi (modern Vastravi in the territory of the Maharaja Gaikwad of Baroda).

Dr. Jolly (Manutīkāsaṁgraha, preface page 1 and R. u. S. p. 31) and Dr. Bühler (S. B. E. vol. 25, p. cxxvii) assigned Govindarāja to the 12th or 13th century. But this date is not correct, as the following discussion will show. Kullūka (vide note 588 above) expressly says that Medhātithi is much earlier than Govindarāja. Though Medhātithi is nowhere expressly named in his commentary by Govindarāja,<sup>716</sup> the latter appears to have several times criticised

715 परिविष्यादयः संस्कारकाण्डे व्याख्याताः । folio 41 a ; बाल्याः संस्कारकाण्ड उक्ताः । folio 106 a ; सप्तसादयो भक्ष्यकाण्डादौ व्याख्याताः folio 38.

716 मातुलस्य सुतामृगं मातृगोत्रं तथैव च । समानमवरो चैव द्विजश्रान्द्रायणं परेत ॥  
नियोगोत्पादितमातुलस्यतापहणार्थं मातुलस्य सुतामित्येतत् । अन्यथेतन्मातृगोत्रं तथैव  
चेत्यनेनैव नानार्थं स्यात् । अथ मातृगोत्रपरिणयननिषेधः पुत्रिकापुत्रविवयः । यतः  
पाणिग्रहणिकः मन्त्राः पितृगोत्रापहारका इति । तथा पञ्चमी मातृबन्धुभ्य इत्येवमादि-  
वाक्यानां परस्परविरोधानि च वाक्यानि श्राद्धप्रकरणे उक्तानि । सिद्धेभ्यस्तुलितत्वात् ।  
folio 95 a.

717 On मनु III. 126 गोविन्दराज says 'यत्तु न त्वेकं सर्वेषां पिण्डे व्याख्यातामिति गृह्य-  
दर्शनात्, निमन्त्रयेत् व्यतराम् (मनु III. 187) इति चेदाभिधानात्, एकेकमुभयत्र  
वा इत्यस्य विस्तरप्रतिषेधात्तद्वत्त्वमाह नदस्त', मेधातिथि does quote the passage  
of the आप्यश्रायनगृह्य and the verse of मनु (III. 187); on मनु I. 103  
गोविन्दराज says 'यथार्थवादाभेदमस्य श्लोकस्य केचित्तु कं तदसिद्धयर्थमितिः (!) ।  
यत्तु अधीषींस्त्रयो वणाः (मनु X. 1) इत्यादि स वेदविषयोनुवाद इति व्याख्या-  
स्यामः'; मेधातिथि does take the verse as an अर्थवाद and says 'नात्र  
केचित्प्रतिषेधास्त'; on मनु XI. 178 मेधातिथि says 'वृषत्यत्र चण्डाल्यभिधेता'  
and गोविन्दराज says 'यत्तु चण्डाल्यत्र वृषतीति व्याचक्षते नदस्त'. Vide  
also गोविन्दराज on मनु 2, 201, 3, 160, 4, 119, 4, 222, 5, 134, 8, 293, 10, 28.

Medhatithi. Another important circumstance is that though the Mit. mentions Medhatithi and Bhojadeva as great authorities it is silent about Govindarāja. Hence it follows that Govindarāja could not have flourished earlier than Bhojadeva, i. e. earlier than about 1050 A. D. In the Hāratalā of Aniruddha (which as we shall see later on must have been composed about 1160 A. D.) Govindarāja is quoted several times and is looked upon as a great authority like Viśvarūpa, Bhojadeva and Kamadhenu.<sup>718</sup> This shows that Govindarāja could not have flourished later than 1125 A. D. The Dayabhāga<sup>719</sup> (in *Dhātadrikā*) disapproves of the view of Govindarāja who placed the daughter's son before a married daughter as an heir. In his Kalaviveka<sup>720</sup> also Jīmūtavāhana refers to Govindarāja in the same breath with Bhojarāja and Viśvarūpa. In his Vyavahāramātrkā<sup>721</sup> he refers to Mañjarīkāra as having held the same view as Viśvarūpa. Mañjarī here must be taken to be the Smṛtimañjarī of Govindarāja, since Jīmūtavāhana in his other works refers to Govindarāja, since Kullūka also speaks of the Mañjarī of Govindarāja (vide note 706 above) and since there is no other known ancient work of that name on dharmaśāstra. This shows that the Mañjarī comprised a discussion on *vyavahāra* also. Hemādri<sup>722</sup> tells that the author of the work called Paṇḍitaparitoṣa refuted the views of Govindarāja on the performance of śrāddha on the 13th *tithi* by a man having a son. This shows that Govindarāja must have preceded Hemādri (who wrote in the latter half of the 13th century) by at least a century or more. The Smṛtyarthasāra<sup>723</sup> of Śrīdhara relies on the views of Govindarāja in its section on

718 Vide note 592 above: 'इति गोविन्दराजलिखितवृद्धमतेतवचनात्' हारलता p. 166;

तद्गोविन्दराजविश्वरूपकाम्पेनुकार्मे लिखितमिति अमूलमेव प्रतिमानि । हारलता p. 174.

719 तथा गोविन्दराजेन मनुटीकार्य-अपुत्रपौत्रसंताने पोत्रा दौहित्रका मताः-एतद्विष्णुवचन-चलेन ऊढानः मागेव दौहित्रस्याधिकारो दर्शितः । स चास्मभ्यं न रोचते । दायभाग.

720 यद्यपि भोजराजविश्वरूपगोविन्दराजैर्हृतया न लिखितानि तथाप्युपन्यस्य व्याख्यायन्ते । कालविवेक p. 304.

721 मञ्जरीकारस्यापि विश्वरूपसमानलक्षतया समानमेव दूषणम् । ज्योतिषरामातृका p. 347.

722 वण्डितपरितोषकारस्येवं गोविन्दराजमतं प्रतिचिक्षेप । ... तस्मादधिचारितमनोहरे गोविन्द-राजव्याख्याने नानाविद्भिः कार्यः । चतुर्वर्ग ० III. 2. p. 481.

723 संन्यासस्य विधिं कस्मिन् प्रवक्ष्याम्यनुपूर्वशः । गोविन्दराजस्य मतं बोधायनमतं यथा ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसंग्रह । p. 26.



saṁnyāsa. A greater approximation as to the date of Govindarāja can be made if it can be held that a passage of the *Kalpataru*<sup>724</sup> refers to Govindarāja by the word 'Vṛttikāra' where he quotes the explanation of the word 'anapasara' occurring in Manu 8. 198 given by Bhāguri, Medhātithi and Vṛttikāra. Govindarāja does explain that word in that way. If Govindarāja is mentioned in the *Kalpataru*, the former must be earlier than 1100 A. D. Even if he be not mentioned as Vṛttikāra by the *Kalpataru* still he must have flourished before 1140 A. D. as he is named by the *Hārata*. Hence the period of Govindarāja is between 1050 to 1100 or 1140 A. D. Govindarāja will have to be pushed back between 1050-1080 A. D. if Jimūtavāhana flourished between 1090 to 1140 A. D., as is held by many. But as the latter's date is a very controversial subject, no argument is based on his date in the preceding discussion.

### 77. The *Kalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara

This work exercised great influence over the early writers of Mithila, Bengal and northern India in general. It was a very extensive work, but unfortunately no complete Ms. of the whole work has yet been found, nor has any portion of it been printed.

The work was divided into several *kāṇḍas*. The Mss. generally point out the position of each *kāṇḍa* in the whole work, i. e. the *rājadharmakāṇḍa* is described as the 11th *kāṇḍa* and *vyavahāra* as the 12th. The whole work is described as *Kṛtyakalpataru* or simply *Kalpataru* and some times it is paraphrased into *Kalpadruma* or *Kalpavṛkṣa* (as in the *Vivadaratnākara*, note 652 above). The most complete Ms. at present known is that in the library of the Maharaja of Udaipur (Peterson's First Report 1883, pp. 108-111) which contains 12 *kāṇḍas* (the first being incomplete) and has 1108 folios. I was able to see three *kāṇḍas*, viz : *Rājadharmā*, *Vyavahāra* and *Dāna*.

In the colophons and introductory verses the author is said to be Lakṣmīdhara, son of Bhāṭṭa-Hṛdayadhara and to have been the minister for peace and war of king Govindacandra. The intro-

<sup>724</sup> अनपसरः अवसरत्यनेन स्वामिनः सकाशाद्भूमिति प्रतिग्रहादिधर्मागमोपायोपरः स न विद्यते यस्य स तथा । एतच्च भागुरिमेधातिथ्वृत्तिकाराणां मतम् । कल्पतरु folio 332 ( of the Benares S. College transcript ). This very passage of the कल्पतरु is quoted in the वि. र., p. 104, thereby showing that it is a genuine text.

ductory<sup>725</sup> verse to the Rājadharmakāṇḍa says that it was the skilful statesmanship of Lakṣmīdhara that enabled Govindacandrā to vanquish his opponents. The colophon at the end of the Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa conveys the information that Lakṣmīdhara was directed by king Govindacandra to compose the work. The work is in the nature of a digest. It brings together various passages of smṛtis, purāṇas and other works on the several topics of *dharma* with brief explanations and comments. Though the work is much vaster than the Mit. it is inferior to the latter in acumen, erudition, comprehensive grasp of principles and powers of exegesis. The kāṇḍas are arranged in the following order in the Mss. so far found :— (1) Brahmacāri, (2) Grhasṭha, (3) Naiyatakāla (or-kālikā), (4) Śrāddha, (5) Dāna, (6) Pratiṣṭhā, (7) wanting, (8) Tirtha, (9) wanting, (10) Śuddhi, (11) Rājadharmā, (12) Vyavahāra, (13) Śānti (or Śāntika-pauṣṭika), (14) Mokṣa. M. M. Chakravarti suggests (JASB. 1915 pp. 358-359) that the 7th and 9th were probably Pūjā-kāṇḍa and Prāyaścitta-kāṇḍa. In the several Tattvas of Raghunandana ten of these kāṇḍas are named, viz. brahmacāri, naiyatakālikā, śrāddha, dāna, pratiṣṭhā, tirtha, prāyaścitta (in Prāyaścitta-tattva p. 522, vol. I), vivāda (in Prāyaścitta-tattva p. 533, vol. I), śāntika-pauṣṭika (in Malamāsātattva p. 796, vol. I) and uttaramīmāṃsā, i. e. mokṣa (in Ekādaśātattva p. 9, vol. II).

The Vyavahāra portion of the Kalpataru contained the usual topics, viz : the king's duty to look into the litigation of the people, the judge, the constitution of the *saḥa*, meaning of vyavahāra, the plaint (*bhāṣa*), the reply (*uttara*), the means of proof, enumeration of the titles of law, the various kinds of punishments, units of measures etc., *ṛyādāna*, surety, sale without ownership,

725 न्याये कर्मणि यज्जगदुपवर्ता गेहेषु बहुश्रुतिनो राज्ञा मूर्धनि खपदं व्याचक्षते विन्दुचन्द्रो नृपः । तत्सर्वं सलु यस्य मन्त्रमहिमाश्रयं स लक्ष्मीधरः काण्डे शंसति राजधर्मनिषयानेकादशे पुण्यध्याः ॥ Intro. verse to I. O. ms. 852; ' इति श्रीद्वौकिन्दमहाराजसन्धि-विषद्विकर्षीलक्ष्मीधरमहर्षिर्वाचते कृत्यकल्पतरौ राजधर्मकाण्डः संपूर्णः ' colophon to above; नृपः ॥ व्याचक्षते विचक्षते ॥ पञ्चावस्थापितं व्याप्तादिव्यवहारागमविशदास्ताः प्रगल्भा गिरः । यस्याकरार्थे (?) विप्रश्चिन्ता प्रतिसमं रोमाञ्चमातम्वते काण्डे स व्यवहारमयं तनुते लक्ष्मीधरो द्वादशे ॥ Intro. verse to ms. of व्यवहारकाण्ड; इति महा-राजाधिराजगोविन्दचन्द्रदेवादिष्टेन महासन्धिप्रद्विकेण भट्टहृदयधरायजश्रीमद्वल्लभधरेण विरचितं कृत्यकल्पतरौ व्यवहारकाण्डादिकं समाप्तम् ।

partnership and the other titles of law. In the *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, the topics discussed are : eulogy of the institution of king, coronation, councillors, forts, palaces, the government of the country, treasury, punishments, allies, guarding the heir-apparent, settling of policy, the six expedients, marching against an enemy, festivals like *Kaumudi* and raising the *dhvaja* ( banner ), *pūjā* on *Mahānavamī*, gifts and letting loose of cows and bulls. In the *Dānakāṇḍa* the usual subjects are discussed, such as what should be donated and what not, the persons fit to receive gifts, the *mahādānas*, the lesser *dānas* &c. Vide Mitra's Notices vol. VI, p. 247 for the *nitya-kalakriyā-kāṇḍa* ( 3rd ) and vol. VIII, pp. 296-297 for the *Mokṣa-kāṇḍa*.

The *Kalpataru* generally quotes only the *smṛti* writers, the epics and the *purāṇas*. It is only in the *vyavahāra-kāṇḍa* that several *nibandhas* and their authors are quoted. Among these are *Medhātithi*, a *bhāṣya-kāra* on *Śaṅkha-Likhita*, *Prakāśa*, *Pārijāta*, *Vijñāneśvara*, *Halāyudha*, *Kāmadhenu*. Dr. Jolly ( R. u. S. p. 35 ) had noticed that *Lakṣmīdhara* quotes only *Medhātithi* and did not know that he names so many authors.

The date of *Lakṣmīdhara* can be settled within very narrow limits. He quotes *Vijñāneśvara* and therefore he must be later than 1100 A. D. The *Kalpataru* is quoted by the *Karmopadeśinī* of *Aniruddha* written about 1160 A. D. ( vide I. O. cat. p. 474-75 ). Hence it must have been written between 1100 and 1150 A. D., and probably in the 2nd quarter of the 12th century. A Ms. of the *Kalpataru* found in Nepal is dated *śaṁvat* 1233 i. e. 1176-77 A. D. ( Vide M. M. Haraprasad Sastri's Cat. of Nepal Mss. p. 106 ). The same date is arrived at in another way. He was the minister of king *Govindacandra*. This must be *Govindacandra*, the *Gahadavala* or *Rathor* emperor of *Kanoj*, whose inscriptions range from 1104 A. D. to 1154 A. D. and who reigned from about 1114 to 1156 ; vide I. A. vol. 14, p. 103 ( of *śaṁvat* 1161 ), E. I. vol. II. p. 559, E. I. vol. IV. pp. 104-109, E. I. vol. V. pp. 16-20, E. I. vol. VIII. p. 149 ff ( for five copper-plates the last of which is dated *śaṁvat* 1207, i. e. 1150 A. D. ), E. I. vol. IX. p. 319 ( for the *Sārṇath* inscription of *Kumaradevi* ), I H Q. vol. V. p. 86 ff.

The influence the *Kalpataru* exercised on succeeding generations was very great. The most eminent Bengal writers, such as *Aniruddha*, *Ballalasena*, *Śulapāṇi* and *Raghunandana* quote him with

respect. In Mithilā his influence was felt perhaps even more than in Bengal. The Vivādaratnākara<sup>726</sup> of Caṇḍeśvara quotes the work hundreds of times and practically plagiarises much that was valuable in it. In fact he quotes the Kalpataru oftener than any other *nibandhakāra* and expressly names it as the first of his predecessors on whom he relies (vide note 703 above). The Smṛtisāra<sup>727</sup> of Harinātha quotes him frequently and so does the Ācārādarsa of Śrīdatta. It made a deep impression even in Western and Southern India. Hemadri refers to it and the Sarasvatī-vilāsa<sup>728</sup> quotes the work frequently and applies the highly honorific epithet 'bhagavan' to Lakṣmidhara. As better and more compact digests came to be composed in later times, the Kalpataru fell more and more into obscurity. It is for this reason that Mss. of the work are rare. Yet even the Dattakamīmāṃsā,<sup>729</sup> the Viramitrodaya<sup>730</sup> and the Tōḍarānanda<sup>731</sup> make frequent mention of its views.

#### 78. Jīmūtavāhana

Jīmūtavāhana is the first of the triumvirate of Bengal writers on *dharmaśāstra*, the other two being Śūlapāṇi and Raghunandana. Only three works of his are known and they have all been printed viz: the Kalaviveka (B. I. series, 1905), the Vyavahāramātrkā (published in the memoirs of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. III., No. 5, pp. 277-353, edited by the late Sir Asutosh Mukerji), the Dāyabhāga (published several times). It appears that these works

726 वि. र. p. 130 refers to the गृह्यसूत्राण्ड of the कल्पतरु.

727 Vide I. O. cat. No. 301 where the स्मृतिसार (folio 145 b) sets out कल्पतरौ अप्रपञ्चनाधिकारः.

728 Para 109 (Foulke's edition) 'एतच्च लक्ष्मीधराचार्यमतमतिगम्भीरं दिक्षुप्रमुदाहृतम्'; vide para. 628 for भगवौल्लक्ष्मीधरः; vide pp. 346, 421 of the Mysore edition.

729 On the verse of मनु 'माना पिता वा &c.' (9. 168) the दत्तकर्ममासा says 'यच्च शूद्रोपि किल पुत्रो भवतीत्यभिप्राय इति कल्पतरुव्याख्यानं नत्तज्ज्ञानीयेष्वयं श्लोकस्तनयेषु मया विधित्युदाहृतयोगीश्वरपञ्चनिकेत्यात् &c.'

730 Vide वीर, pp. 303, 531, 606, 641 &c. for reference to the views of the कल्पतरु.

731 'व्यतीतानो गणितागतचन्द्रसूर्यक्रान्तिस्मयकाल इति कल्पतरुः। योगविशेष इति मिताक्षरः।' आह्नोरीय (D. C. ms. No. 257 of 1884-87).

were intended to form part of a vast treatise on dharmaśāstra called *Dharmaratna*, as stated in the *Kālaviveka*.<sup>732</sup> In this work I have used the edition of the *Dayabhāga* printed in 1829.

The *Kālaviveka* as its name implies contains discussions as to the appropriate seasons, months and times for the performance of religious rites and duties, the determination of intercalary months, the question whether the month for certain festivals and rites was to be solar or lunar, the proper time for the cessation and starting of Vedic studies (Utsarjana and Upākarma), the rise of Agastya, the four months during which Viṣṇu was supposed to sleep on the ocean, the times for various festivals including the *Kojāgara* and the *Durgotsava*, the eclipses. The work is named *Kālaviveka* not only in the colophon, but also in the body itself.<sup>733</sup> Some of the sections of the work also are styled *viveka* (e. g. *Amāvāsya-viveka* pp. 354-365, *dvirāṣāḍhaviveka* pp. 169-174). The object with which the work was composed is stated in the 2nd verse<sup>734</sup> as follows:—‘*Kāla*’ (the topic of proper times for religious duties) has not been understood by some writers; it has been based upon ancient texts and compressed into narrow compass by others; therefore it is dealt with by me in such a way as to be easily understood even by dull-witted persons.’ M. M. Chakravarti (JASB 1915 p. 314) draws from this the conclusion that ‘no previous treatise specially dealing with *Kāla* alone was known to the author’. This is not a sound conclusion. All that *Jīmūtavāhana* claims is that he has made the subject of *Kāla* extremely easy. As a matter of fact in one verse he brings together seven predecessors<sup>735</sup> who dwelt upon *Kāla* in their works. As long

732 बहुविधविषादनिर्मलस्यं यद्वर्णं रवेः शशाङ्कस्य । नन्दमन्त्रीपालोक्तकालकलं विलोकयन् ॥  
इति पारिभाषीयनहमहोपाध्यायजीवन्वाहनकृतो धर्मरत्ने कालविवेकः समाप्तः ॥ 2nd  
verse and colophon of *Kālaviveka*; similarly the colophon of the *Dayabhāga*  
is ‘इति पारिभाषीय ... धर्मरत्ने *Dayabhāga*: समाप्तः’.

733 ‘करनलग्नमलकमिव कालं बालोपि वक्षिषे येन । जीमूतवाहनकृतः कालविवेकः परं  
जयति ॥’ p. 380.

734 कालः कैश्चिद्वदुः ( = चदः ? ) कैश्चिर्माक्षिपन्थ वचननिबद्धः । इति मन्दमन्त्रीनामसि  
सुबोधकरणी मया कियते ॥ 2nd verse of *Kālaviveka*. The 2nd *śloka* has 19  
mātrās. Should we read वचनचदः ?

735 जितेन्द्रिय-शङ्खधराभूक-संघम-हृषिकेश-धवल-योगलोकैः । कृतमपि कालनिरूपणमधुना निः-  
सारतां याति ॥ *Kālaviveka* p. 380.

as the works of all these writers are not recovered it is impossible to assert that Jimūtavāhana had before him no previous work dealing specially with *Kala*. Besides the astronomical and astrological works of ancient writers such as those of Varāhamihira and Brahmagupta, the ancient smṛtis and purāṇas, the important works and authors mentioned are enumerated in the note below.<sup>736</sup> Most of these *nibandhakāras* are quoted by him in his two other works also. Yogiśvara<sup>737</sup> seems to be an author different from Yājñavalkya who also is styled Yogiśvara, since the view ascribed to him is not found in Yāj. In some copies of the Mit. also an author<sup>738</sup> Yogiśvara is named who explained the conflicting texts about a widow's right to succeed to her husband. But Yogiśvara in the Mit. is probably a misprint or copyist's error for Dhāreśvara as some Mss. read Dhāreśvara. In the *Kalaviveka* Jimūtavāhana makes frequent and effective use of *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* maxims<sup>739</sup> and shows that he had made a profound study of that system. In the *Durgotsaviveka*<sup>740</sup> of Śūlapāṇi the *Kalaviveka* is quoted. It is also quoted in the *Śrāddhacintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati, in the *Śrāddhakaumudī* (p. 328) and *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda and in several *Tattvas* of Raghunandana, e. g. *Mālamāsa* p. 773, vol. I and *Ekādaśī* pp. 49, 341, vol. II.

736 अन्धक, अमरकोश, उत्पल, (p. 234), गोविन्दराज, जितेन्द्रिय, दीक्षित, (p. 92), धवल, पत्रिकाकारमिश्र (p. 63), भाजदेव (p. 290), भवधन (p. 423), भागुरि (p. 14), योगेश्वर (p. 200), चोमलेक, पार्थिककाव्य (p. 79), विष्णुरूप (p. 304), शङ्करगिरि (p. 477), शङ्कर, पद्मिनीनन्दन, संभ्रमभट्ट, स्मृतिमीमांसा, स्मृतिसमुच्चय (p. 102), हरिवंश.

737 'कन्यायां श्रावणद्वये प्रथमे शक्रोत्थानं द्वितीये तु दुर्गाया इति योगेश्वरेण व्याख्यातो द्विषाचारकल्पः स पुनरनुपपन्न इति मन्थलहे ।' कालविषेक p. 200; vide p. 237 also 'तत्र योगेश्वरगते वृत्तिके बोधधानप्रसङ्गे' from which जैमिनीयान्न differs.

738 एवमादीनां विरुद्धार्थानां वाक्यानां योगेश्वरेण (च. 1. धारेऽश्वरेण) व्यवस्था दर्शिता । पत्नी गृह्णीयादित्येतद्वचनजन्यं विभक्त्यानृत्तीविषयम् । सा च यदि नियोगार्थिनी भवति । मिता० on याज्ञ II. 135.

739 e. g. on p. 13 देशभेदेन चान्द्रे सौरे च प्रयोगदर्शनात् विशेषान्वधारणात् । न च यव-वराहवत् प्रयोगान्निर्णयः । उभयोरपि तद्विशेषात् । This refers to जैमिनि I. 3. 8-9.

740 कन्यासंस्थे ऋषोऽसंयुक्तमाश्रय गन्धिकाम् । गन्धिकाम् अनिपदिनि अमृतपाहणः । दुर्गोत्सवविषेक (p. 6 Sanskrit Śāhityasparīṣad ed.) ; vide कालविषेक p. 513 for this. The अपाक्रियाकौमुदी p. 51 quotes a text from कालविषेक which occurs on pp. 443 and 447 of the latter.

The Vyavahāramāṭṛkā as its very name implies deals with the elements of vyavahāra (i. e. judicial procedure). It speaks of the eighteen titles of law, the derivation of the word praḍvivāka (judge), the persons fit to be appointed judges, different grades of courts, duties of *sabhyas*, four stages of vyavahāra, pūrvaapakṣa (plaint), pratibha (surety), blemishes in a plaint, *uttara* (reply of the defendant), four kinds of *uttara*, blemishes in *uttara*, *kriyā* (proof or burden of proof), divine (*daivi*) and human (*manuṣi*) proof (viz: ordeals, inference, witnesses, documents, possession), persons incompetent to be witnesses. Ordeals have not been dealt with by the author. The first verse of the work<sup>741</sup> styles it Vyavahāramāṭṛkā. The last verse<sup>742</sup> but one suggests the name Nyāyamāṭṛkā which practically is a synonym of Vyavahāra-māṭṛkā and the colophon at the end of a ms. in the Deccan College collection calls it Nyāyaratnamalīkā.

About twenty smṛtikāras<sup>743</sup> are mentioned in the Vyavahāramāṭṛkā. Kātyāyana, Brhaspati and Nārada are the three smṛtikāras most frequently quoted, nearly two-thirds of the quotations in the entire work being derived from them. Among the *nibandhakāras* the following are named:—Jitendriya, Dikṣita, (p. 302), Bala (p. 346, the same as Bālaka), Bhojadeva (pp. 284, 305), Mañjarīkāra (i. e. Govindarāja), Yogloka, Viśvarūpa, Śrikara (pp. 292, 334 or Śrikaramiśra p. 342). About Viśvarūpa he says<sup>744</sup> 'I have put forward this conclusion of the ancient writers, I have

741 व्यवहारमातृकैषा सकलविवादेषु धर्मवादायम् । लोकद्वयेषु रक्षति सुतमिव सुभूषया नाता ॥

742 पारिभृङ्गकुलोद्भूतः श्रीमात्र् जीमूतवाहनः । विदुषां परितोषाय निम्मे न्यायमातृकाम् ॥

743 They are उद्धानसु, कान्यायन, बृहत्कान्यायन, कौण्डिन्य, गोतम, नारद, पिताम्ह, प्रजापति, बृहस्पति, मनु, यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, लिखित, बृहत्सिष्ठ, विष्णु, व्यास, शङ्ख, बृहत्-शातातप, संवर्त, हारीत.

744 मया प्राचां निबन्धदृष्टानामिदं वापि (वाणी!) पुरस्कृता । दूषणं विश्वरूपादेर्निराकृत्य प्र-  
खितम् ॥ p. 352. M. M. Chakravarti is not right in taking (JASB 1915 p. 317) 'prākām' to mean 'eastern' in this verse, as in the previous verse also जीमूतवाहन refers 'to all munis' and 'former works' 'इति सकलमुनीनां मुक्तिवाक्यं विमृश्य स्वरसन इह सोर्धो गम्यते न्यायतश्च । स पुनस्त्य-  
निकथो (हो!) गृहतां बुद्धिमद्विभवंति यदि न जाड्यं शङ्कया माकुरुतेषु' ॥



refuted the objections of Viśvarūpa and others and dealt with them at length.' Yogloka and Śrīkara are generally quoted for being refuted and the former is frequently jeered at as 'tārkikam-manya' or 'nava-tārkikam-manya'. In this work Jimūtavāhana displays great familiarity with the ancient dialectics. In some cases what the printed text exhibits<sup>745</sup> as prose really constitutes verses. Sir Asutosh Mukerji is not accurate when he says in the preface that 'Jimūtavāhana refers to a number of jurists not mentioned by any other author, e. g. Jitendriya, Yogloka, Balaka, Viśvarūpa, Śrīkara and Mañjari-kāra.' It has been shown above that both Viśvarūpa and Śrīkara have been mentioned by the Mit. which is certainly earlier than Jimūtavāhana and by a host of other writers who were either earlier than or contemporaries of Jimūtavāhana. The Vyavahāramātrkā is quoted in the Vyavahārtattva<sup>746</sup> ( pp. 199, 214, vol. II ) and the Dāyātattva of Raghunandana.

The Dāyabhāga is the most famous of Jimūtavāhana's works. In matters of Hindu law such as inheritance, partition, *stridhana*, re-union, it is of paramount authority in modern British Indian courts in Bengal, except in those cases where the Mitākṣarā is applicable. The names of more than a dozen commentators of it are known and Pandit Bharatacandra Siromani published it with seven commentaries ( 1863-1866 ). It was translated into English by Colebrooke. In many editions ( such as that of Jivananda ) it is divided into sections though there were no divisions in the original work. The contents of the Dāyabhāga are :— Definition of dāya ; father's power over ancestral property ; partition of father's and grand-father's property ; division among brothers after their father's death ; definition, classification and devolution of *stridhana* ; persons excluded from inheritance and partition on the ground of disabilities ; property which is impartible ( in its very nature or because it is self-acquired ) ; order of succession to one dying sonless ; re-union, partition of coparcenary property concealed but discovered afterwards, *indicia* of partition.

745 e. g. on p. 348 the words ' तस्मादाकाशकुसुमसमाल एव प्रमाणभावोऽस्याः । भुक्ते-  
दूरनिरस्तं लिखितादिभ्यो चलीयस्त्वम् ॥ ' constitute an Ārya. Similarly on  
p. 349 the words ' तस्माद्दुर्मर्गेणियमुक्ता भुक्तेः प्रमाणता भान्तेः । ... स्वयचनमात्रा-  
धीनस्त्वत्कलयात्मनां सा ॥ ' make two Āryas.

746 ' युक्तिशालः स च लोकव्यवहारः इति व्यवहारमात्रका ' व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 199, vol. II.

Some of the peculiar doctrines of the *Dāyabhāga* which are of fundamental importance and which sharply distinguish it from the *Mit.* are : sons have no interest in ancestral property by birth, sons can claim partition only after extinction of their father's ownership ( i. e. after his death or on his becoming *patita* or a *satinyāsin* ) or partition can take place between father and sons if the father so desires, a widow succeeds to her husband's interest on his death even if he be joint with his brother, the right to take a deceased person's estate is regulated by the spiritual benefit conferred by the person claiming as heir ( by means of the offering of *pinda* ) and not by the principle of consanguinity ( as in the *Mit.* ).<sup>747</sup>

Besides the *smṛtikāras*,<sup>748</sup> the *Mahābhārata* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* the following authors are referred to by name in the *Dāyabhāga* :—*Udgrāhamalla*, *Govindarāja* ( as author of *Manuṣikā* ), *Jiten-driya*, *Dīkṣita*, *Balaka*, *Bhojadeva* or *Dhāreśvara*, *Viśvarūpa* and *Śrīkara*. *Udgrāhamalla* is referred to on the distribution of *stridhana* and it is said that *Udgrāhamalla* ( i. e. his view ) is throttled<sup>749</sup> by the text of *Devala*. It appears therefore that *Udgrāhamalla* was not a *smṛti* writer, but a *nibandhakāra*. *Dīkṣita*<sup>750</sup> is credited with the view that, among daughters, those who have sons or are likely to have sons are preferred to those who are either barren, widowed or who give birth to daughters alone and the *Dāyabhāga* approves of this view. There is one more writer who is referred to twice with great respect as *Niravadyavidyodyota*.

747 Note the following ' तदेवं पितृस्वत्वापगम एकः कालोऽपरश्रानपगत एव पितुः स्वाम्ये पितुरिच्छयेति कालहृषम् ।' *दायभाग* p. 38 ; अतोऽविशेषेणैव विभक्तन्यायनपेक्ष-  
येषामुग्रस्य भर्तुः रुन्तधने पन्थधिकारो जितेन्द्रियोक आदरणीयः । p. 256 ; उप-  
कारकत्वेनैव धनसंबन्धो मन्वादीनामभिमत इति मन्वये इति निरवद्यविद्योद्योतेन योतितो-  
यमर्थो विद्वद्विरादरणीयः । p. 336.

748 The *smṛtikāras* named are : *उशनसः*, *कात्यायनः*, *बृहकात्यायनः*, *गौतमः*, *दक्षः*, *देवलः*,  
*नारदः*, *पेडिनीसि*, *बृहस्पतिः*, *मनुः*, *बृहम्मनुः*, *यमः*, *याज्ञवल्क्यः*, *विष्णुः*, *व्यासः*, *शङ्खलक्षितः*,  
*बृहशालात्प*, *हारीतः*.

749 एतावताप्युद्वाहमहस्य देवलवचनं गलहस्तः यथा सामान्यं पुत्रकन्यायां मृतायां स्त्रीधनं  
क्षियाम् । *दायभाग* p. 127.

750 अतः पुत्रवती संभावितपुत्रा आधिकारिणी । सम्भवावविधवात्वदुहितृप्रभृत्वादिना विपर्यस्त-  
पुत्रा पुनरधिकारिण्येवेति दीक्षितमतमादरणीयम् । *दायभाग* p. 271.

Whether this is a mere description or title ('the refulgence of whose learning is spotless') or whether the author's name was Uddyota and *niravadya* ('whose learning is spotless') is an epithet, it is difficult to say. For a correct knowledge of the origin and development of the theory of spiritual benefit propounded in the *Dayabhāga*, it would be extremely desirable to know who this writer was, as *Jimūtavāhana* tells us that that view was brilliantly set forth by *Niravadya*. The same writer is also quoted on the well known verse of *Yājñavalkya* 'bhūrya pitāmahopātā &c.,' which is the sheet-anchor of *Vijñaneśvara's* theory about the son's rights by birth in ancestral family property.<sup>751</sup>

*Jimūtavāhana* gives very little information about himself. In the colophons of his works he is described as *Paribhadriya Mahamahopādhyāya* and at the end of the *Vyavahāramātrkā* (vide note 742 above) he tells us that he was born of the *Paribhadra* family (*kula*).<sup>752</sup> It is said that this name of the family still survives in the *Parihal* or *Pari Gai*, a section of *Rāṣṭriya Brāhmaṇas* (*Ghose's Hindu Law*, 3rd edition, pp. xvi-xviii and *JASB* 1915 p. 320). It is also said that *Edumīra* in his *Kulakārikā* tells us that *Jimūtavāhana* was chief judge in the reign of *Viśvak-sena* of Bengal and that he was 9th in descent from *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa*, one of the five *Brāhmaṇas* brought by *Ādisūra*. The information supplied by the match-makers of Bengal is, as shown above, not worth reliance, unless corroborated by independent evidence. It is also said that for fourteen generations the *Brāhmaṇas* of *Parigrāma* have been degraded and so *Jimūtavāhana* would not have paraded the fact that he was *Paribhadriya* if at the time when he wrote his subcaste had been degraded (*Intro. to Kālaviveka* p. viii). The fact that *Jimūtavāhana* was a native of *Rāṣṭhā* is testified by his statement in the *Kālaviveka* that *Agastya* (*Canopus*) rose in *Ujjayini*

751 यत्तु यज्ञवल्कीयवचनं-मुखा ... भयोः-तस्य निरवयवियोद्धानेन योनिस्तत्त्वतो-  
मर्धः । यत्र द्वयोर्धात्रो जीवितिकृकयोः प्राप्तभागशेरेकः पुत्रानुत्पाद्य विनशेन्यो जीवति  
अनन्तरं पिता मृतस्तत्र पुत्र एव तद्धनं प्राप्नोत्यतिसनिकषात् । तद्धं सकृशं स्वाव्यमिति  
वचनम् । p. 50.

752 In some editions of the *Dayabhāga*, the last verse is पारिभद्रकुलोद्भूतः श्रीमाञ्च  
जीमूतवह्निः । *Dayabhāga* चकारेण विदुषां संशयच्छिद्ये ॥

when four days of the month of Bhādrapada remained, but that in Rādhā Agastya rose when seven days of the month were yet to run.<sup>753</sup>

Extremely divergent views have been held as to the date of Jimūtavāhana. He has been assigned to various dates from the 11th to the 16th century. In L. R. 41 I. A. at p. 298 it is said by their Lordships of the Privy Council that the Mit. was earlier by five centuries than Jimūtavāhana. Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 37) assigns him to the 15th century. For a statement of the various dates and their examination the article of M. M. Chakravarti in JASB. for 1915, pp. 321-327 and Mr. Panchanan Ghosh's learned article in 26 Calcutta Law Journal (journal portion p. 17 ff.) may be consulted. Since Jimūtavāhana mentions Dhāreśvara Bhojādeva and Govindarāja, he cannot be placed earlier than the last quarter of the 11th century. Since he is quoted by Śālapāṇi, Vācaspati-miśra and Raghunandana, he cannot be later than the middle of the 15th century. The Kālaviveka furnishes important data. On a ms. of the Kālviveka there is a note made about the birth-date of the son of a certain Ghatakasimha with the horoscope of the child. The year specified therein is *śake* 1417, i. e. 1495 A. D. It follows from this that the Ms. itself must have been copied sometime before this and the original work must be much earlier still. So the Kālaviveka cannot be placed at any rate later than about 1400 A. D.

In the Kālaviveka Jimūtavāhana tells us that his predecessor Andhuka<sup>754</sup> exhibited a certain astronomical matter in *śake* 952 (i. e. 1030 A. D.) and that he declared an intercalary month in *śake* 955.

Similarly Jimūtavāhana expatiates upon several<sup>755</sup> minute astro-

753 तथाहि राहादिषु सप्तदिनावशिष्टे भाद्रे नस्योदयः । उज्जयिन्यां च दिनचतुष्टयावशिष्टे ।  
कालविवेक p. 290 ; vide p. 291 also.

754 एषमिध एव कार्तिके द्वयवशादधिकनवशतसंख्यात् शकाब्दे अन्धुकादिर्द्वितीयान् ।  
कालविवेक p. 51 ; तथाहि पञ्चपञ्चाशदधिकनवशतसंख्यके शकाब्दे तुलासंक्रान्तिमा-  
सास्यायां भूता . . . अन्धुकेन लिखितः । कालविवेक p. 119.

755 ननु सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्मिन्नराशिस्थलेषु अमावास्या दृश्यते । तथा च चतुर्दशोत्तराश्वि-  
शकवसरे सिंहस्थे रवौ द्वित्रिदण्डान् चतुर्दशी परतोऽप्येकादशमं सप्तदण्डान् पश्यो मया

nomical and astrological details which were observed in the *lake* years 1013 and 1014 (i. e. 1091 and 1092 A. D. ). It is impossible to suppose that an author would enter into such minute details about a time which was anterior to his own by centuries. Generally astronomical works take for their calculations starting points or years which were within their own experience or very nearly so. Therefore it appears to be a sound conclusion to hold that the *Kālaviveka* was composed soon after *lake* 1013 or 1014 (i. e. 1091 and 1092 A. D. ). Hence it follows that the literary activity of *Jimūtavāhana* lay between 1090 and 1130 A. D. The *Kālaviveka* seems to be his first work. The *Vyavahāramātrka* would naturally come before the *Dayabhāga*. He seems to have contemplated writing<sup>756</sup> on *ṛpadāna* also, as he says in the *Dayabhāga* that a certain matter would be expounded by him in *ṛpadāna*.

The most cogent argument that can be advanced against the above early date assigned to *Jimūtavāhana* is that neither *Jimūtavāhana* nor any of his compositions is mentioned by Bengal writers and works on *Dharmāśāstra* belonging to the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries such as the *Hārata*, the commentary of *Kullūka* etc. No satisfactory explanation can be offered of this silence. But is is a very precarious thing to conclude from this silence that *Jimūtavāhana*'s works did not exist during those centuries. It is safer to base conclusions about his date on the positive evidence contained in his works rather than rely upon the negative argument from silence in later works. When some of his commentators say that he criticises the views of *Caṇḍeśvara*, *Miśra* and others we should not take them seriously. The commentators had no idea of the exact chronological position of writers long anterior to them. All they mean is that *Jimūtavāhana* criticises views that were shared also by *Caṇḍeśvara* and others. Another important question is whether *Jimūtavāhana* who is certainly a little later than the *Mit.*

तेनप्लेषासमयेऽमावास्यायां कर्कटे चन्द्रः सिंहे चादित्यः । कालविवेक P. 21; तथा  
अयोदशोत्तरशकाब्दोत्तरे मीनस्थे सूर्ये पूर्वोत्तरकालगुनीष्याहा पूर्णिमा तदनन्तरं मेघसूर्ये  
हस्तचित्राभ्यां युक्ता पूर्णिमा हस्तयोगात्कालगुनीष्यसौ अयोदशोत्तरसहस्राब्दीयकुम्भादि-  
त्यायभृति चतुर्दशोत्तरसहस्राब्दान्मानभोग्ययन्तेन मासद्वयलोपः । कालविवेक P. 45.

Vide also pp. 41, 46-49.

756 एतच्च निस्सरेण ( कणा-) दाने वक्ष्यते । दायभाग P. 45.

criticizes it. The Vivāda-tāṇḍava of<sup>757</sup> Kamalākara says that Jimūta-vāhana held that the view about the equal ownership of father and son in ancestral property was put forward for precluding the possibility of the uncle taking the whole estate of a man dying (in union) leaving a son or a predeceased son's son or for precluding the possibility of an unequal distribution of ancestral property by a father among his sons and that Jimūtavāhana took up this position, being blinded by his hatred of the Mit. The Viramitrodaya<sup>758</sup> also says that Jimūtavāhana criticizes the Mitakṣarā definition of *vibhaga* and the view of the Mit. about the times for partition. The Vyavahāra-māṭrka<sup>759</sup> also appears to criticize several times views which were held by the Mit. and the correspondence is very striking. On this point this much may be said that the points selected for attack by Jimūtavāhana do occur almost in the same words in the Mit. but, since the Mit. is not expressly mentioned and since it is likely that other writers like Asahāya and Bhāruci whose works have not yet been discovered might have contained the very same words that are found in the Mit., it is somewhat hazardous to assert that Jimūta-vāhana criticizes the Mit. alone and no other work. All that one can advance is that it is quite within the bounds of possibility that Jimūtavāhana criticizes the Mit.

For Raghunandana one of the famous commentators of the Dayabhāga, vide sec. 102 below.

757 यत्तु जीमूतवाहनः—मृतपितृके पौत्रे पुत्रे च सति संनिकर्षान् पितृव्यस्यैव सर्वस्वमाश्रित-  
निराश्रयं समस्याम्योक्तिः पुत्राणां विषमविभागनिवृत्त्यर्थं वा न तु पितुः समभागार्था  
पुत्रस्वातन्त्र्यार्था वा तेन वेतामहेति तितुभागद्वयमिति । तस्मिन्मिताक्षराग्रहणान्तरकृतम् ।  
folio 109 of the Mandlik collection ms. in the Fergusson College, Poona.

758 'यच्च जीमूतवाहनेनैव मिताक्षरोक्तं विभागो नाम द्रव्यसमुदायविषयजाम्लेकावभाजनां  
तदेकदेशेषु व्यवस्थापनमिति विभागशब्दार्थः इति दूषयित्वोच्यते ' धी० p. 547 ;  
'अत्र पित्र्यपरम एकः कालो निवृत्ते चापि सजसति द्वितीयो जयति चेच्छतीति तृतीय  
इति मिताक्षरायां जीमूतवाहनेनोक्तं दूषणम् । ' धी० p. 552.

759 व्यवहारमातृका p. 296 'तदेव ( वं 1 ) स्वयमेव अप्रसिद्धादेव्यद्भुतमात्रं यदन्वैः कल्पितं  
अप्रसिद्धमिति मदीयं शशविषाणमनेन गृहीतं निराबाधमस्मद्गृहविशेषो दीपः प्रकाश-  
मेतद्वृत्ते करोति ... तत्रास्तां दूषणान्तरं किं तु शास्त्रान्यथाकल्पनमशास्त्रदर्शितमेव  
तेषां कल्पयति । ;' compare मिताक्षरा on याज्ञ. II. 6 'अप्रसिद्धं मदीयं शश-  
विषाणं गृहीत्वा न प्रयच्छतीत्यादि निराबाधमस्मद्गृहे दीपप्रकाशेनार्थं स्वगृहे व्यवहरन्ती-  
त्यादि. ' It is to be noted that these examples occur in अपराकं also.



## 79. Aparārka

On the smṛti of Yājñavalkya Aparāditya wrote a voluminous commentary styled Aparārka-Yājñavalkya-dharmasāstra-nibandha ( published in two volumes by the Ānandaśrama Press, Poona, 1903 and 1904 ). In a verse<sup>760</sup> at the end and in the colophons the author is called Aparāditya, a Śilāhara king, born in the family of Jimūta-vāhana of the Vidyādhara race. In the introductory<sup>761</sup> fifth verse also the author is styled 'an ornament of the family of Jimūta' and is highly eulogised for his devotion to Śiva and his brilliant intellect.

Aparārka's work, like the Mitākṣarā, though professedly a commentary on Yāj., is really in the nature of a digest. It is far more voluminous than the Mit. It quotes profusely from the Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras and the metrical smṛtis. Several features distinguish it from the Mit. The Mit. is generally very chary of quoting from the purāṇas, while Aparārka contains long extracts sometimes extending over pages from several purāṇas, viz, the Ādipurāṇa, the Ādityapurāṇa, the Kūrma, the Kalikāpurāṇa, Devī, Nandi, Nṛsiṃha, Padma, Brahma, Brahmanḍa, Bhaviṣyat, Bhaviṣyottara, Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Liṅga, Varāha, Vāmana, Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Viṣṇudharmottara, Śivadharmottara, Skanda. The index at the end of the printed Aparārka gives the names of the various smṛtikāras quoted in the work. Another feature not found in the Mit. is that Aparārka quotes long passages of the dharmasūtras and explains them at length, e. g. on Yāj. III 294 ( p. 1205 ) he quotes Gautama ( Dh. S. 20. 2-9 ) and then offers a lengthy explanation; on Yāj. III. 294-295, he quotes long passages of Vasīṣṭha ( Dh. S. 15. 11-14 and 17-21 ) and gives detailed explanations of them. It is probable he had not before him commentaries on these dharmasūtras. On p. 11, he

760 राष्ट्रं यस्य निरनुशा वसुमती कोशः समृद्धः सुहृच्छको दुर्गमनागमं क्षतपरा सेना हिता मन्त्रिणः । शास्त्रार्थमृतचर्चणार्थितमतिविश्वैकनाथोप्यसौ शौर्योद्धारयशोपनोमुमपरादित्यो निबन्धे व्यधात् ॥ इति श्रीविद्याधरवंशप्रभवंशेशिलहारादरेन्द्रजीमूतवाहनाभ्ययमसूत-  
ज्जीमदपरादित्यदेवविरचिते याज्ञवल्कीयधर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धेऽपरादित्ये प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणम् ।

761 भक्त्या यस्य सविस्मयः स्मरतिर्बुद्ध्या च वाचस्पतिर्विक्रान्त्या द्विषतां गणः प्रुचितया मास्वाम्भामिनेन भूः । जीमूतान्वयभूषणं स विपुला योगीश्वरेणोदिते शास्त्रे वाक्य-  
मथानुगा चितनुते व्याख्या सतां संमतम् ॥



gives brief summaries in the style of the Śāṅkarabhāṣya of the tenets of the Śaiva, Pāśupata, Pāñcarātra, Sāṃkhya and Yoga systems. He does not appear to have been an ardent admirer of the Advaita Vedānta though he refers to the Śārirakamimāṃsā.<sup>761</sup> In one place he sets out the arguments of those who hold that correct knowledge alone leads to *mokṣa* and of those who hold that a combination of correct knowledge and works is essential for *mokṣa* and leaves his readers to choose for themselves whatever view they take.<sup>762</sup> It is remarkable that, while even the Mit. names at least six *nibandhakāras* on dharmaśāstra viz. Asahāya, Viśvarūpa, Bhāruci, Śrīkara, Medhātithi and Dhāreśvara, Aparārka observes a studied silence in the matter of citing the names of his predecessors. He employs such vague expressions as *kecit*, *anye*, *apare*, though he cites views that were ascribed by the Mit. and others to Dhāreśvara and others, e. g. on pp. 741-42 he says<sup>763</sup> that the text of Yāj. 'patnī duhitarah' according to some refers to the widow who submits to *niyoga* (this is the view of Dhāreśvara); on p. 744 he refers to the view of some that the word *dubhiḥ* in Yāj. means only the appointed daughter (*putrika*). This last was the view of Viśvarūpa and Śrīkara. On p. 761 he refers to the reading of some in Yāj. II. 150 as 'sāmāntaśthaviragaṇaḥ' which is found in Viśvarūpa (II. 154) and not in the Mit. Aparārka names (p. 926) a Vāgbhāta-smṛtisamgraha and a Smṛtimimāṃsā of Jaimini (p. 206) from which two verses are quoted, variant readings therein are noticed and detailed explanations thereof are offered. He refers to several works and authors on astronomy and astrology such as Garga, Kriyāśraya (p. 872), Sārāvali. On pp. 570 and 572 of the printed text occur two references to a *pustaka* of rājānaka Śitikantha.<sup>764</sup> That was probably a marginal

762 शास्त्रं च तस्माद्वा एतस्यादात्मन आकाशः संभूतः-इत्यादिकमेकाकिन एव परमात्मनः सकलकार्यकारितामाचष्टे । तस्य च तर्कविरोधः शास्त्रैरकस्मात्साम्यतशास्त्रिणाम-परिहर एव । p. 375 on याज्ञ. III, 68.

763 Vide pp. 1029-1034 on पाङ्ग, III, 205. On p. 1034 he says : तदनयोर्मतयोर्धन्यारण्यं तदपाङ्गम्'.

764 अत्र केचिदाहुः-न्या देवरादन्यस्माद्वापि सपिण्डाद्गुरुभ्यश्चरादिवचनात्पुत्रमिच्छति तद्विषयं पत्नीं दुहितर इत्यादि वचनमिति । . . . एतेन यदुक्तं केनचित् पत्नीं दुहितर इत्यत्र दक्षिणभावेन पत्रिकोच्यत इति तन्निरस्तं वेदितव्यम् ।

765 इति राजानकशिलिकण्ठपस्तके विशेषः । p. 573.

note in a ms., the copyist or owner of which found on comparison with another ms. belonging to rājanaka Śitikantha additional matter. Aparārka quotes from Bhaṭṭa (i. e. Kumārilabhaṭṭa),<sup>766</sup> Aparārka does not appeal as frequently to the doctrines of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā as the Mit. does and he does not generally enter into acute discussions of Pūrvamīmāṃsā in its application to Dharmaśāstra as the Mit. does. It must be said that Aparārka is much inferior to the Mit. in lucid exposition, in dialectic skill, in subtlety of argument and in the ordered presentation of heterogenous material.

Some of the views that are usually associated with Jimūtavāhana were propounded by Aparārka also. Aparārka bases the right to take a deceased person's property on the superior spiritual benefit conferred by the claimant on the person deceased.<sup>767</sup> In several other respects also Aparārka differs from the Mit., though in general the two closely agree. For example, Aparārka prefers the father over the mother as an heir (p. 745); Aparārka explains the word 'apratīṣṭhita' in Gautama's text (18.22) as 'one who is issueless or is indigent or a widow,' while the Mit. explains it to mean only 'indigent.'

Whether Aparārka knew the Mit. is a vexed question. Some scholars while holding that Aparārka does criticize the Mit. explain away the non-mention of the Mit. by saying that Indian etiquette required a royal author not to mention the name of the servant of another king, while the existence of the master himself was ignored (Dr. Jolly in Journal of Indian History vol. III p. 17). It is doubtful whether any such etiquette ever existed and further Aparārka studiously avoids the express mention of every ancient commentator. Works of royal authors, such as the Madanpārijāta or the Sarasvativilāsa, do not appear to have followed the etiquette. In

<sup>766</sup> ततश्च यदुक्तं भट्टेन-तस्माद्भुङ्क्ते तिष्ठन् मधुमांसादि वर्जयेत् । जिज्ञासेताविरुद्धत्वाद्दर्शनमित्यवगम्यते ॥ इति तदनेन विरुध्यते p. 76.

<sup>767</sup> तत्र प्रत्यासन्नः पूर्वं धनभाक् । यदाह मनुः । अनन्तरः सपिण्डाद्व्यस्तस्य तस्य धनं भवेदिति । . . . संप्रदानकारकीभूतानां पित्रादीनां अयाणां चोदकादिदाता यश्च तत्संततिनोभ्योपि तेषामेवोदकादिदाता स तस्य प्रत्यासन्नः सपिण्डः । तदत्र तु सोऽद्वरो ज्ञातातिशयेन प्रत्यासन्नः समानसंप्रदानोदकादिदातृत्वात् । तस्यैवस्तु ततोपि व्यवहितः विनुषितमपि पितृयोर्विन्नसंप्रदानकत्वात् । तस्यैव सत्यन्त्यन्तव्यवहितः पिण्डव्ययेपि संप्रदानमेदात् । pp. 744-45.

my opinion the Mit. was known to Aparārka. Aparārka reads Yāj. III. 17 as 'Vaitānopāsanaḥ kāryaḥ kriyāśca śruticoditāḥ,' explains the first word as a karmadhāraya compound, gives the explanation of this verse offered by others, disapproves of it and then says that others read 'śruticodanāt' for 'śruticoditāḥ'.<sup>768</sup> Viśvarūpa reads 'vaitānikāśrayāḥ... śrutidarsanāt' and offers no comment on this verse beyond the word 'spaṣṭārthametat' (it is III. 15. in the Trivandrum ed.). The Mit. does contain the reading referred to by Aparārka and the śruti passage 'yāvaj-jivam' etc. Aparārka refers on Yāj. III. 254 to the reading 'samām'<sup>769</sup> adopted by some, says that the latter explain the verse as prescribing the penance for three years and observes that the verse of Manu (IX. 92) does not apply, as the latter say, to him alone whose palate has merely come in contact with liquor (without his having actually swallowed it). Viśvarūpa (III. 248) does not explain the verse as prescribing a three

768 अत्र केचिद् व्याचक्षते-विताने वेदे भवाः वेतानाः तथा उपासने गृहे भवा ओपासनाः । वेतानाश्चोपासनाश्च वेतानोपासनाः क्रिया इति । तदेतद्व्याख्यानमनुपपन्नम् । वेतानोपासन्व इति हि तदा शब्दः स्वात्त पुनर्वेतानोपासना इति । ... यच्च नः श्रुतिचोदनाविति पाठं कृत्वा हेतुपरत्वेन व्याख्यातं तदपि न युक्तम् । एवं हि ते मन्यन्ते । यस्माच्छ्रुत्या यावज्जीवमग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात्, यावज्जीवं दर्शपूर्णमासान्या यजेत, इत्यादिकषादश्वकार्यतया विहितत्वात् स्मृत्या शक्यमात्रोपेति तन्निवर्तनं विधातुमिति । अपरार्कं p. 891: compare the मितक्षरा 'वितानोपासनां विस्तारस्तत्र भवा वेतानाः वेतामिसाध्या अग्निहोत्रदर्शपूर्णमासायाः क्रिया उच्यन्ते । ... उपासगो गृह्यामिस्तत्र भवा ओपासनाः सापेमातर्होमक्रिया उच्यन्ते ता वेतानोपासना वैदिक्यः क्रियाः कार्याः । कथं वैदिकत्वमिति चेत् । श्रुतिचोदनात् । तथाहि यावज्जीवमग्निहोत्रं जुहुयादित्यादिश्रुतिभिरग्निहोत्रादीनां चोदना स्पष्टेव ॥'.

769 'केचित्तत्र समाशब्दं बहुवचनान्तं वर्षत्रयपरत्वेन व्याचक्षते । ... अस्मादेव च सुरापानानुत्थर्धमिति बचनत् रुऽसुरापानस्येतद् वतमिति मन्यते न पुनस्तालुमात्रसंयुक्तसुरस्येति ।' अपरार्कं p. 1072; compare the मितक्षरा 'अथवा पिण्याकं विण्मत्तं त्रिसमाः वर्षत्रयपर्यन्तं रात्रौ भक्षयेत् । ... यत्तु मनुवचनं कणाम्ना ... सरन्निशि । सुरापानानुत्थर्धं बालवासा जटी स्वजी ॥ इति तत्तालुमात्रसंयोगे सुराया अबुद्धिपूर्वं द्रष्टव्यम्'. The printed text of याज्ञ. in the मितक्षरा reads पिण्याकं ... भक्षयेत्त्रिसमा निशि'; the printed अपरार्कं reads भक्षयेत्समा निशि, while विश्वरूप reads भक्षयेत् समा निशि. The remarks of अपरार्कं show that he had a ms. of a com. where the reading was भक्षयेत् समा निशि.

years' penance nor does he refer to the contact of wine with the palate. The Mit. however contains both these particulars. On p. 1084 also<sup>770</sup> Aparārka seems to be referring to the view of the Mit.

The date of Aparārka can be settled within very narrow limits. The Smṛticandrikā<sup>771</sup> in several places quotes the views of Aparārka and sometimes contrasts them with those of the Mit. The Smṛticandrikā refutes the view of Aparārka that the words of Yāj. 'jyēṣṭhaṁ vā śreṣṭhabhāgena' are meant to comprehend all various modes of giving an additional share (*uddhāravibhāga*) to the eldest son on partition mentioned by Manu and others and it follows Aparārka's explanation of 'apratīṣṭhitā' in Gautama's text. It will be shown later on that the Smṛticandrikā must have been composed about 1200 A. D. If the above conclusion that Aparārka knew the Mit. and criticizes it be correct, Aparārka must have flourished after 1100 A. D. and before 1200 A. D. Here epigraphical research comes to our help. We know from the commentary that the author Aparāditya was a Śilāhāra prince of Jimūtavāhana's family. Inscriptions of the Śilāhāras show that there were three branches of that family, one ruling in the northern Konkan at Thana, the second in the southern Konkan and the third at Kolhapur (vide JBBRAS, vol. XIII p. 10-17 for the three branches). All the branches traced their descent from Jimūtavāhana. There is only a single inscription of the second branch which had ten kings reigning from about 808 to 1008 A. D. (JBBRAS vol. I, p. 209, E. I. vol. III, p. 292). There is no Aparāditya in this line. Vide E. I. III p. 207, 211 and 213 for several grants of the Kolhapur branch. Inscriptions

770 'तत्रापि ब्राह्मणपुत्रस्य क्षत्रियायां पितृभार्या गच्छतो नववार्षिकं वेश्यां षट्वार्षिकं शुद्रां त्रैवार्षिकं गुरुतल्पघ्नं भवन्तीत्येके मन्वन्ते । अपरार्कं p. 1084: the मितक्षरा on याज्ञ. III. 260 has 'ब्राह्मणपुत्रस्य क्षत्रियायां मातुः सप्तवर्षा गमने &c.

771 यत्पुनरपरार्केण ज्येष्ठं भेदभागेनेत्येतदुद्धारप्रदर्शनार्थं तेन ज्येष्ठस्य विंश उद्धार इत्यादि-भिर्मन्यादिशास्त्रेष्वप्यन्त उद्धारप्रकारा विहितास्ते सर्वे चोपलक्षिता भवन्तीति तदप्य-परस्तम् । स्मृतिच. II. p. 251; compare अपरार्कं p. 717 'ज्येष्ठस्य विंश... यथायसः इत्यादिभिश्चोद्धारशास्त्रेष्वप्यन्त उद्धारप्रकारा विहितास्ते सर्वेचोपलक्षिता भवन्ति'. 'अप्रतिष्ठिता अनपत्या निर्धना दुर्भगा विधवा वा । एवमपराकांनुसारद्वातमवचनं व्याख्यातम् । अस्य विज्ञानेन्यरुक्ता न्याय्या देया स्वबुद्धिमात्रेणाप्याहारादिकरणात् ।' स्मृतिच. II. 5. 285; vide स्मृतिच. II. 218, 367, 377, 428 for other refer-ences to अपरार्क. Vide चतुर्वर्ग. III. 2, p. 495 for mention of अपरार्क.

of the northern Śilāhāras speak of two kings who are named Aparādityadeva. In JBBRAS vol. XXI, pp. 505-516 there is a grant dated *śake* 1049 (expired) of Aparādityadeva who donated a village named Vaḍavali in the Thana District to a brāhmaṇa studying the Mādhyandina recension of the Vajasaneya-saṁhita. The king is there styled once as Aparājita and several times as Aparādityadeva. He was son of Anantadeva and grand-son of Nāgārjuna and traced his descent to Jimūtavāhana, son of Jimūtakeṭu, far famed in legend and literature as an exemplar of self-sacrifice<sup>772</sup>, e. g. in the drama Nāginanda. In this inscription Aparādityadeva is styled *Śilāharanendra* and *Jimūtavāhanāvayaprasūta* as in the colophon of the commentary on Yāj. (vide note 760 above) and also *Mahamanyādeśvara* and *Tagarapuraparamēśvara*. In the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol. V, part 2, p. 169 there is a grant made at Somnath-Pāṭan in Kathiawar of Vikramsathvat 1176 (1119-20 A. D.) while Aparādityadeva of the Śilāhāra family was reigning, almost in the same words as in the grant in JBBRAS vol. XXI p. 505. In I. A. vol. IX, p. 33 there is a grant of Anantadeva father of Aparādityadeva dated in *śake* 1016 (i. e. 1094-5 A. D.). Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. I. part 2, p. 15 for a list of 20 kings of the northern Konkan branch from 810 to 1260 A. D. Vide also an inscription of Aparādityadeva dated *śake* 1051 (i. e. 1129 A. D.) in Festgabe Dr. Jacobi pp. 189-193 (1926). Therefore it appears that the dates of Aparādityadeva I referred to in these grants fall between 1115 and 1130 A. D. It was most probably this king who composed the commentary on Yāj. We know from the Śrikanthacarita of Maṅkha that king Aparāditya<sup>773</sup> of Konkan sent Tejakaṇṭha on an embassy to an assembly of learned men in Kashmir during the reign of Jayasinha of Kashmir (1129 to 1150 A. D.). Aparārka's commentary continues to be the standard law-book used by the *pandits* of Kashmir (Jolly's Tagore Law lectures p. 24). Aparārka's work

<sup>772</sup> जीमूतकेतुनयो नियतं दयालुर्जितवाहन इति विजयलक्ष्मिः । देहे निजे तृणमि-  
वाकलयन् परार्थं यो रक्षति स गुरुवा सलु शङ्खचूडम् ॥ तस्यान्वये . . कपर्दी  
शिलारक्षशालिको नृपतिर्वभूव ॥ p. 507.

<sup>773</sup> वचोभिर्नुनूदे दन्तयुतिर्धौम्यपण्डितः । वादिनां वाददर्पोष्ठा येन शृण्वारकावसु ॥  
यः धीमदपरादित्य इति द्वायप्रसिद्धये । प्रजिपाय घनश्लाघः काश्मीरान् कुङ्कुमेन ॥  
तेन धीनेजकण्ठेन सोत्कण्ठमनुवध्मता । इति सोधिकवैश्वरानिरवयमगयत ॥ श्रीकण्ठ-  
चरित 25. 109-111.

betrays familiarity with Kashmir. I have already noticed the reference to *rājanaka Śitikanṭha* above. On a passage from *Brahmapurāṇa* speaking of a *śrāddha* at *Mārtandapādamūla*, *Aparārka* notes (p. 903) that<sup>774</sup> the latter is well known in Kashmir. It is therefore most probable that the work was composed about 1125 and was introduced into Kashmir when an embassy was sent from the Konkan king to Kashmir in the reign of *Jayasimha*. The dates of the second *Aparāditya* range from 1184 to 1187 A. D. (*Vide* *Bombay Gazetteer* vol. XIII, part 2, p. 427; *JBBRAS* vol. XII, pp. 333-335 for an inscription of *Aparāditya* dated 1109 *śaka* i. e. 1187 A. D. (wherein he is styled *Koṅkaṇa-cakravartī*). It is difficult to hold that this was the author of the commentary on *Yaj.* The *Smṛticandrikā* is mentioned by *Hemādri* and hence could not be later than the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Therefore if *Aparārka* who is frequently cited by the *Smṛticandrikā* were to be regarded as having flourished about 1187 A. D., very little distance is left between him and the *Smṛticandrikā* in order that the former should come to be looked upon as an authority by the latter. Therefore it appears probable that *Aparārka* wrote the commentary on *Yaj.* in the first half of the 12th century (about 1125 A. D.). *Vide* *Tri. cat. Mad. Govt. Mss.* for 1919-22, pp. 4853-54, for the *Nyāyamuktāvalī* of *Aparādityadeva*, which is a com. on the *Nyāyasāra* of *Bhaṣarvajña*.

### 80. Pradīpa

The *Smṛtyarthasāra* of *Śrīdhara* enumerates the *Pradīpa* among its authorities after the *Kāmadhenu*.<sup>775</sup> The *Smṛticandrikā* in a highly paronomastic verse appears to refer to a work called *Pradīpa*.<sup>776</sup> The *Sarasvatīvilāsa*<sup>777</sup> quotes the view of the *Pradīpa*

774 मातण्डपादमूलं काश्मीरेषु प्रसिद्धम् । अपरार्कं p. 903.

775 *Vide* note 651 above.

776 पदे पदे प्रसूततां प्रदीपदिस्थितापि । द्रष्टृणां दृष्टिष्वप्ये चन्द्रिका प्रवितन्त्यते ॥ प्रदीप (lamp and a work) and चन्द्रिका (moonlight and the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका) are paronomastic.

777 प्रालिभाष्यागतमपि पोत्रेणापि द्वालयामिति प्रदीपः । स. वि. p. 253; *vide* p. 361 for another reference to *प्रदीप*.



that even the suretyship debt of a person must be paid by his grandson. The *Jivatpitṛkanirṇaya*<sup>778</sup> of Rāmakṛṣṇa (about 1600 A. D.) quotes the *Pradīpa* on the question that when brothers are separated they should perform separately the annual śrāddha of their father and other ancestors. Nandapaṇḍita in his commentary on the<sup>779</sup> *Ṣaḍaṣṭi* cites the view of the *Pradīpa* that the sūtra of *Paṭhinasi* (a woman delivered of a son bathing after twenty nights from delivery is entitled to perform all religious rites, while one who is delivered of a female child is so entitled after a month) applies to the wife of one who is not a *dikṣita* (one who has consecrated the Vedic fires). It has been shown above (note 689) how the *Pradīpa* criticizes Bhavadeva, according to the *Vīramitrodaya*, which in several places cites the views of the *Pradīpa* (vide pp. 78, 89, 215 & etc.).

The foregoing discussion shows that the *Pradīpa* was probably an independent work on *vyavahāra*, *śrāddha*, *sūddhi* and other topics. Being mentioned by the *Smṛtyarthasāra* and *Smṛticandrikā*, it cannot be later than about 1150 A. D. As it criticizes Bhavadeva it cannot be earlier than 1100 A. D.

Hemādri<sup>780</sup> refers to the explanation of the word *kālā* occurring in a text of *Gārgya* offered by a *Smṛtipradīpa*. It is not unlikely that he means the same work as is referred to by others as *Pradīpa*.

### 81. The *Smṛtyarthasāra* of Śrīdhara

This well-known work was published by the *Ānandāśrama Press*, Poona, in 1912 A. D. The principal topics discussed by it are: the acts allowed in former ages but forbidden in the *kālī* age; the number of *saṁskāras*, the detailed treatment of *Upanayana*, the

778 प्रदीपेति । विभक्तास्तु पृथक् कुपुं: प्रतिसंवत्सरादिकम् । एकैर्नैवाविभक्तेषु कृते सर्वैस्तु तत्कृतम् ॥ folio 20 b of जीवपितृकनिर्णय । ( in Bhadkamkar collection ).

779 पैटीनसि: । स्मृतिकां पुत्रवर्तीं विशतिरात्रेण स्मृतां सर्वकर्मणि कारयेन्मासेन स्त्रीजननीमिति । इदमपि सर्ववर्णसाधारणमिति पाञ्च: । अदीक्षितस्त्रीविषयमिति इदं प: । षडशतिटीका folio 8a ( in the Bhadkamkar collection ); vide folio 38 b for another reference to प्रदीप.

780 यदाह गार्ग्य: । यज्ञकालस्तिथिद्वये षट्कलो यदि लक्ष्यते । सर्वे तत्रोत्तरं कार्यं हि नि पूर्वमुपक्रमेत् । कलात्र मुहूर्ते न तु घटिका । . . स्मृतिप्रदीपकृताएव च कलाशब्दस्य मुहूर्तार्थतोका । अनुवर्षा० ( काल ) p. 335.



duties of Brahmachārin, holidays, marriage, its various forms, prohibitions on the ground of *sapiṇḍa* relation, discussion about *gotra* and *pravara*, daily duties such as *śauca*, *ācamana*, brushing the teeth, bathing, the five *yajñas*, daily *sandhya*, daily worship; detailed treatment of *śrāddha*, proper time, articles, and *brāhmaṇas* to be invited at it, various kinds of *śrāddha*, discussion about various *tithis*; intercalary month; forbidden and allowed food; purification of various substances and of one's own body; impurity on birth and death; rites after death; rules about *sannyāsa*; *prāyaścittas* for various grades of sins and lapses.

From the colophon it appears that Śrīdhara was himself a performer of Vedic sacrifices and was the son of Nāgabhaṭṭr Viṣṇubhaṭṭa of the Viśvāmītra gotra. This colophon does not however occur in the ancient ms. of the work in the Deccan College collection (No. 44 of 1870-71) dated *samvat* 1495 (1438-39 A. D.). In the 2nd introductory verse (vide note 564 above) the author tells us that Śrīkaṇṭha and Śrīkarācārya filled the gaps in the *smṛtis* that were scattered about (i. e. they composed digests thereof with their own remarks). He also says (vide note 651 above) that he relies on the Kāmadhenu, the Prādīpa, the Abdhī, the Kalpavṛkṣa (i. e. Kalpataru), Kalpalatā, Śambhu, Draviḍa, Kedāra and Lollāṭa and the various commentators of Manu and other *smṛti-kāras*. In dealing with *sannyāsa* he says that he would treat of the procedure of *sannyāsa* following the opinion of Govindarāja and of Baudhāyana.<sup>781</sup> At the beginning of some sections (p. 48 and p. 49 on *śrāddha* and *prāyaścitta* respectively) he again repeats the verse about Kāmadhenu and the other authorities. The Abdhī named therein seems to be the *smṛtimahārṇava* quoted in Hemādri, in the Vivādaratnākara and other works. He refers to Mitākṣarā also (p. 56). For Lollāṭa see above (under Medhātithi). It appears that Śrīdhara also composed another and a larger work on dharmaśāstra. For example, Hemādri who<sup>782</sup> knew

781 Vide note 723 above.

782 On the words of ज्योतिषार्थे 'सौरमासो विवाहादौ यज्ञादी सावनः स्मृतः' चतुर्वर्गः (काल) p. 20 says आदिशब्दार्थः श्रीधरेण दर्शितः । विवाहोपनयनयज्ञा-  
ग्रजनि यमनतिष्ठानुहकरणक्षौरवाग्रामहायष्टीमहासप्तमीविजयदशमीदशहराद्युगादिमहाज्ये-  
ष्ठापशुखादिशब्देनोपादीयते । यज्ञादावित्यादिशब्देन यागदानहोमनर्मानसमन्तो-  
न्नयनजातकर्म-क्षण-कयविक्रयव्यवहारग्रहणम् ।

the Smṛtyarthasāra quotes certain views as Śrīdhara's which do not occur in the Smṛtyarthasāra. The Prayogapārijāta, the Nirṇaya-sindhu, and the Saṁskārakaustubha quote the views of a work called Śrīdhariya which are not found in the Smṛtyarthasāra. Śrīdhara seems to have been a writer from southern India.

The date of the Smṛtyarthasāra can be fixed within approximate limits. As it names the Mit., the Kāmadhenu, the Kalpataru and Govindarāja, it is later than 1150 A. D. The Smṛticandrikā and Hemādri<sup>783</sup> both quote it as an authority. For example, the Smṛticandrikā says that the Smṛtyarthasāra holds that the Tulasi is among the things the use of which is to be avoided in *śraddha*. Therefore the Smṛtyarthasāra must have been composed between 1150 and 1200 A. D.

## 82. Aniruddha

Aniruddhabhaṭṭa is one of the early and eminent Bengal writers on Dharmaśāstra. His Hāralatā was published in the Bibliotheca Indica series (1909) and his Pitrdayitā alias Karṇopadeśinipaddhati was recently published by the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad at Calcutta (No 6).

The Hāralatā deals with impurity on birth and death, with the acts allowed to be done or forbidden during impurity, with periods of impurity on death in a distant land or on the deaths of infants and women, with rules when two periods of impurity overlap each other, with impurity on the death of *sapindikas*, the meaning of

<sup>783</sup> स्मृत्यर्थसारे तुलस्वपि वर्ज्येत्युक्तं तत्र मूलं चिन्त्यं प्रसिद्धस्मृतिसमुच्चयेषु तुलसीनिषेध-  
स्वादशेनात् । स्मृतिच० II. p. 435; compare स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 52; 'यत्तु स्मृत्यर्थसारे-  
मिहितं पाणिद्रोमे त्विधमेक्षणविमानुज्ञा न संततिः (सन्ति ?) तत्र विमानुज्ञाभावो-  
क्तिरेतद्वचनादर्शननिबन्धनेत्युत्प्रेक्षणीया । ... यच्च तत्रैवाभिहितं परिसमूहनपर्यु-  
क्षणे स्त इति तदपि चिन्त्यम् ।' स्मृतिच० II. p. 463; vide for the very words  
quoted स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 52. स्मृतिच० II. 366 quotes some passages from  
स्मृत्यर्थसार pp. 57 and 60.

चतुर्वर्ग्ये० vol. IV. p. 982 (प्राक्खिल). स्मृत्यर्थसारे कलियुगे संसर्गदोषो नास्ती-  
त्युक्तम्; compare स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 2. 'संसर्गदोषः पापेषु मधुपर्के परोर्वधः । ...  
कलौ युगे विमान् धर्मान् वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥'. नन्दनपारिजात (p. 329) quotes the  
words संसर्गदोषः &c. expressly from स्मृत्यर्थसार.

sapinḍa, persons who have not to observe periods of impurity, cremation and burial, offering of water to the deceased, observances during mourning, persons entitled to perform rites after death, observances after the period of mourning, persons to whom no water should be offered.

The *Pitṛdayitā* is a work intended for the followers of the *Sāmaveda*. Its contents are :—the duties on rising from bed, brushing the teeth, bath, *śanidhyā*, *tarpaṇa*, *vaiśvadeva*, *pārvaṇa-śrāddha*, eulogy of gifts, *sapinḍikarṇa* and other *śrāddhas*, *antyeṣṭi* and rites during the days of mourning after death, the letting loose of a bull. The printed work appears to be the same that is described in the I. O. cat. at p. 474 as *Karmopadeśinī*. But the India Office Ms. appears to have certain various readings e. g. a reference to *Kāmadhenu* and *Kalpataru* at the end of the section on *antyeṣṭi* does not occur in the printed text.<sup>784</sup>

The first verse of the *Hāratalā* states that the author consulted the commentaries on *Manu* and other *smṛtis*.<sup>785</sup> Besides the well-known *smṛtikāras* such as *Manu*, *Yājñavalkya*, *Nārada* etc., the authors and works named in the *Hāratalā* are :—*Asahāya* as the *Bhāṣyakāra* of *Gautama*, *Kāmadhenu*, *Govindarāja*, *Bhojadeva*, *Viśvarūpa* and *Śāṅkhaadhara*. The *Pitṛdayitā*<sup>786</sup> says that it was composed after consulting the *Gobhilaḥṛhasūtra*, the *Chandogya-pari-śiṣṭa*, the *smṛtis*, *purāṇas*, the *śāstras* of *Gautama* and *Vasiṣṭha* and various *samgraha* works. In the work itself, besides the above, *Kātyāyana*, *Varāhapurāṇa* and the smaller (*svalpa*) *Matsyapurāṇa* are quoted.

From the last verse<sup>787</sup> of the *Hāratalā* we know that *Aniruddha* was a resident of *Vihārapāṭaka* on the bank of the *Ganges* and was

784 कृत्यनृकामवेन्वादिस्मृतिहृष्टे महोपाध्यायेन विरचितं शुद्धिप्रकरणेभ्योऽपि विधिः ।  
folio 114b.

785 ऋणम्ब पुण्डरीकाक्षं पूर्वाचार्यप्रवर्तिताः । व्याख्या मन्वादिशास्त्राणां समालोच्य विविचक्षते ॥

786 गोभिलगृह्यसूत्रं दृष्ट्वा छन्दोगपरिशिष्टम् । दृष्ट्वा स्मृत्यां बहुभ्यः परिसंख्यान् पुराण-  
वाक्यानि ॥ गौतमवासिष्ठशास्त्रे नानासंघट्टवशाति चालोक्य । बुक्त्वा स्वयं निहृष्य  
ज्ञात्वा सर्वं मनं च वृद्धानाम् । राक्षिता पद्धतिरेषा सम्यक् कर्मोपदेशिनी शचिरा ।

787 सुरापगानीरविहारापाटके निवासिता महनयार्धवेदिना । रुतानिरुद्धेन सतानुरक्त्यले  
विराजता हरलहोयमर्विता ॥

a student of the doctrines of Bhaṭṭa (Kumārila). From the colophons<sup>788</sup> at the end of the *Hāratalā* and the *Pitrdayitā* it appears that he was a Dharmādhyakṣa and a *Campāhaṭṭīya* ( a section among *Varendras* ) *Brāhmaṇa* of Bengal. The ms. in the India Office has a colophon in which Aniruddha is styled *Dharmādhikarāṇika* ( Judge ). From the *Dānasāgara* of Ballalasena we learn ( verses 6 and 7 ) that Aniruddha was a *guru* of that king of Bengal and rendered assistance in the composition of that work. The *Dānasāgara*<sup>789</sup> was composed in *śake* 1091 ( i. e. 1169 A. D. ). From this it appears that Aniruddha was at the height of his fame in 1168, i. e. his literary activity may be placed in the third quarter of the 12th century A. D. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that the *Hāratalā* names Bhojadeva, Govindarāja, and the *Kāmadhenu* as authorities and is therefore later than 1100 A. D. The *Hāratalā* is named as an authority in the *Śuddhiviveka* of Rudradhara<sup>790</sup>. The *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī* of Govindananda ( about 1510-1545 A. D. ) frequently quotes Aniruddha and includes him among ancient authors.<sup>791</sup> The *Pitrdayitā* is named in the *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī* ( p. 503 ). In the *Āhnikatattva* ( vol. I, p. 421 ) and *Śuddhitattva* ( vol. II, p. 314 ) of Raghunandana the views of *Pitrdayitā* are quoted. There is a commentary on the *Hāratalā* called *Sandarbhāsucikā* composed by Acyuta Cakravartin, son of Haridāsa Tarkācārya ( vide I. O. cat. p. 567, No. 1753 ).

788 इति चाभ्याहरीयमहोपाध्यायधर्माध्यक्षीमदनिरुद्धमहविरचिताशौचव्यवस्था इतरलता समाप्ता, इति चाभ्याहरीयमहोपाध्यायधर्माध्यक्षीमदनिरुद्धमहविरचिता उन्मोघानां यद्विनाः पितृदयिता समाप्ता ।

789 निखिलभूपचक्रतिलकश्रीमद्वृहत्कालसेनदेवेन । पूर्णं शशिनवदशमितशकवर्षे दानसागरो रचितः ॥ at the end of the *दानसागरः*, vide I. O. cat. p. 542 and Mitra's Notices I. p. 151. This very verse is quoted by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि. Vide JASB 1915, p. 347 n. 1.

790 सत्येव रत्नाकरपारिजालमिताक्षराहारलताद्योन्ये । तथापि नवालसमानसानां भवेत्पमोदाय मम प्रयासः ॥ I. O. cat. p. 563, No. 1742; Mitra's Notices vol. V, p. 25. No. 1736.

791 किं तु अनिरुद्धादीनां प्राचामनुसारात् &c. श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी p. 388; vide p. 138 'अतो गोभिलगृहसूत्रविच्छेदमनाकलत्पाधुनिकेन गोहर्मैथिलसंग्रहकारानिरुद्धश्रीदत्तादीनां विरुद्धं महोपाध्यादीनामसंमतं चोक्तं हेयमेव ।

In the proceedings of the ASB ( for 1869 p. 137 ) a Cāturmāsya-paddhati of Aniruddha is noted. Mitra notices a work called Bhagavattattvamañjarī on Vaiṣṇava philosophy written by Aniruddha ( Mitra's Notices vol. III. p. 155, No. 2700 ).

### 83. Ballālasena

This famous king of Bengal compiled at least four works. His Ācārasāgara is mentioned in the Smṛtiratnākara of Vedācārya and in the Madanapārijāta ( p. 58 ). He also wrote the Pratiṣṭhāsāgara. Both these works are referred to as already composed in the Dānasāgara.<sup>792</sup> The Dānasāgara deals with the sixteen great *dānas* and other lesser gifts. The subjects dealt with by the Dānasāgara are as follows : eulogy of brahmanas, eulogy of the merit arising from gifts, proper objects of gifts, exceptions, the nature of gift, the donor, faith as to the utility of gifts, proper times and places for gifts, things proper to be donated, what cannot be gifted away, bad donations, religious rites and procedure followed in making gifts and in accepting them, the technical terms of the subject of gifts, the sixteen *mahādānas*, lesser *dānas* of various kinds ( the author himself says at the end that he has described 1375 kinds of gifts ), the names of various purāṇas and their extent. The Dānasāgara contains extremely valuable information about the Mahābhārata and the purāṇas. As it quotes extensively from the purāṇas, it serves as an excellent check for the textual restoration of purāṇas. For example it says that the Bhāgavata, Brahmaṇḍa and Nāradya purāṇas do not contain *dānavādyas* and hence they are not drawn upon in the work. In another verse he says that it is well-known that the Viṣṇurāhasya and Śivārāhasya are of the nature of mere compilations and so have not been relied on in the work. The Devipurāṇa, he says, is approved of by the heterodox systems and is not included in various lists of purāṇas and upapurāṇas and hence it is not included in the Dānasāgara. He says that the subject of the dedication of reservoirs of water and of temples has been dealt with at length in the Pratiṣṭhāsāgara, so it is omitted in the Dānasāgara and that the gifts made in accordance with the divisions of the year ( into *ayana*, season, month, pakṣa &c. ) are not spoken of in their entirety in the Dānasāgara, as they are described in the Ācārasāgara. The work is mentioned in the Dānaratnākara

<sup>792</sup> Verses 55 and 56 of his दानसागर ( L. O. cat. 542, No. 1704-5 ).

of Caṇḍeśvara and in the Nirṇayasindhu. His Adbhutasāgara has been printed by Messrs. Prabhakari and Co. (1905). The authorities on which he relies therein are noted below.<sup>793</sup> The Adbhutasāgara is mentioned in Ṭoḍarānandasamhitā-saukhya and Nirṇaya-sindhu. This was his last work which he left unfinished and which was completed by his son Lakṣmaṇasena. It deals with the rites and observances appropriate on certain celestial and terrestrial portents for removing the evil foreboded by them.

Ballālasena began the work in 1090 *śaka* and the Dānasāgara was composed in 1091 *śaka*. Therefore Ballālasena's literary activity must be placed in the third quarter of the 12th century (vide notes 674, 676 above). Vide also IHQ vol. V, p. 133 for the date of Ballālasena.

It appears that Raghunandana believed that the Dānasāgara was really the work of Aniruddhabhāṭṭa though published in the name of Ballālasena.<sup>794</sup> In the Dānasāgara itself it is distinctly stated that Ballālasena composed it under the directions of his *guru* (Aniruddha).<sup>795</sup> In the colophon he is styled mahārājadhiraṇḍya and and niḥśanka-śaṅkara.

#### 84. Harihara

From quotations in the Vivādaratnākara it appears that Harihara wrote on vyavahāra. For example, the Vivādaratnākara first quotes (on p. 220) the definition of 'saṁsāraṇa' given by Brhaspati and then cites three verses of Kātyāyana defining a *cattuspalba* and a *rājamārga* and prescribing punishments for causing obstruction and

793 आध्वण्यादुत, उशनस्, कठश्रुति, कालाचलि, काश्यप, गर्ग, वृद्धगर्ग, चरक, देवल, नाद, पराशर, बालकाप्य, बादरायण, बाह्मन्त्य, गृह्यसूत्र, ब्रह्मसिद्धान्त, भार्गवीय, मयूरचित्र, यजुर्वेद, राजवृत्र, ब्राह्ममिहिरप्रश्न, वसन्तराज, वसिष्ठ, विष्णुवसिष्ठ, विष्णुगुप्त, वैजयाप, शालिहोत्र, पद्मविद्याव्याख्यान, सुश्रुत, सूर्यसिद्धान्त.

794 Vide एकादशीनिरुद्ध (vol. II, p. 44) 'विष्णुरद्वैत्याचार्यस्य दानसागरे अनिरुद्ध-भट्टाभिहितत्वाच्च'. The words of the दानसागर are: लोके असिद्धमेतद्विष्णु-रद्वैत्यं च शिवरद्वैत्यं च । द्वयमिह न परिगृहीतं संग्रहकृत्यमवधार्य ॥

795 अधिगतसकलपुराणरमृतिसारः श्रद्धया गुरोरस्मात् । कलिकल्मषावसादं दाननिबन्धं विधत्ते नृ ॥ ... श्रीपद्मालनरेण्यो विरचयन्त्येतं गुरोः शिक्षया स्वपद्मावधि दानसागरमर्थं श्रद्धावता ज्ञेयसे ॥ verses 7 and 9 of दानसागर I. O. cat. p. 542.

committing nuisance thereon. Then it notices that the verse 'yas-tatra' cited by it from Kātyāyana is cited by Harihara as from Prajāpati when the topic immediately preceding is 'saṁsaraṇa'.<sup>796</sup> The Vivādaratnākara quotes a sūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita prescribing the punishment for sexual intercourse with a virgin against her will and Harihara's explanation of the word 'dvyāṅgulaccheda'.<sup>797</sup> From these it is clear that Harihara wrote some work on vyavahāra, which has not yet been recovered. He must have flourished earlier than 1300 A. D.

There is a commentary on the Pāraskarghyasūtra composed by Harihara who is styled *agnihotrīn* in the colophons. In one ms. copied in śake 1707 (1785-86 A. D.) he is described as the pupil of Vijñāneśvara. In the introductory second verse he says he relies on Vāsudeva. In the body of the work he refers (Gujarati Press edition) to Karkopadhyāya (p. 200), Kalpatarukāra, Reṇudikṣita, and Vijñāneśvarācārya (p. 370). Therefore he is later than 1150 A. D. Harihara's views are mentioned by Hemādri,<sup>798</sup> the Samaya-pradipa and Ācārādarsa of Śrīdatta and in the Smṛtisāra of Harinātha. Therefore this Harihara must be earlier than 1250 A. D. Whether he was really the pupil of Vijñāneśvara is doubtful. In his bhāṣya Harihara refers to words current in Kanoj.<sup>800</sup> Hemādri mentions Harihara's explanation of *nepalākambala* wherein the latter says that it is well known among the northerners.<sup>801</sup> Harihara-

796 हरिहरादिभिः संसरणानुवृत्तो प्रजापतिरिति मस्तके दृष्ट्वा यस्तत्रेति वाक्यमवतारितमिह न फलतो विशेष इति । वि. र. p. 221.

797 शङ्खलिसितो - कम्पायामसकामाया इत्यङ्गलच्छेदो दण्डः । ... हरिहरस्तु द्व्यङ्गुलपरिमाणलच्छेद इत्याह । वि. र. p. 402.

798 तस्मात् प्रयोदशे आर्द्धे न कुर्यान्नेवतिष्ठते इत्येव बहुष्वद्वदः काश्मीरलिसितस्य पाठो ज्यायान् । तथा च हरिहरादिग्रन्थेष्वेवमेव पाठो गृह्यते । चतुर्वर्गः (काल) vol. III. 2. p. 52 ; vide pp. 447, 483 of the same vol. for other references to हरिहर and also vol. III. 1. pp. 159, 1151, 1159, 1177, 1280.

799 तत्र हरिहरो मेघादिच्छन्नस्यापि निर्मितत्वमाह पासावच्छिन्नकालस्य गणितप्रमितत्वात् । समयपदीप ( D. C. ms. No. 371 of 1875-76 folio 52a ).

800 समविश्रामार्धं काष्ठपाषाणविन्यसविशेषः पट्टकः । पट्टहर इति काम्यकुट्टने प्रसिद्धः । p. 376 of हरिहर's पारस्करभाष्य (Gujarati press ed.).

801 हरिहरेण तु पार्वतीयाजलोमरुत्रैर्निर्मितः कम्बलाकारः पर उदीच्येषु प्रसिद्ध इत्येवं व्याख्यातः । चतुर्वर्गः III. 1. p. 1177.



*paddhati* is mentioned in the *Śrāddhatattva* ( vol. I, p. 281 ) and *Harihara* in the *Yajurvediśrāddhatattva* ( vol. II, p. 488 ). We have seen above that a *Harihara* commented upon the *Āśaucadaśaka* of *Vijñāneśvara*. This fact together with his being not far from *Vijñāneśvara*'s time may have led to the belief that he was a pupil of *Vijñāneśvara*. It appears probable that the jurist *Harihara* who flourished before 1300 and *Harihara* the *bhāṣyakāra* of *Pāraskara* who flourished between 1150 and 1250 A. D. are identical. The views ascribed to *Harihara* by *Hemādri* in his section on *śrāddha* are not found in the *bhāṣya* on *Pāraskara*. Therefore *Hemādri* is referring to some other work of *Harihara*. From a passage of *Hemādri* it appears that *Harihara* wrote after the *Mahārṇava*<sup>802</sup> ( *Prakāśa* ). *Hemādri* also tells us that *Harihara* refuted the views of *Jayantasvāmī* on a certain verse.<sup>803</sup> The same *Harihara* who commented on *Pāraskara* also wrote a commentary on *Kātyāyana*'s *Sūnavidhisūtra* wherein he mentions the *Kalpatarukāra* ( vide D. C. ms. No. 101 of 1891-95 ). Several *Hariharas* are known. There is *Hariharabhāṭṭācārya*, the father of the great Bengal writer *Raghunandana*. A *Hariharācārya* composed an astrological work *Samayapradīpa* in *śaka* 1481 ( 1559-1560 A. D. ).

### 85. The *Smṛticandrikā* of *Devannabhatta*

This is a well-known digest on *Dharmaśāstra*. An English translation of the portion of it which is concerned with *dāyabhāga* was published in 1867 by T. Kristnasvami Iyer at Madras. The text has been published by Mr. J. R. Gharpure ( up to *śrāddha* ) in Bombay and also in the Mysore Government Oriental series ( up to *āśauca* ). In the following Mr. Gharpure's edition has been used and the Mysore edition for *āśauca* section. The *Smṛticandrikā* is a very extensive digest. It is almost the earliest ( except the *Kalpataru* ) among digests on *dharmaśāstra* of which mss. have yet been discovered. The printed text deals with the topics ( *kāṇḍas* ) of *Saṁskāra*, *Abhika*, *Vyavahāra*, *Śrāddha*, *Āśauca*. It appears that

802 अध्यात्मस्य हि हिद्रेण कुहूयहणपरण्येपानिर्ज्ञातकर्तृत्वेन महार्णवलिखितत्वेन चोपलभ्य कैम्बिदुक्कानीत्युक्तोपन्यस्तानि । चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. 183.

803 इह जयन्तस्वामिमतं हरिद्रेणोपन्यस्तम् । अन्यभावे तु विप्रस्येति श्लोकाद्य कदाचित्कचिदसंनिहिताभिः सामिरेष विषयः । ... तदेतज्जयन्तस्वानिस्समतं त्रैवर्णिकमात्रविषयत्वमस्य तेनैव दूषितम् । चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. 1339.

he wrote on *prāyaścitta* also. In the colophons of mss. of the work the name of the author is variously written as Devaṇṇa, Devaṇa, Devananda or Devagaṇa ( vide I. O. cat. pp. 405-406 ). He is also described therein as the son of Keśavādityabhaṭṭa and as a *Somayajī*.

The *Smṛticandrikā* quotes most profusely from numerous *smṛti-kāras* and affords valuable assistance in reconstructing some of the *smṛtis* and checking mss. and editions thereof. For example, it quotes about 600 verses from *Kātyāyana* on *vyatākāra* and about the same number from *Bṛhaspati*. Among works, commentators and authors of digests named by it the following may be noted : *Aparārka*, *Trikāṇḍī*, *Devarāta*, *Devasvāmī*, *Āpastambakalpabhāṣyārthakāra* ( *Āśauca* p. 84 ), *Dhāreśvara*, *Dharmabhāṣya*, *Dhūrtasvāmī*, *Pradīpa*, *Bhavanātha*, *Bhāṣya* on *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, *Dharmadīpa* or *Pradīpa* ( *Āśauca* p. 63 ), *Bhāṣyārthasaṃgrahakāra*, *Manuvṛtti*, *Medhātithi*, *Mitākṣarā*, *Vaijayāntī* ( a lexicon ), *Viśvarūpa*, *Viśvadarśa* ( *Āśauca* p. 164 ), *Śambhu*, *Śrikara*, *Śivasvāmī*, *Smṛtibhāskara*, *Smṛtyārthasāra*. He mentions a *Bhaṭṭācārya* on *Āśauca* ( p. 1, 2 ), probably *Śrinivāsa*, the author of *Śuddhidīpikā* who wrote about 1159-60 A. D. ( *JASB* 1915 p. 334 ). He quotes a passage from the work of an author, whom he styles *Guru* ( probably his own teacher or father ).<sup>804</sup> The *Smṛticandrikā* often criticizes these works and authors and advances its own views after considering the positions of others. *Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa* was a southern writer and his work is according to judicial decisions of great authority in southern India.<sup>805</sup> But it has been held that in spite of its high authority it cannot override the *Mitākṣarā* even in the *Madras Presidency*.<sup>806</sup>

The contents of the *Smṛticandrikā* are : various *Dharmas*, such as those of *varṇas*, *āśramas*; usages of countries; *saṃskāras*, *garbhā-*

<sup>804</sup> ततश्च द्वादशरात्रादिष्वप्येतत्स्मृतिमिति गुरुणा व्याख्यातं ततश्च दशमेद्वनि यदि द्विषात्रौचोत्पत्तिस्तदापि द्वाभ्यामित्येतद्बोदितव्यमित्येतदन्तेन सन्धेन । स्मृतिच० ( आशौच p. 63 ).

<sup>805</sup> Vide 11 Moo. I. A. p. 487, 2 Mad. H. C. R. p. 206 at p. 209, I. L. R. 3 Mad. 290 ( P. C. ) at p. 302, I. L. R. 35 Mad. 439 and I. L. R. 44 Mad. 753 ( P. C. ) for the high authority of the *स्मृतिचन्द्रिका* in southern India.

<sup>806</sup> Vide I. L. R. 3 Mad. 265, 269 ( barren daughter not excluded by a daughter having sons ), I. L. R. 35 Mad. 152 at p. 160 for this proposition.

dhāna, puṁsavana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, cūḍākaraṇa, upanayana, marriage, etc., duties of student-hood and holidays; daily duties such as *lauca*, ācamana, brushing the teeth, bathing, *sandhya*, *śrauta* and *smṛta* rites; duties of householder; the five daily *yajñas*; rules about taking food, forbidden food; procedure of law courts, means of proof, ordeals, the various titles of law such as deposit, partnership, *dayabhāga*; detailed rules about śrāddha, its various kinds, persons entitled to perform śrāddhas, the brāhmaṇas proper to be invited at śrāddha etc.

The *Smṛticandrikā* refers to Vijñāneśvara with great respect.<sup>807</sup> Yet there are several interesting points on which the *Smṛticandrikā* differs from the *Mitākṣara*. The *Smṛticandrikā* questions (vide note 638 above) the statement of the *Mit.* that unequal distribution by the father of ancestral property among his sons should not be resorted to, as it has come to be abhorred by the people. The *Smṛticandrikā* does not approve of the definition of *daya* given by the *Mit.*<sup>808</sup> The *Smṛticandrikā* does not accept Vijñāneśvara's explanation of the word 'apratīṣṭhita' occurring in the sūtra of Gautama, but upholds Apararka's explanation of it (vide note 771 above). The *Smṛticandrikā* favours the theory of spiritual benefit in matters of succession and therefore among daughters prefers one that has sons over another daughter who is sonless.<sup>809</sup> It criticizes the reasons advanced by the *Mit.* for preferring the mother over the father as an heir to their deceased son and says that both parents succeed together.<sup>810</sup> Though the *Smṛticandrikā* in this way in some

807 व्याख्यातं चान्यथा विज्ञानेश्वरपादेः । मातरि पूर्वं प्रतीतार्था ... पक्षिणी क्षिपेदिति । स्मृतिच० ( आशीच p. 64 ). This is a quotation from मिताक्षरा ७७ याज्ञ. III. 20.

808 न च दायशब्देन यद्वत् स्वामिसंबन्धादेव निमित्तादन्यस्य स्वं भवति तदुच्यत इति दायशब्दनिरूपणार्थं मिताक्षरायामुक्तं युक्तम् । एवं हि पत्न्युः स्वं पतिसंबन्धादेव निमित्तात्पत्नीस्वं भवतीति तस्यापि दायत्वापत्तिः । न तत्र अदायाः स्त्रिय इति श्रुतिविरोधो दुर्धारः स्यात् । अस्मन्मते तु विभागार्हं स्वं स्वामिसंबन्धादेव निमित्तादन्यस्य स्वं भूतं दायशब्दार्थं इति विभागार्हं परीक्ष्य न दायः । स्मृतिच० II. pp. 267-268.

809 एवं च बुद्धितृप्त संतानमुत्तेनादृष्टोपकारसंबन्धासम्भवा । स्मृतिच० II. p. 295.

810 चशब्देन सूचितस्य दक्षिणस्यानन्तरमेव मातापितरौ समसमये धनभाजौ तयोश्चान्नर-क्रमन्यायाभावादित्यवगन्तव्योभिप्रायः । अन्येः पुनरन्यथोत्प्रेक्षितम् । पिता सपत्नी-पुत्रेणपि साधारणः &c. स्मृतिच० II. p. 297; vide note 638 above for the full quotation.

cases criticizes the Mit., it generally follows its lead. It holds, just as the Mit. does, that sons acquire by birth ownership in ancestral property. The author asserts that he puts forward no imaginary views but only such views as are based on (authoritative) texts.<sup>811</sup>

As the *Smṛticandrikā* names the Mit., Aparārka and *Smṛtyarthasāra*, its upper limit cannot be placed earlier than 1150 A.D. Their Lordships of the Privy Council say in *Buddhasingh vs Laltu-singh*<sup>812</sup> that Devanandabhaṭṭa is supposed to have been a contemporary of Aparārka. But this supposition is not quite correct. Since Aparārka is quoted several times as an authority to be preferred even to the Mit., it looks more probable that there is some distance of time between Aparārka and Devanandabhaṭṭa. Hemādri quotes the views of the *Smṛticandrikā* probably oftener than those of any other *uśbandhakāra*. In one place<sup>813</sup> he does not approve of the explanation given by the *Smṛticandrikā* of a verse occurring in the Mahābhārata about a man with male issue performing śrāddha on the thirteenth *tithi*. In another<sup>814</sup> place Hemādri refers to the view of the *Smṛticandrikā* on the question whether the śrāddha on *amāvāsya* is optional with śrāddha in dark half. Therefore it follows that the *Smṛticandrikā* must have been composed at least a generation earlier than Hemādri, i. e. before 1225 A.D. The *Smṛticandrikā* is frequently quoted by the *Sarasvativilāsa*, the *Vīramitrodaya* and other digests.

811 सर्वलोकहितार्थाय कियते स्मृतिचन्द्रिका ॥ स्वामिप्रायेण हि मया न किञ्चिदिह लिख्यते । किं तु वाचनिकं सर्वमतो प्राज्ञैव निर्भये ॥ Intro. verses.

812 L. R. 42. I. A. 308 at p. 223.

813 यत्तु महाभारते दानधर्मेषु-ज्ञानीनां तु भवेच्छ्रेष्ठः कुर्वन् आर्द्रं अथोदशीम् । नावश्यं तु युवानोऽस्य पत्नीयन्ते नरा गृहे ॥ -इति पुत्रमरणकथस्य दोषस्यापस्तम्बायुक्तस्य निराकरणं कृतं तद्विदुः शास्त्रान्तरकृतम् । ... अथवश्यं न श्रियन्त एवेति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारस्य व्याख्यानं लक्ष्यम् । चतुर्वर्गः (काल) vol. III. 2. p. 482; the *Smṛticandrikā* does quote the text of the महाभारत and remarks 'अवश्यं श्रियन्त न श्रियन्त इत्यर्थः' p. 369.

814 यज्ञिगमस्मरणं-अपरपक्षं बद्धः संपद्येताममावास्यायां विशेषेणेति तत् पृथक्त्वेऽपि उभयपक्षाविरोधीति न विकल्पे प्रमाणमिति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारः । चतुर्वर्गः III. 2. 461; the *Smṛticandrikā* does contain the text quoted and remarks, अतो यत्कश्चिदुक्तमावास्याभादमपरपक्षिकेण आद्रेण विकल्प्यत इति तद्व्याप्तम् । II. p. 309.

Several authors composed works styled *Smṛticandrikā*, e. g. there is a *Smṛticandrikā* of Śukadeva-miśra ( I. O. cat. p. 471 No. 1549 ), another by Āpadeva ( Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 301 ), another by Vāmadevabhāṭṭācārya ( Mitra's Notices, vol. IX, p. 137 ).

### 86. Haradatta

Haradatta's fame stands very high as a commentator. He wrote a commentary called *Anākūlā* on the *Āpastamba-grhya-sūtra* ( D. C. Ms. No. 2 of 1866-68 ), a commentary on the *Āpastambīya-mantra-pāṭha* ( vide Dr. Winternitz's ed. of 1897, p. XIII ), a commentary called *Anāvila* on the *Āśvalāyana-grhya-sūtra* ( published in the Trivandrum series ), a commentary called *Mitākṣarā* on the *Gautamadharmasūtra* and a commentary named *Ujjvalā* on the *dharmasūtra* of *Āpastamba*. His commentaries are very good models of ideal commentaries. His commentary on the *dharmasūtra* of *Gautama* ( printed by the Ānandaśrama Press, Poona ) is more concise than that on the *Dharmasūtra* of *Āpastamba* ( large extracts of which were published by Bühler in his edition in the B. S. series, the whole being printed by Hāṣyaṇāth Sastri at Kumbhakonam and in the Mysore Government Oriental Library series ). In his commentary on the *Dharmasūtras* he quotes verses from numerous *smṛtis* and from the *purāṇas* but hardly ever mentions by name any commentator or *nibandhakāra*. In his *Anāvila* ( page 9 ) he quotes the views of a *Bhāṣyakāra* who is probably *Devasvāmin* and mentions also a *Caṇḍogagrhyabhāṣyakāra* ( on I. 2. 3 ). In his commentaries on both the *Dharmasūtras* he frequently quotes the opinions of previous commentators with the words ' anye, ' ' aparāḥ, ' ' kecit ; ' vide G. Dh. S. II. 28, VII. 4 and 14, IX. 52, XI. 17, XII. 32 and 33, XXIV. 5, XXVI. 9, XXVIII. 7 and 44 ; Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 24, I. 2. 5. 2 and 18, I. 3. 10. 4, I. 3. 11. 20, I. 5. 15. 20. etc. From the fact that he mentions two interpretations on Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 2. with the words ' aparā āha ' and ' ityanye ' and several interpretations on II. 7. 17. 22 it follows that he had before him two or three commentaries on Āp. Dh. S. In Bühler's edition Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 38 appears to refer to a *grhya-vṛtti*, but in the Kumbhakonam edition the reading is different ( viz. *grhye gatam* ). He is very careful to

point out the un-Pāṇinian forms in the sūtras of Gautama<sup>815</sup> and Āpastamba, explains at great length all grammatical matters and generally prefers readings that are in consonance with the rules of Pāṇini. He very often says that the text of the sūtras, particularly of Āpastamba, as handed down by oral tradition was either wrong or followed Vedic usage as regards grammar.<sup>816</sup>

From various references Haradatta seems to have been an inhabitant of Southern India or was at least very familiar with its usages. On Gautama XI. 20 he instances several usages of the Colas. On Gautama XV. 18 he gives a synonym in the Draviḍa language for<sup>817</sup> a skin disease called 'Kilāsa.' On Āp. Gr. S. VI. 6 (the sūtra 'nadinirdeśaśca etc.') he gives Kāveri and Vegavati as instances. On Āp. Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 15 (last sūtra) he refers to certain practices of the Draviḍas observed when the Sun is in Aries or Virgo.<sup>818</sup> The Viramitrodaya classes Haradatta and the Smṛticandrikakāra among southern *nibandhakāras*.<sup>819</sup> From his remark on Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 25 (the sūtra 'anyatra rahudarśanāt') that the northerners do not recite that sūtra it appears that he affirms that he was a southerner.

Haradatta seems to have been a great devotee of Śiva. He begins his commentary on Gautama, on Āśvalāyana-gṛhya and Āp. Gr. with an obeisance to Rudra and his commentaries on Āp. Dh. S. and on the Āpastambīya-mantra-pāṭha (otherwise called Ekāgni-

815 e. g. on गौ. ध. सू. XXV. 8 he says 'वाच्यनसोरिति पाठोऽस्मभ्यं न रोचते । अचतुरेति समासान्नाविधिस्तद्वगत् ।

816 e. g. on आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 31. 21 'प्रायत्यमहचर्यकाले चर्यया च' he says 'प्रायत्यमहचर्यार्थ्या काले चर्यया च । अयं तावदध्वानुरूपः पाठः । अधीयमानस्तु प्रमादश्चादत्तो वा ।'. Vide remarks on आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 5. 2 and II. 3. 7. 7 also.

817 किलासः त्वन्दोषो बललीति द्विविधानां प्रसिद्धः ।

818 तत्र द्विविदाः कम्बामेचरथे सवितर्यादित्यपूजामाचरन्ति भूमौ मण्डलमालिस्वेत्यादीन्पुष्पाहरणानि ।

819 Vide श्री ० p. 705 शृङ्गनालिकया यत्र कण्ठोकः पत्नी बुद्धिर् इत्यादौ यासां स्त्रीणां धनाधिकारस्तात्तमेव । अन्धासां तु श्रुतिमनुवचनाभ्यां दाययज्ञनिषेध एवेति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारहरदत्तादीनां दाक्षिणात्यनिबन्धूणां जीमूतपादनादिशोरस्मयसर्वनिबन्धूणां सिद्धान्ताच्च ।



kāṇḍa, 25th and 26th *prāśnas* of Āpastamba-kalpa) with an obeisance to Mahādeva. Burnell (Tanjore mss. cat. p. 170) tells us that according to tradition in Southern India, Rudradatta, the commentator of the Āp. Śrauta-sūtra, is the same as Haradatta. In his commentary on Āp. Gr. S. I. 13. 5 (ghoṣavad caturakṣaraṁ vā) he gives as instances of the names of males Hara, Rudra, Deva, Haradatta and Bhavanāga. In the colophons the Anāvila is described as the work of Haradattācārya-miśra.

Ghose in his Hindu Law (3rd ed. Intro. p. XV) says that, like Medhātithi, Haradatta denies the heritable rights of widows and must have come before Vijñāneśvara and not after. But Ghose appears to be wrong. Haradatta first says that according to the *dārya* (i. e. Āpastamba) the *sapīṇḍas* of the deceased who took the property were obliged to maintain the widow of the deceased, while the view of Gautama was that the widow took, on failure of male issue, an equal share along with the *sapīṇḍas*, and then Haradatta says that he himself liked the latter view.<sup>820</sup> He often gives interesting information. On Gautama XVII. 33 he tells us that *asafoetida* is eaten by all, even though it is a matter for consideration whether being the exudation of a tree, it is to be regarded as due to cutting (and so forbidden).<sup>821</sup> On Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 5. 14 he cites as an example of reviling (*a-kroḍa*) the following: 'the Taittiriya is a Śakhā that is *ucchista* (the leavings of food eaten), the Yājñavalkya and other Brāhmaṇa works are modern'.<sup>822</sup> On Gautama IV. 5. he says that what distinguishes the Prājāpatya form of marriage from the Brāhma and others is that there is in the former a stipulation that the husband is not to enter into another order of life (*ātrama*) nor is he to marry another woman.<sup>823</sup> On Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 12. 15 he says that whereas in the case of marriage with a paternal aunt's or maternal uncle's daughter, the act springs

820 On आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 2 'पुत्राभावे यः प्रत्यासन्नः सपिण्डः' he says 'भार्या तु रिक्थपाहिणः सपिण्डाया रक्षेगुर्न तु दाययहणमित्याचार्यस्य पक्षः । ... गौतमस्तु पुत्राभावे पत्न्याः सपिण्डादिभिः समाश्रमाह । ... वयमप्येतमेव पक्षं रोचयामहे ।'.

821 हिङ्गुस्तु निर्यासो ब्रह्मण्यमवो न वेति चिन्त्यम् । सर्वथा शिष्टा अपि भक्षयन्ति ।

822 तैत्तिरीयमुचिष्ठशास्त्रा पाङ्गवल्कादीनि ब्राह्मणानीदानीन्तनानीत्यादय आक्रोशाः ।

823 नाश्वमान्तरं प्रवेष्टव्यं नापि स्वयन्तरमुपयन्तव्यामिति मन्त्रेण समयः कियते । एष ब्राह्मदेः प्राजापत्यस्य विशेषः ।



from the fact that one is pleased thereby, there is no necessity to infer a *īstra* ( a Vedic passage ) once existing but now lost ( in support of such usage ).<sup>824</sup>

The date of Haradatta is a rather difficult problem. Bühler ( S. B. E. vol. II. p. XLIII ) at first thought that Haradatta probably wrote in the 16th century, but in his 2nd edition of the *Āp. Dh. S.* he says ( p. VIII ) that the Munich ms of the *Ujvalā* written in Poona about 1600 A. D. shows the interpolated text found in all Devanāgarī copies and that therefore Haradatta is older than at least 1450-1500 A. D. The *Vīramitrodaya*<sup>825</sup> frequently cites the *Mitākṣarā* of Haradatta on Gautama. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa ( born in 1513 A. D. ) in his *Prayoga-ratna* quotes Haradatta's comment on Gautama VIII. 14-22 about *saṁskāras* and his son Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa names both the *Mitākṣarā* and the *Ujvalā* of Haradatta in his *Dvaitanirṇaya*. The *Prayogapārijāta* of Nṛsiṁha, which is quoted in the *Prayogaratna* of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and is therefore not later than the first quarter of the 16th century, cites Haradatta's explanation of *Āp. Gr. S.* ( on-<sup>2</sup> *pravāsād-etya putrasya śirah pariḥṛhya jāpati* ' etc. ) and contrasts it with Nārāyaṇa's view. The *Subodhini* of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa ( about 1375 A. D. ) on *Mit.* ( *Yaj II. 132* ) quotes certain *smṛti* passages as found in the *vṛtti* of *Āpastamba* which are found in Haradatta's gloss.<sup>826</sup> Hence it follows that Haradatta cannot be later than about 1300 A. D. The fact that Haradatta hardly ever names any commentator except perhaps *Devasvāmin*, the *Bhāṣyakāra* of *Āpastambe-grhya*, and that he holds antiquated views about the widow's right to succeed to her deceased husband's estate are strong arguments in favour of the view that Haradatta is comparatively an early writer. Hardly any writer after *Vijñāneśvara* assigns the same position to the widow as Hara-

824 यत्र पितृष्वसृमातुलमृतापरिजयनादौ प्रियुपलब्धितः प्रवृत्तिर्न तत्रोत्सन्नवाहं शास्त्र-  
मनुमीयते प्रतिरेव प्रवृत्तिहेताः संभवात् ।

825 *Vide* *दीर्.* pp. 162, 655.

826 पूर्वोक्तावे परः पर इति रिक्थग्रहणक्रमोपि दर्शितो वाक्यशेषे स्मृत्यन्तरव्यवस्था दर्शितः ।  
तथाहि आपस्तम्बवृत्तौ स्मृत्यन्तरसंग्रहः । आगसः पुत्रिकापीजक्षेत्रज्ञौ पुत्रिकासुतः ।  
पानम्बभ कानानः सहोदो गुडसंभवः । दत्तः क्रीतः स्वयंदत्तः रुधिमन्थापविद्वक्कः ।  
यत्र क चोत्पादितश्च स्वपुत्रा दश पञ्च चेति । सुबोधिनी. This occurs in *हरदत्त's*  
comment on *आप. ध. सू.* II. 6. 14. 1 ( Bühler's ed. of 1894, p. 81 ).

datta does. Hence it appears that Haradatta could not have flourished much later than 1100 A. D. So he must be placed between 1100-1300 A. D., very probably near the earlier limit than the later one.

One important question is as to the identity of Haradatta, the commentator of the Dharma and Grhya sūtras and Haradatta, the author of the Padamañjarī, a commentary on the Kāśikā of Vāmana and Jayāditya. Bühler felt uncertain about the identity. Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭa in his Dvaita-nirṇaya speaks of Haradatta as expounding<sup>827</sup> a *kārikā* of Hari (Vākyapadīya III. p. 260, Benares ed.) and also speaks of Haradatta as the author of the Ujvalā and the Mitrākṣarā without making any distinction between the two. This shows that he regarded the two as identical. Haradatta in his commentaries on the Dharmasūtras gives far more attention to grammar than almost any other commentator of Dharmaśāstra.<sup>828</sup> His grammatical disquisition on Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 18 (‘pāvanam ca nāmno’ etc.) is almost identical with the Padamañjarī on Pāṇini VIII. 2. 83 (‘pratyabhivadeśudre’). On Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 17 he quotes a verse as from the grammarians for defining the location of the *udīcyas*.<sup>829</sup> The Mādhavīya Dhātu-vṛtti mentions the Padamañjarī. From this it follows that the Padamañjarī was composed before 1300 A. D. Dr. Belvalkar places Haradatta, the author of the Padamañjarī, about 1100 A. D.<sup>830</sup> The learned editor of the Anāvilā in the Trivandrum series points out that, as Haradatta is

827 तद्वक्तुं हरिणा—गुणक्रियायां स्वातन्त्र्यात् प्रेक्षणे कर्मतां गतः । नियमाकर्मसंज्ञायाः स्वधर्मेणाभिधीयते ॥ अस्वार्थो हरदत्तेन विवृतः । द्वेन निर्णयः.

828 Vide comment on आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 1 (तदतिक्रमे विद्याकर्म निःस्रवति) where हरदत्त says ‘स्रवतेः सकर्मणयोगो भाष्ये दृष्टः स्रवत्युदकं कुण्डिकेति’ where he refers to the महाभाष्य of पतञ्जलि (vide Keilhorn, vol. II, p. 69).

829 ‘प्रागुद्धो विभजते ईसः क्षीरिदकं यथा । विदुषां शब्दसिद्धयर्थं सा नः पातु शरावती । इति वैयाकरणः । तस्याः शरावत्या उदकीरनिर्वातिन उदीच्याः ।’ हेमाद्रि quotes on the same sūtra of आप. the same verse with the reading सरस्वती for शरावती and styles it the saying of the ancients (चतुर्वर्ग, III. 1. p. 1350). The अमरकोश makes शरावती the boundary of भारतवर्ष. Is Śaravati the modern Rapti, a tributary of the Śaravā, or is it the modern Shiravati near Honavar in North Canara?

830 ‘Systems of Sanskrit Grammar’ pp. 39-40.

quoted in the *Puruṣakāra* which in its turn is mentioned in the *Dhātu-vṛtti* of Mādhava and as Śaraṇadeva, the author of the *Durghaṭa-vṛtti*, who wrote in *śake* 1095, cites the Jainendra and Kaiyaṭa but not Haradatta nor the Padamañjari, Haradatta wrote about the close of the 12th century A. D. These circumstances render it highly probable (if not certain) that Haradatta the commentator of the *Dharmasūtras* is the same as the author of the *Padamañjari* and that he flourished between 1100 and 1300 A. D. and probably about 1200 A. D. The *Smṛticandrikā* twice refers to the *bhāṣya* of the *Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra*.<sup>831</sup> Haradatta's commentary is styled *vṛtti* and not *bhāṣya* and the citations do not occur in his work. Hence it appears that the *Smṛticandrikā* did not know Haradatta's works and the latter could not have flourished much earlier than the *Smṛti-candrikā*.

In the *Padamañjari* Haradatta is said to have been the son of Padma ( Rudra )-kumāra, younger brother of Agnikumāra and a pupil of Aparājita.<sup>832</sup> In his *Padamañjari* Haradatta employs the word 'kūcimañci' which is a Telugu word.<sup>833</sup> The *Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa* printed in Grantha characters contains 12 chapters ( 54 to 65th ) and the *Śivarahasya* printed in the said characters has one chapter ( 17th ) which set out the life ( *carita* ) of a Haradattācārya. It is there stated that Haradattācārya's original name was Sudarśana, that he was the son of Vāsudeva and that he died 3979 years after Kaliyuga began<sup>834</sup> ( i. e. 878 A. D. ). This Haradattācārya, being the son of Vāsudeva, was not the same as the author

831 अत्र हि अधिकारत इति हेतुबलात् अन्येत्यादिपक्षत्रयं पूर्वपक्षत्वेनोपन्यस्तमित्युक्तं तद्भाष्ये । स्मृतिच० I. p. 25 ( on आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 19-23 ) ; अत एव जीवन्मुक्त्यर्थो दायं विभजेदित्यापस्तम्बसूत्रं व्याचक्षाणेन तद्भाष्यकारेण पुत्रेभ्य एव दायं विभजेत् स्त्रीभ्यो दुहितृभ्य इत्युक्तम् । स्मृतिच० II. p. 300.

832 Vide Report on the search of Sanskrit and Tamil mss. for 1893-94 by S. Seshagiri Sastri pp. pp 13-20 and pp. 171-178 ( extract ).

833 या पुनर्वैद्यभाषाभिः संज्ञाः कूचिमञ्चीत्यादयो न तासां साधुत्वम् । p. 16 of the Report on Sanskrit and Tamil mss. for 1893-94 by S. Seshagiri Sastri.

834 कन्यादौ च चतुःसहस्रसहिते यत्रैकविंशतके पुष्ये मासि विलम्बितानि समगादष्ट-प्रज्ञो मीनः । पञ्चम्यां सितपक्षके भृगुदिवे सप्तम्यजोदकटे कंसग्रामनिवासिभिः सुदर्शनः सार्ष विमानोज्ज्वलः ॥ कंसग्राम is in the Tanjore District.

of the Padamañjarī, who was the son of Padmakumāra. This earlier Haradatta may probably be the same as the Haradattācārya cited as an authority in the Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha on the Nakuliśa-pāsupatadarśana.<sup>835</sup> Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 33) identifies without sufficient foundation the Haradattācārya of the Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha with Haradatta, the commentator of Āpastamba and Gautama.

A work called Hari-hara-tāratamya and another called Caturveda-tātparya-saṁgraha are ascribed to a Haradatta. Of the latter there is a ms. in the Deccan College collection (No. 109 of 1871-72), which contains 154 verses of fine penmanship. The first and last are given below.<sup>836</sup> Whether these two works were composed by Haradatta, the commentator of the Dharmasāstras, it is difficult to say. In the latter work the author sings a hymn of praise to Śiva as the supreme deity, points out how the Vedic *mantras* refer to him, how the various rites are meant for him, refers to the mythological representations of Śiva as *Kirāta*, or as wearing skin etc. All the verses upto 143 are in the Vasantatilakā metre, while towards the end there are a few verses in other metres such as Śikharinī and Rathoddhata. He was a staunch Śaivite,<sup>837</sup> though the hymn breathes a spirit of tolerance and sympathy for different religious and philosophical systems. He refers to the Maitrāyaṇa Śruti, Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa, Kātyāyana-grhya, Bhagavadgītā, the Purāṇas as supplementing the Vedas (*vedopabṛnhaka*), the Sāṁkhya and Yoga.

835 तत्र विधीयमानमुपायफलं लाभः । ज्ञानतपोविन्यासस्थितिबुद्धिभेदात् पञ्चविधः । तदाह हरदत्ताचार्यः । ज्ञानं तपोधं नित्यत्वं स्थितिः बुद्धिश्च पञ्चमम् ॥ &c. सर्वदर्शन-संग्रह pp. 162-63 ( Govt. Oriental Series, Poona ).

836 वस्त्रे नमो भवति यस्य गुणाः समग्रा नारायणोपनिषदा यदुपासनोक्ता । यो नः प्रचोदयति बुद्धिमधिकृतौ वस्तं त्वामन्यगतिरीश्वरं संश्रयामि ॥ first verse: अघटित-पटन्नापटवे प्रकटितककुणाय सिन्धुभूते । वटतरुमूलस्थितये विघटिततमसे मदेन्द्राय नमः ॥ last verse.

837 Verses 144-145 are विघाततं कश्चिद्भजति भजते कश्चन ह्रीं सुरानन्यान्ये जगति सकलः सर्वविधयः । तथापि त्वद्वक्त्रे शिवं ननु यदा चर्मषदिति श्रुतो मन्त्रो देवान्तर-भजनदेयं न सहते ॥ इदं शृङ्गं पुष्पं नमसि मृगतृष्णासु सलिलं प्रसूतिर्वन्याया-मनवधिकमावुस्तनुभूताम् । विमुक्तिर्वा देवान्तरभजनलब्ध्या पशुपते न शक्यं नः संभावयितुमपि सर्वं विमृशताम् ॥

## 87. Hemādri

Hemādri and Madhava are the Castor and Pollux in the galaxy of *dakṣiṇātya* writers on Dharmaśāstra. Hemādri is a very voluminous writer. He is the author of the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, an encyclopædia of ancient religious rites and observances. According to the statements contained in the work itself the author intended to treat Dharmaśāstra in five sections, called vrata, dāna, tirtha, mokṣa and pariśeṣa.<sup>838</sup> The Pariśeṣa-khaṇḍa was divided into four parts, viz., Devatā, Kalanirṇaya, Karmavipāka, Lakṣaṇasamuccaya.<sup>839</sup> The Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica series. Four volumes containing 6 parts and covering about 6000 pages have been so far printed. The second and third volumes have two parts each. The fourth volume which deals with *prayaścitta* does not appear to be the work of Hemādri.<sup>840</sup> The work so far published is concerned with *vrata*, *dāna*, *śrāddha* and *kāla* (the latter two being parts of the pariśeṣa-khaṇḍa). That portion of the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi which was intended to treat of *tirtha* and *mokṣa* has not yet come to light. It is extremely doubtful whether the author was able to carry out his gigantic scheme. Mss. of portions of the great work are described in the catalogues under various names, e. g. I. O. cat. No. 1379, p. 407 on *śāntika-paustikāni* is the same subject that is treated in *vrata-khaṇḍa* pp. 1003ff., though there are considerable variations between the Ms. and the printed text.

Hemādri's is a standard work on the subjects with which he deals. He quotes most profusely from *smṛtis* and *purāṇas* and names a host of writers. He appears to have been a profound student of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*. The discussions in his work, particularly on *śrāddha* and *kāla*, cannot be well understood without thorough acquaintance with the numerous *nyāyas* of the *mīmāṃsā*

838 *सृष्ट्यानि चारिष्यन्तदानतीर्थमोक्षाभिधानि क्रमशो भवन्ति । यत्तद्वचनं तत्परिशेषसृष्ट्य-  
मसृष्टिद्वयो यत्र विभाति धर्मः ॥ चतुर्वर्गः* vol. II, part I verse 16; *सृष्ट्यैवतुर्भि-  
न्नेतदानतीर्थमोक्षाभिधेर्वर्गचतुष्कमुक्त्वा । विरच्यते तत्परिशिष्टस्तुव्यावर्णनार्थं परिशेष-  
सृष्ट्यम् ॥* vol. III, part I verse 25.

839 *तत्रादौ देवताकाण्डं नतः कालविनिर्णयः । विषाकः कर्मणां पञ्चाङ्गशृङ्खलानां समुच्चयः ॥  
महाप्रकरणानीह चत्वार्येतान्यनुक्रमान् ॥ चतुर्वर्गः* III, 2, verse 26.

840 It begins 'अथेदानीं हेमाद्रिकारेण लोकोपकारार्थं &c. '.

which he employs at every step. To illustrate this a few instances may be cited at random. On pp. 137, 143, 156, 159, of his *kāla-nirṇaya* ( vol. III part 2 ) he makes use of four different *nyāyas* of the *mināntarā*.<sup>841</sup> The eminent commentators and *nibandhakāras* on *dharmaśāstra* and other works named by him are given below.<sup>842</sup> It is somewhat remarkable that though he quotes *Aparārka* and the *Smṛti-candrikā* scores of times he hardly ever mentions by name the *Mitākṣarā* of *Vijñāneśvara*. Though he does not promise a treatment of *vyavahāra*, here and there he makes sallies into the domain of *vyavahāra*. For example, he quotes the well-known *sūtra* of *Gautama* ( 10. 39 ) on the sources of ownership and holds a lengthy discussion thereon.<sup>843</sup> In another place he digresses into the question of the various kinds of *strīdhana* and their devolution ( vol. III, part 1, pp. 530-531 ). He was of opinion that everyone, to whatever *śakha* he may belong, should perform *śrāddha* in accordance with the directions thereon in all *śakhas*, *kalpa* and *grhya* *sūtras*, *smṛtis*, *purāṇas* and usages.<sup>844</sup> He makes the important

841 तेन ज्योतिष्टोमद्विद्वद्-एकस्य तृभयान् संयोगपृथक्त्वमिति न्यायेन नित्यत्वमपि स्वीक्रियते । p. 137 ; this refers to जैमिनि IV. 3. 5-7 : भोजनप्रतिषेधस्य नित्यजन्माहर्मीव्रत-स्तुत्यर्था वेदितव्या ( applying the *nyāya* based on न पृथग्ययामिष्येतस्य : ) p. 143 ; this refers to जैमिनि I. 2. 5 and 18 and आपरमाख्य thereon ; 'पुरोडाशं चतुर्धा करोति आप्ते चतुर्धा करोति' p. 156 ( this is उपसंहारन्याय is जै. III. 1. 26-27 ) : यानि पुनर्वाक्यानि व्रतशब्दवन्ति दृश्यन्ते तानि न निषेधपराणि नोद्यन्त-मादित्यं वीक्षतेतिवत् । p. 159 ( this is पर्युदास ).

842 अपरार्क ( very frequently ). आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्रभाष्य, कर्कोणभाष्य ( frequently quoted ), गोविन्दराज, गोविन्दोपाध्याय, त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, देवस्वामी ( frequently ), निर्णयामृत, न्यायमञ्जरी, पण्डितपरितोष, पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय, बृहत्कथा, बृहद्भारत, भयदेव, मदननिर्णय, मधुसूता, मेधातिथि, वामदेव, विशिल, विष्णुकाश, विष्णुरूप, विष्णुदर्श, शङ्कर ( very frequently ), शम्भु, बृहद्भारतपञ्चाङ्गकार, शिवदत्त, श्रीधर, सोम-दत्त, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका ( very frequently ), स्मृतिप्रदीप, स्मृतिमहापर्वप्रकाश ( or स्मृति-महापर्व or महापर्व very often ), स्मृत्यर्थसार, हरिहर ( very frequently ).

843 चतुर्वर्ग. vol. III, part 1, p. 525 where he says 'स्वामिसंबन्धेनैव निमित्तेन बन्ध-दीर्घं द्रव्यमन्यस्य संभवति ( स्वं भवति ! ) स दायः । ' ; here evidently he has in view the मिताक्षरा.

844 सर्वशास्त्राण्यसकल्यसूत्रस्मृतिपुराणेतिहासाचारावगतधर्ममाप्रयुक्तमेव सर्वैः श्राद्धं कर्तव्यमिति स्थितम् । चतुर्वर्ग. III. 1. p. 753. The discussion is started on p. 748.

statement<sup>845</sup> that a person following any particular Vedic śākhā may enter into alliance by marriage with any other person of the same country following another Vedic śākhā.

Hemādri gives some account of himself in his work. The Mss. present great variations from the printed text. He belonged to the Vatsagotra.<sup>846</sup> He was the grandson of Vasudeva and the son of Kāmadeva. The introductions to the *khaṇḍas* contains fulsome praise of Hemādri. One verse says that Hemādri scored out by showering wealth on poor people the lines that Brahmā had drawn on their forehead at the time of their birth (foredooming them to eternal poverty) and that Brahmā acquiesces in such conduct of Hemādri.<sup>847</sup> Another verse says that none existed, exists or will exist surpassing Hemādri.<sup>848</sup> He describes himself as in charge of the imperial records of Mahādeva, the Yādava king of Devagiri (modern Daulatabad).<sup>849</sup> In the colophons and the body of the work also he is described as the *karayādhitvāra* of Mahādeva, as highly honoured by the king and as a minister (*mantrin*) of the king.<sup>850</sup> He gives in the introduction to the *Vratakhanda* a detailed pedigree of the Yādavas of Devagiri. In the section on *kāla* (vol. III, part 2) he starts with *Saṅghaṇa* (i. e. *Singhaṇa*

845 आयावर्तेषु च समानदेशवासिनां नानाशास्त्राध्यायिनामप्युपलभ्यन्त एव परस्परमनवगीय-  
मानाः सर्वतो विवाहसंयन्धाः । ... अतो न कन्यादाने नापि हविर्दाने स्वशास्त्रीयद्विज-  
निवम इति सिद्धम् । vol. III. I. p. 381.

846 तेष्वामेव शिरोमणिर्विजयते विन्वामिधानो मुनिः ॥ गोत्रे तस्य बभूव निर्मलगुणश्रेणीभृता-  
मग्रणीर्विद्याचारविषेकपिकमनिधिः श्रीवासुदेवः कृती । verses 1 and 2 of vol. III. I.  
The D. C. ms. No. 312 of 1884-87 reads वत्सामिधानो मुनिः and it  
appears that विन्वामिधानो of the printed text is a mistake.

847 लिपिं विद्यान्त्रा लिखितां जनस्य भाले विभुस्या परिभूय दुष्टम् । कस्याणिनीमेव लिख-  
त्यथेतां चित्रं प्रमाणिकुलो विधिम् ॥ vol. I. verse 15 ; vol. III. I. verse 17.

848 नैवास्मिन् च वर्तते न भविता हेमाद्रिसूरः परः । vol. I. verse 20, vol. III. I. verse 22.

849 अस्ति शस्तगुणस्तोमः सोमवंशविभूषणम् । महादेव इति ख्यातो राजराजेव भूतले ॥  
... तस्यास्ति नाम हेमाद्रिः सर्वश्रीकरणप्रभुः । निजोदारतया यश्च सर्वश्रीकरणप्रभुः ॥  
vol. I. verses 6 and 13. करण means a document. श्रीकरण may also mean  
' writing the word śrī ' ( on official documents ).

850 The colophon is श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमहादेवस्य समस्तकरणाधीश्वरः ॐ महादेव-  
महोपाध्यायः हेमाद्रिरादरात् । करोति निपुणं पुण्यमनोकरवनिर्णयम् ॥ vol. III. I.  
p. 1312.



of the inscriptions), then speaks of his son Jaitrapāla (i. e. Jaitugi), his son Kṛṣṇa (or Kanhara) and lastly of Mahādeva, son of the younger brother of Kṛṣṇa. This is not the place to go into the genealogy of the Yādavas. There are some discrepancies between the genealogy as presented by Hemādri and as gathered from the inscriptions and numerous copperplate grants of the Yādavas. *Vide* Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, part 2, pp. 248-249 for Hemādri and pp. 268-275 for extracts from the Vratakhṇḍa, pp. 252 and 519 for two pedigrees of the Devagiri Yādavas and pp. 511-534 for history. The following may be consulted for the principal grants of the Yādavas :-- Ind. Ant. vol. 17, p. 117 (Kalasbudruk plate of Bhīllama dated *śake* 948 or 1025 A. D.), E. I. vol. III p. 110 (Bahal inscription of Singhana dated *śake* 1144), E. I. vol. III p. 217-18 (Gadag inscription of Bhīllama dated *śake* 1113 i. e. 1191 A. D.), Ind. Ant. vol. 14, p. 68 (grant of Kṛṣṇa or Kanhara dated 1249-50 A. D.), Ind. Ant. vol. 14, p. 314 (Paithan plate of Rāmacandra dated *śake* 1193), E. I. vol. XIII, p. 198 (Thana plate of Rāmacandra dated *śake* 1194 i. e. 1272 A. D.), E. I. vol. XIX, p. 20 (Mamdapur inscription of Kanhara dated *śake* 1172 i. e. 1250 A. D. wherein his younger brother Mahādeva is described as *yuvarāja*). Mahādeva reigned from 1260 to 1271 and Rāmacandra, the son of Kṛṣṇa, from 1271 to 1309 A. D. Since in the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* Hemādri is said to be the keeper of the state records of Mahādeva, that work must have been composed at some time between 1260 and 1270 A. D. There are contemporary records available showing that Hemādri was in high favour not only with Mahādeva but also with his successor Rāmacandra. The Thana plate of Rāmacandra (dated *śake* 1194, i. e. 1272 A. D.) records the grant of a village called Vaul in Sāsāṭi (modern Sāsṭi in the Thana District) to thirty-two brāhmanas by Acyuta Nāyaka of the Gautama gotra and descendant of Jalhana, who was the governor of Konkan, and describes<sup>851</sup> Hemādri as one who had attained a pre-eminent position in the government through the favour of Rāmacandra and as one who was in charge of all (state) records and was the foremost minister.

851 इत्यादिसमस्तविरुदाधलिपिराजमाने सकलभूवलयमनुशासति यदकुलकुमुदचन्द्रे श्रीराम-  
चन्द्रनेन्द्रे तथैतत्सदावाप्तिसिलराज्यधुरीणतां वहति समस्तहस्तिपकाभ्यक्षे ...  
समस्तकरणाधिपत्यमङ्गिकुर्वाणि च निर्मितसिद्धिमण्डले मन्त्रिचूडामणो गुणरत्नोद्भाटो  
हेमाद्रौ &c. E. I. vol. XIII at p. 202.

Hemādri is credited with a commentary on Śaunaka's *Pranava-kalpa*.<sup>852</sup> He appears to have written a *śrāddha-kalpa* according to the rules of Kātyāyana which is distinct from his *Śrāddhakhaṇḍa* (vide Calcutta Sanskrit College mss. cat., vol. II, p. 163, No. 217 and Stein's cat. p. 105). Hemādri also wrote a commentary<sup>853</sup> called *Kaivalyadīpikā* on the *Muktāphala* of Vopadeva, the famous author of the *Mugdhabodha* grammar. The *Muktāphala* embodies the philosophy of the *Bhāgavata* purāṇa in 19 adhyāyas and 784 verses (and a few lines in prose in 5th and 6th chapters). Vopadeva was a friend and protegee of Hemādri, who wrote several works at the encouragement of the latter. He says that he wrote the *Harilīlā* (published in the Calcutta Oriental Series No. 3), an index of the *Bhāgavata* for pleasing the minister Hemādri.<sup>854</sup> There is a commentary on this work called *Viveka* with which both Hemādri and Madhusūdana-Sarasvatī had something to do.<sup>855</sup> Hemādri also wrote a commentary called *Āyurvedarasayāṇa* on the *Aṣṭāṅgharḍaya* of Vāgbhaṭa.

852 I. O. cat. p. 594 No. 1808.

853 टीका मुक्ताफलस्यैव नाम्ना केवल्यदीपिकाम् । हेमाद्रिः कटके चक्रे कामराजस्य ( ! रामराजस्य ) वेश्मनि ॥ इति श्रीमत्प्रोक्तप्रत्यक्षवर्त्मिन्महाराजाधिराजसोमवरोद्भव-  
रामराजमन्त्रिवर्यहेमाद्रिदेवचिन्ता मुक्ताफलटीका समाप्ता । Mitra's Notices, vol. IV, pp. 67-68 No. 1466. The मुक्ताफल with the com. of हेमाद्रि has been published in the Calcutta Oriental Series No. 5 (1920). This edition reads रामराजस्य.

854 श्रीमद्भागवतस्कन्धाध्यायाध्यादि निरूप्यते । विदुषा वेषदेवेन मन्त्रिहेमाद्रितुहये ॥ ms. in Bhadkamkar collection; the last verse is यस्य व्याकरणे वेषवपटनाः स्फीताः पञ्चधा दश प्रसृता नव वेषकेषु तिथिनिर्धारधमेकोद्भूतः । साहित्ये प्रप एव भागवत-  
तत्त्वोक्तौ त्रयस्तस्य च भूमीर्वाणशिरोमणेर्हि गुणः के के न लोकोत्तराः ॥ This verse occurs at the end of the मुक्ताफल also.

855 The ms. in the Bhadkamkar collection folio 5 has 'इति श्री हरिलीलया मधु-  
सूदनसरस्वतीनिर्मिते प्रथमस्कन्धाविवरणम्'. A ms. in the Bombay Asiatic Society Library ascribes the com. to हेमाद्रि and says मधुसूदनसरस्वती saw it through 'हरिलीलयाविवेकोयं रामराजस्य वेश्मनि । कटके रचयाचक्रे तुष्टये हेमा-  
द्रिणा समाप्तम् ॥ सरस्वतीश्रीमधुसूदनेन निर्व्यूढमेतद्बुधमोदनेन । जनः समस्तोपि रसा-  
यनन ब्रजेशभक्तिं ब्रजतदनेन ॥' (BBRAS. cat. p. 329 No. 1157).

Altogether Hemādri was a towering personality. His name is associated throughout the Maratha Country with the construction of numerous temples having a peculiar style of architecture. He is also credited with having invented the Modī script. Within a few decades his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, particularly its *dāna* and *vrata* sections, came to be looked upon as the standard work in the whole of the Deccan and southern India. Madhava in his *Kalanirṇaya* (p. 67) expressly mentions the *Vratakhṇḍa* of Hemādri as an authority. This work was composed about 1340 A. D. In an inscription of Bhāskara *alias* Bhavadūra, son of Bukka I, dated *śaka* 1291 (i. e. 1369 A. D.) the king is described as making various gifts following the composition of Hemādri.<sup>856</sup> This is obviously a reference to his *dānakhaṇḍa* and establishes that long before 1369 A. D. Hemādri had become a standard author in the Telugu country. The Vanapalli plate of Anna-Vema dated *śaka* 1300 (about 1380 A. D.) describes Vema as giving the various gifts in Hemādri and his son as one who observed the *vratas* and *dānas*<sup>857</sup> described by Hemādri. Pedda-Komaṭi-Vema is described in a grant of *śaka* 1344 as eager in bestowing gifts described in the rules of Hemādri.<sup>858</sup> Hemādri is quoted in the *Madanapārijāta*,<sup>859</sup> the *Dvaitanirṇaya* of Śankarabhaṭṭa, the *Nirṇayasindhu* and other works.

### 88. Kullūkabhaṭṭa

Kullūka's commentary on the *Manusmṛti* styled the *Manvarthamuktāvali* is the most famous of all commentaries on *Manu*. It has been printed several times. In the following the *Nirṇayasāgara* edition of 1909 has been relied upon. Kullūka's commentary is concise and lucid and his remarks are always to the point. He avoids all unnecessary discussions and is never prolix. He was not however original. He drew upon the commentaries of Medhātithi and Govindarāja and incorporated a great deal from them

856 हेमाद्रिकृतिमार्गेण कुर्वन्दानान्यनेकराः । E. I. vol. XIV p. 102.

857 हेमाद्रिदानान्यकरोद्देशेपाण्यमुक्त्वा भूमिं द्विजमुकरोषाम् । and हेमाद्रिदानमाली. Vide E. I. vol. III, pp. 59 and 61.

858 हेमाद्रिकलोदितदानद्वयः । E. I. vol. XI. p. 325.

859 ये तु षट्त्रिंशत्तमेऽपि विचिकित्सन्ते तेषामपराधविज्ञानेऽन्तर्यामिकाकारहेमाद्रिप्रभृतयः प्रति-  
भटीकलंभ्याः । मद्भनपारिजात p. 536.

into his own work without acknowledgment. For example, on Manu XI. 95 he simply summarises the remarks<sup>860</sup> of Govindarāja and cites only one out of the several quotations that are found in Govindarāja's Manu-ṭīkā. He severely criticizes both Medhātithi and Govindarāja, particularly the latter. He frequently pours ridicule on the latter (vide note 713 above). At the end of his commentary he says<sup>861</sup> that Medhātithi's skill lay in expounding what texts were authoritative and of substance and what were not so, Govindarāja in concise words explained the hidden meaning of the brief text (of Manu), while Dharaṇidhara had his own method of explanation which was independent of previous tradition; and therefore he undertook to write a commentary that would clearly set forth the real meaning of Manu. He was very proud of his achievement and says that neither Medhātithi nor Govindarāja nor other commentators explained in the way he did and that explanatory material like his would be difficult to find elsewhere.<sup>862</sup> He notices the explanations of Medhātithi and Govindarāja hundreds of times, discusses various readings and his commentary deserves to a considerable extent the eulogy pronounced by Sir William Jones<sup>863</sup> "At length appeared Cullūca Bhaṭṭa, who, after a painful course of

860 'पुंस एव ब्राह्मणस्य मयाप्रतिषेधो न स्त्रिया इत्याहुस्तदस्य। सुरालशुन ... जम्भस्याणि स्युः ब्राह्मणी सुरापी भवति नैवा देवाः पतिलोकं नयन्ति इहैव सा दुर्मतिः स्त्रीण्यप्यस्या अप्सु जलोद्भवति शुक्तिका वा पतिलोकं न सा याति ... इति शङ्खवसिष्ठयाज्ञवल्क्ये-  
र्ब्राह्मण्या अवि निषेधस्मरणत् । गोविन्दराज ०० मनु XI. 95; 'अत्र केचित् ... ब्राह्मणस्य पुंस एव मयाप्रतिषेधो न स्त्रिया इत्याहुस्तदस्य पतिलोकं न सा याति ... छकरी चोपजायते इति याज्ञवल्क्यादिस्मृतिविशेषात् ।' कुल्लूक.

861 सारसारावचनपञ्चनविधौ मेधातिथेऽप्यातुरी स्तोकं वस्तु निगूढमल्पवचनाद्गोविन्दराजो जगौ । ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन्धरणीधरस्य बहुशः स्वातन्त्र्यमेतावता स्पष्टं मानवमर्थतत्त्वमखिलं वक्तुं रुतोर्यं धमः ॥. Vide his remarks about धरणीधर ०० मनु II. 83 and IV. 50  
'धरणीधरेण तु एकाक्षरपरं ब्रह्म प्राणायामपरं तपः इति पठितं ... मेधातिथिप्रभृति-  
भिर्वैद्वेदालिङ्गितं यतः स्मिन्नायातामन्तरं तत्र स्वतन्त्रो धरणीधरः' and वररूपीयमान्नायं  
हित्वा विद्वद्विरादृतम् । पाठान्तरं व्यरचयन्मुधेह धरणीधरः ॥.'

862 शायमिसे बहुमुनिमतालोचनायन्मयोक्तं सवृत्त्याख्यातं सलु मुनिगिरां तद्गजम्बं गुणज्ञाः ।  
नैतन्नेर्धातधिरभिदधे नापि गोविन्दराजो व्याख्यातारो न जगुःपरैर्व्यन्यतो दुर्लभं वः ॥  
last verse of chap. XI.

863 Vide Pedda Ramappa v Bangari Seshamma I. L. R. 2 Mad. 286 at p. 291.

study and the collation of numerous manuscripts, produced a work of which it may perhaps be said very truly that it is the shortest yet the most luminous, the least ostentatious yet the most learned, the deepest yet the most agreeable, commentary ever composed on any author, ancient or modern."

Among the authors and works quoted by him (besides the usual *smṛtis*) are the following:—Garga (on II. 6), Govindarāja, Dharaṇidhara, Bhāskara (bhāṣyakāra of the Vedāntasūtras, on I. 8 and 15), Bhojadeva (on VIII. 184), Medhātithi, Vāmana (author of the *Kaśikā*), Bhaṭṭavārtika-kṛt (on XII. 106), Viśvarūpa (the commentator of Yājñavalkya, on II. 189 and V. 68). The Viśvarūpa that he quotes on Manu V. 215 is the lexicographer and not the jurist as Aufrecht (in his great catalogue) appears to hold.

He gives us a little information about himself in the introductory verse.<sup>864</sup> He came of a Varendra Brāhmaṇa family of Bengal (Gauḍa) residing in Nandana and was the son of Bhaṭṭa Divākara. He wrote his commentary in Kaśī in the company of *Pandits*. On Manu VI. 14 he mentions the names of certain vegetables that were current in Malwa and among the Vāhikas.<sup>865</sup>

It appears that Kullūka also composed a digest called *Smṛti-sāgara*. A Ms. of a portion of it called *Śrāddhasāgara* exists in the Calcutta Sanskrit College (cat. vol. II. p. 405, No. 446). In this his *Āśauca-sāgara* and *Vivādasāgara* are referred to.

I secured a transcript of the ms. of the *Śrāddhasāgara* in the Calcutta Sanskrit College through the kindness of the Principal. The *Śrāddhasāgara* deals with the following subjects:—definition of *śrāddha*; whether it is of the nature of *yāga*, *dāna* and *homa*; various kinds of *śrāddhas* such as *nitya*, *naimittika* &c.; the proper and improper places for *śrāddha*; the proper times for *śrāddha*; *Aṣṭakā-śrāddha*; *śūdras* can perform *aṣṭakā* and other *śrāddhas*; intercalary month; who are *pañkti-pāvana brāhmaṇas*; meaning of

864 गौडो नन्दनवासिनाग्निं सुजनैर्वन्द्यो धरेन्द्रा कुले श्रीमद्भट्टादिकाकरस्य तनयः कुल्लुकभट्टो-  
भवत् । काश्यामुत्तरवाहिजहुनन्यातीरे समं पण्डितैस्तेनेयं क्रियते इतिाय विदुषा मननार्थ-  
मुकायली ॥

865 मूस्तृणं मातृवदेशे प्रसिद्धं शाकं शिबुकं वाहीकेषु प्रसिद्धं शाकम् ।  
H. D. 46.

nimantraṇa and āmantraṇa; the number of brāhmaṇas to be invited; the *darbhās*; śrāddhadevatās; the sacred thread etc.

The Śrāddhasāgara is full of Pūrvamīmāṃsā discussions. The author says that he wrote it and the other two works ( Vivādasāgara and Āśaucasāgara ) at the order of his father. He quotes profusely from the Mahābhārata, the Mahāpurāṇas and Upapurāṇas and from the dharmaśāstras and metrical smṛtis. He names the Kalpataru oftener than any other *nibandhakāra*. The other authors and works named are: Bhojadeva, Halāyudha ( probably the author of Prakāśa on the Śrāddhakalpasūtra of Kātyāyana ), Jikana, Kāmadhenu, Medhātithi, Śaṅkhaadhara. In one place we have a reference to Prabhākara and Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa ( on Kāla and Kāma being devatās ) and in another place to Gauḍa-Maithila-Mayukhabhaṭṭaḥ ( which are probably marginal notes creeping into the ms. or refer to authors other than the well-known ones ). He refers to the opinion of his own *guru* in opposition to that of the Kalpataru.

The date of Kullūka cannot be settled with certainty. Bühler held that he lived probably in the 15th century ( S. B. E. vol. xxv. p. cxxx1 ). Ghose ( Hindu Law, 3rd edition p. XVI ) and M. M. Chakravarti ( JASB 1915, p. 345 ) are of the same opinion. In I. L. R. 48 Cal. 643 Sir Asutosh Mukerji places Kullūka in the 15th century ( at p. 688 ). As Kullūka mentions Bhojadeva, Govindarāja, Kalpataru and Halāyudha he is certainly later than 1150 A. D. Raghunandana<sup>866</sup> in his Dayatattva and Vyavaharatattva, and Vardhamāna in his Daṇḍaviveka frequently mention his views. Śrinātha's com. on the Dayabhaga refutes the view of Kullūka. The Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī of Govindananda refers to Kullūka's explanation of the word ' ākāṅkṣan ' as ' Vikṣamāṇaḥ ' in Manu III. 258. The Rājanīti-ratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara quotes the explanation of Kullūka.<sup>867</sup> Therefore Kullūka must have flourished before 1300

866 एको दुष्कृतस्तु साक्षी स्यादिति कुल्लूकमहोपाध्यायः, एको दुष्कृतस्तुसाक्षी स्यादिति जीमूतवाहिनोपाध्यायस्तु न युक्तः । व्यवहारतत्त्व ( vol. II, p. 213 ) ; समीक्षा: समभागा एव भवेत्पुनोद्धारः कस्त्वपिद् देय इति कुल्लूकमहोः । दायतत्त्व ( vol. II, p. 193 ).

867 अत एव कुल्लूकमहोः-राजनीतिरपि नाम क्षत्रियजातिपरः किं तन्मिषिकजनपदपालयितृ-पुरुषपरः । राजनीतिरत्नाकर ( ed. by Mr. Jayasval, 1924 ) p. 2. These are the words of कुल्लूक on मनु 7. 1.



A. D. Kullūka in his by no means small work nowhere refers to the *Dayabhāga*, though he himself came of a Bengal family. This silence is explicable in two ways. As we have seen, Kullūka wrote in Kāśī and not in Bengal. Therefore if he flourished not long after *Jīmūtavāhana*, it is quite natural that writing in Benares he had not heard of the *Dayabhāga* or read it. It has been shown above that *Jīmūtavāhana* probably wrote about 1100-1150 A. D. Therefore Kullūka flourished between 1150 and 1300 A. D. and probably wrote about 1250 A. D. M. M. Chakravarti is not sure as to how early Kullūka flourished but opines that he could not have flourished later than the first quarter of the 15th century (JASB 1915, p. 345 n. 1).

### 89. *Śrīdatta Upādhyāya*

Mithilā has made extremely valuable and substantial contributions to Dharmaśāstra Literature. From the days of the *Yājñavalkya* *smṛti* down to modern times the land of Mithilā has produced writers whose names are illustrious. *Śrīdatta Upādhyāya* is one of the earliest among the mediaeval Maithilā *nibandhakaras*. He is the author of several works which will be briefly noticed.

The *Ācārādarsa* of *Śrīdatta* was printed in Benaras at the Divakara Press and by the Venkatesvara Press in Bombay in *samvat* 1961. It is a manual of the daily religious duties of the followers of the white *Yajurveda* (*Vājasaneyins*),<sup>868</sup> such as *ācamana*, brushing the teeth, morning bath, *sandhya*, *japa*, *brahmayajña*, *tarpaya*, daily worship of gods, *vaiśvadeva*, feeding guests etc. Among the works and writers named are the following<sup>869</sup>:—*Ācāra-cintāmaṇi*, *Kalpataru*, *Kāmadhenu*, *Kālikāpurāṇa*, *Gaṇeśamīśra*, *Rāja* (probably *Bhojadeva*), *Smṛtimahārṇava*, *Harihara* and *Halāyudha-nibandha*. There is a commentary on this work called *Ācārādarsābodhini*

868 अहोरात्राश्रितो धर्म इह वाजसनेयिनाम् । निवस्यते निवद्मो यो धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धुभिः ॥

2nd intro. verse in D. C. Ms. No. 342 of 1875-76: समूलवचनाभोगो मीमांसान्यायनिर्मलः । श्रीदत्तेन सत्तामेष आचारे दर्पणः स्तुतः ॥

869 Vide for *गणेशमिश्र* and *राजा* 'अशिरस्कं मार्जवमिति गणेशमिश्राः' folio 15 b of *आचारादर्श* (D. C. Ms. No. 342 of 1875-76) ; 'इति राजादलिखितं मैत्रायणीयसूत्र-परिशिष्टवचनं न प्रमाणमित्याहुः' folio 26 a ; 'इदं च बोधायनवाक्यं राजादलिखितमपि बहुजनसंमतत्वालिखितम् ।' folio 29 a.



composed by Gaurīpati or Gaurīśa, son of Dāmodara Maithilā, at Benaras in 1640 A. D (Dr. Bhandarkar's report, 1883-84, p. 347). In this work he uses several vernacular words; e. g. he says that 'Śāla' tree is known as Sagavana<sup>870</sup> (in the vernacular).

Another work of his is the Chandogāhnika on the daily duties for Sāmavedins. He refers to it in his Samayapradīpa<sup>871</sup> and Pitr̥bhakti. A supplement to it named Chandogāhnikoddhāra was written by Śaṅkaramiśra, son of Bhavanāthamiśra (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI p. 10, No. 1989).

The Pitr̥bhakti is a manual on the śrāddha rites for students of the Yajurveda. It was based<sup>872</sup> on the Kātyākalka with Karka's bhāṣya thereon and on the works of Gopāla and Bhūpāla (i. e. Bhojadeva). It is frequently quoted in the Śrāddhaviṇeka of Rudradhara. Among the writers named are (besides those that occur in the Ācārādarsa also): Pitr̥hitakaraṇikāra, Nārāyaṇavṛtti (on Āśvalāyana Gr. S.), Mitrākṣarā, Ratnakaraṇḍīkā, Vidhipuṣpamālā (26 a), Śubhākara, Smṛtīmāñjarī, Smṛtīmāñjūṣā, Halāyudha's Śrāddhādhyāya. This work first treats of the details of the *Parvāṇaśrāddha*, then of *ekoddiṣṭa*, of the monthly śrāddhas, the śrāddha on the 11th day after death, of *Sapindikarāṇa*, of *ābhyudayika śrāddha*. It then proceeds to consider the definition of śrāddha.

The Śrāddhakalpa was composed by him for the Sāmavedins. It is referred to in his Samayapradīpa<sup>873</sup> and Pitr̥bhakti (folio 33b)

The Samayapradīpa treats of the proper times for various *vrata*s.<sup>874</sup> It is divided into three chapters (*paricchedas*). The

870 'शालवृक्षः समवन इति प्रसिद्धः' folio 9 b of the आचारादर्श. Compare Marathi 'सागवान.'

871 'उक्तमस्मानिराहितिके' folio 53a of समयप्रदीप D. C. Ms. No. 371 of 1875-76; 'न च सपत्नीकानामिति प्रपञ्चितमस्मानिच्छन्दोगश्राद्धकल्पे' पितृभक्ति folio 24 a.

872 कालीयकल्पं सहस्रकर्मभाष्यं गोपालभूपालमलादि दृष्ट्वा । सतां च वाच्यानि निशाम्य सम्यग्-मनुविद्वां श्राद्धविधिं विधास्ये ॥ first verse of पितृभक्ति (D. C. Ms. No 152 of 1892-95).

873 'निर्णीतमस्मानिः श्राद्धकल्पे' समयप्रदीप folio 49 a (D. C. Ms. No. 371 of 1875-76).

874 श्रीदत्तेन व्रतादीनां सारमाहृत्य लिख्यते । verse 2 of समयप्रदीप.

first is called *Samayaparicheda* and dilates upon the definition of *vrata*, on the procedure about fasts, *nakta* and the *vratas* of Ganeśa and other deities, the second is called *Sarivatsara-kṛtya-pariccheda* and treats of *vratas* from the *pratipadā* to the *amāvāsyā* in the several months and the third is called *prakīṛṇaka* ( miscellaneous ) dealing with the *vratas* on *saṅkrānti* ( the Sun's passage into another Zodiacal sign ) etc. In this work Śrīdatta often refers to the views of the Gauḍas and contrasts them with his own. He also refers to Gauḍanibandha. No other writers or works except those that are already enumerated under Ācārādarśa and Piṭṛbhakti are named in this work. On folio 7a there is a name which is somewhat indistinct and appears to be 'Mitāmitrādibhiḥ'. The *Samayapradīpa* is mentioned in the *Kṛtya-ratnākara* ( pp. 400, 479, 505 ) of Caṇḍeśvara and in Śalapāṇi's *Durgotsava-viveka*.<sup>875</sup> Śrīdatta is more frequently quoted in the *Śrāddhakriyakaumudī* of Govindānanda than almost any other author or work.

As Śrīdatta names the Kalpataru, Harihara and Halāyudha's work on Śrāddha he must have flourished later than 1200 A. D. As Caṇḍeśvara mentions his *Samayapradīpa*, Śrīdatta must have flourished before the first quarter of the 14th century. If Gaṇeśamiśra mentioned in the *Ācārādarśa* be the same as Gaṇeśvaramiśra, the author of *Sugatisopāna* and uncle of Caṇḍeśvara ( which appears extremely probable ), then Śrīdatta flourished a short time before Caṇḍeśvara and must have composed his works between 1275 and 1310 A. D.

It appears that there was another Maithila writer called Śrīdattamiśra, son of Nāgeśvaramiśra, who composed the *Ekāgnidāna-paddhati* and one or two other works ( Hp. Nepal cat. p. 129 ). The Nepal Ms. of the *Ekāgnidāna-paddhati* was copied in La-Sam 299 ( Lakṣmanasena era 299, i. e. 1418 A. D. ). Vide Hp. Nepal cat. XII, 45 and 129. So this Śrīdatta flourished towards the end of the 14th century in the reign of Devasiṃha son of Bhaveśa. Vide JASB for 1915 pp. 379-381 and 388-390 for Śrīdatta.

875 समीपहृदिदानमाह श्रीदत्तोपाध्यायकृतसमयप्रदीपे भविष्यपुराणम् । दुर्गोत्सवविवेक  
p. 21 ( Calcutta Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad ed. ).

## 90. Candēśvara

Candēśvara is the most prominent figure among Maithilā *nibandhakāras* on Dharmaśāstra. He compiled an extensive digest called *Smṛtiratnākara* or simply *Ratnākara*. This digest was divided into seven sections viz., on *kṛtya*, *dāna*, *vyavahāra*, *śuddhi*, *pūjā*, *vivāda* and *grhastha*.<sup>876</sup> Out of these the *Vivādaratnākara* dealing with *dāyabhāga* and the other titles of law (*vyavahārapadas*) has been printed in the B. I. series and has been translated into English by Mr. G. C. Sarkar and by Mr. Justice Digambara Chatterjee. The *Vivādaratnākara* of Candēśvara and the *Vivādacintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati are of paramount authority in matters of Hindu Law in Mithilā (modern Tirhut) so far as British Indian Courts are concerned.<sup>877</sup>

The *Kṛtya-ratnākara* deals in 22 *tarāṅgas* with the discussion of *Dharma* ( its real nature, its rewards, means of knowing it and the occasions for it ), the various *vratas* and observances in the several months from *Caitra*, the observances in the intercalary month, various *vratas* on the several days of the week, the Sun's passage into a new sign, eclipse on the new-moon day etc. This work is referred to in his *Dānaratnākara*, which in its turn is quoted in the *Grhastha-ratnākara*.<sup>878</sup> The work has recently been printed in the B. I. series (1925).

The *Grhastharatnākara* is a very extensive work in 68 *tarāṅgas* on the duties of householders. The Deccan College Ms. that I could consult is incomplete, has only folios 30, 72-133 and contains the last 23 *tarāṅgas* only. Some of the subjects dealt with are :— from whom gifts were to be accepted by *grhasthas*; duties and

876 श्रीकृत्यदानव्यवहारसुद्धिपूजाविवाहेषु गृहधरकृत्ये । एताकरा धर्मसुरो नियन्त्राः कृतास्तुला-  
पुरुषदेन सह ॥ verse towards the end of the *विवाहएताकरा*; last verse of *दान-  
एताकरा* ( D. C. Ms. No. 114 of 1884-85, where we have धर्मसु ये नियन्त्राः  
कृताः श्रीचण्डीश्वरमन्त्रिणा ते )

877 *Vide* 11 Moo. I. A. 139 at p. 174; I. L. R. 20 All. 367 ( P. C. ) at p. 390;  
I. L. R. 10 Cal 392 at p. 399; I. L. R. 12 Cal. 348 at p. 351.

878 अथोक्तमपि यद्दानं कृत्यएताकरे पुनः । मासादिकृत्यसामस्यं गौरवासदुदीरितम् ॥  
Intro. verse in *दानएताकरा* ( D. C. Ms. No. 114 of 1884-85 ); अस्तमयतिमह-  
आम्बस्मानिर्गन्ताकरे देयदेयतरङ्गे श्रद्धाः । गृहधरएताकर folio 76 a.

actions proper for Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras; the observances of a *snātaka*; *yama* and *niyama*; *śauca*; the observances of *brāhmacarya*; what ruins families; proper abode for a *gṛhastha*; what a *gṛhastha* should or should not speak or should or should not see; things not to be given to *śūdras*; the avoidance of anger, adultery and intermixture of castes (*saṁkara*); requiring of debts etc.

The *Dānaratnākara* contains 29 *tarāṅgas* and deals with the following subjects:—meaning of *dāna*; what may or may not be gifted; fit objects of charity; the gifts called *mahādānas*; gifts of a thousand cows and heaps of corn; various gifts, such as those of food, books; gifts appropriate to certain months, *nakṣatras* and *tithis*; miscellaneous gifts; dedication of wells and tanks for public use; planting of trees.

The *Vivādaratnākara* is an extensive work (671 pages in print) in 100 *tarāṅgas* on civil and criminal law and deals with the 18 titles of law such as *dāyabhāga* (on partition and inheritance), *ṛṇādāna* (recovery of debts) and others. It formed the basis of the *Vivādacandra* of Miśarumiśra, the *Vivāda-cintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati and the *Daṇḍaviveka* of Vardhamāna. It is mentioned in his own *Gṛhastharatnākara*.<sup>879</sup>

The *Vyavahāraratnākara* deals with judicial procedure, such as the plaint, the reply, the burden of proof, means of proof, judgment etc. Vide Mitra's notices, vol. VI. p. 66, No. 2036.

The *Śūdhiratnākara* is in 34 *tarāṅgas* and deals with impurity on birth and death, persons who have to observe no *śauca*, meaning of *sapinda*, rites on death up to the end of the period of mourning, purifications of food and various substances. Vide Mitra's Notices, vol. VII. p. 149, No. 2384 and I. O. cat. p. 412, No. 1389.

For the *Pūjāratnākara*, vide Mitra's Notices, vol. III, p. 162, No. 2398. That work is mentioned by Raghunandana in the *Suddhi-tattva* (vol. II, p. 299 on Śālagrāma stone).

Besides this digest Caṇḍeśvara compiled several other works.

*Kṛtyacintāmaṇi* is one of such works. It is a question when it was composed. In his *Gṛhastharatnākara* he says that certain

<sup>879</sup> इत्यादीनि चान्यानि पुत्रदेशे विवाहः स्नाकर एवास्माभिर्विहितमिति । गृह्यधरन्नाकर folio 133 b.

architectural and decorative constructions called Śrīrṣṭa, Vardhamāna and Nandīvārtā have been spoken of by him in the Kṛtyacintāmaṇi<sup>880</sup> But the Kṛtyacintāmaṇi says that he has already composed the seven ratnākara.<sup>881</sup>

The Kṛtyacintāmaṇi is divided into sections called prakāśas. It deals with astronomical matters in relation to the performance of several religious ceremonies and saṁskāras, such as *tarāuddhi*, the intercalary month, garbhādhāna, simantonnayana, birth of a child on the Mūla nakṣatra, the rites on the 6th day after birth, nāmaka-*raṇa*, the movements of Saturn, Sun's passage from one sign into another, the results of eclipses etc.

Another work of Caṇḍeśvara, the Rājānītiratnākara, has been recently edited at Patna (1924) by Mr. K. P. Jayasval with a learned introduction dealing with the personal history of Caṇḍeśvara, his relations with the Maithilā kings and the mediaeval Indian literature on politics. It appears that Caṇḍeśvara did not complete the writing of a work on politics when he compiled his great digest. He wrote the work at the command of the king Bhaveśa (or Bhaveśvara) of Mithilā.<sup>882</sup> The work contains 16 *tarāṅgas* (waves, i. e. chapters) on the following subjects :—definition of a king, different grades of kings, the eighteen vices or calamities for kings, duties of kings; the characteristics and duties of amātyas (councillors); the characteristics of *parohita*; the characteristics and duties of a *prādvivāka* (judge); the members of the hall of justice (*sabhyas*), their number and qualifications; concerning forts; the time and place and accessories of the settlement of royal policy; concerning the state treasury; the army; the commander-in-chief and the discipline of the army; ambassadors, allies, and spies; the general obligations of kings, conflict of Dharmāśāstra and Arthāśāstra, the six *guṇas*—*sāṁdhi* etc., the maṇḍala of kings; the king's power of punishment; abdication by king, the heir-apparent, impartibility of the kingdom; the eldest son's right to succeed, the

880 श्रीवृक्षवर्धमाननद्यावर्ताः प्रसादविशेषाः सुवर्णद्वान्दिनिर्मिताः कृत्यचिन्तामणवस्मा-  
भिहताः । folio 113a of D. C. Ms. No. 44 of 1883-84.

881 अग्नात्यम्भुतिनिर्णयाय कृतवस्तान्समरलाकरान् । Intro. verso 12 of कृत्यचिन्तामणि  
( I. O. cat. p. 511, No. 1261 ).

882 राजा भवेष्टेनकसो राजनीतिनिबन्धकम् । तनोति मन्त्रिणामार्यः श्रीमान् चण्डेश्वरः  
इति ॥ 3rd intro. verso राजनीतिर\*.

seven constituent elements of the state; the state's obligation towards the poor, the helpless etc.; the coronation of the heir-apparent or his investiture.

There are two more works composed by Caṇḍeśvara viz., the *Dānavākyaṭī* and the *Śivavākyaṭī* ( vide I. O. cat. p. 1409, No. 3724 for the latter ).

Caṇḍeśvara names in his works, particularly in the *Kṛtyaratnākara* and the *Vivādaratnākara*, a host of writers and works. In his great digest he drew largely upon five predecessors and incorporated often without acknowledgment much or almost all that was valuable in them. These five predecessors were the *Kāmadhenu*, the *Kalpataru*, the *Pārijāta*, the *Prakāśa* ( i. e. *Smṛtimahārpaṇa* ) and *Halāyudha*, all of which he quotes scores of times. At the end of the *Vivādaratnākara* he boasts that whatever is of the essence in the above five works and even more is comprehended in his single work the *Ratnākara*.<sup>883</sup> Among the authors and works mentioned in his seven *ratnākara*s, those mentioned below deserve to be noted.<sup>884</sup> In I. L. R. 12 Cal. 348 ( at p. 356 ) the learned judges appear to hold that the *Pārijāta* mentioned in the *Vivādacintāmaṇi* is the *Madanapārijāta*. But this is obviously a mistake ( vide p. 309 above on *Pārijāta* ). Besides these in his *Rajanītiratnākara* he names *Kāmandaka*, *Kullūkabhaṭṭa*, *Pallava* and *Pallavakāra*, *Śrīkara*. What

883 कल्पद्रुमे वाप्यथ पारिजाते हलायुधे वाप्यथवा प्रकाशे । यस्तारमस्मादधिकं च यस्त-  
ह्वाति रत्नाकर एक एव ॥ यं कामधेनुरनुयाति सकल्पवृक्षो ( क्षा ! ) यं सेवते निज-  
कलाय स पारिजातः । ते वैरिगोत्रमिदमुप्यसहस्रदधिं चण्डेश्वरं तुल्यितुं कृतमे-  
वयन्तु ॥ ( vide notes 652 and 703 for these two verses ).

884 असङ्गाय, उदयकर ( commentator of *मनु*, vide *विवादरत्ना* pp. 453, 560, 590 ), कल्पतरु, कामधेनु, कृत्यसमुच्चय, गोपाल, घटेश्वरमिश्र ( वि. र. p. 46 ), निरु-  
नीयनिबन्ध, दानसागर ( folio 15a दानरः ), देवेश्वरधर्माधिकरणिक, पारिजात,  
प्रकाश, प्रतिमासंग्रह, भर्तृयज्ञ ( गृह्यसूत्रः folio 78a, on गौतमधर्मसूत्र ), माध्वकार  
( of शङ्खलिलित ), भागुरि ( वि. र. p. 104 ), भूपाल, भूपालकृत्यसमुच्चय, भूपाल-  
पद्धति, माध्वस्वामी ( गृह्यसूत्रः 116 a ), मिश्र ( वि. र. p. 595 ), मिताक्षरा,  
नुरारिराज, मेधातिथि, राजमार्तण्ड, लक्ष्मीधर, वर्षदीपिका, वसन्तराज, विष्णुपाचार्य,  
व्रतसागर, श्रीदत्त, समयमदीप, सागर ( दानरत्नाकर 10 b ), स्मृतिरत्नविषेक,  
स्मृतिमहाप्रणयकशा, हरिहर, हलायुधनिबन्ध. The कृत्यसमुच्चय, भूपालपद्धति and  
भूपालकृत्यसमुच्चय seem to be the same work.

is printed as *Nāṭasūtra* in the *Vivādaratnākara* (p. 477) is really *Lāṭa* (i. e. *Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra*). Caṇḍeśvara mentions many vernacular words (e. g. *Kṛtyaratnākara* pp. 109, 111, 306, 338, 443).

We learn a great deal about the family and personal history of Caṇḍeśvara from his works. The *Vivādaratnākara* in the introduction and in the colophon tells us that Caṇḍeśvara was a *mantrin* (a minister), was entrusted with the office of minister for peace and war, that he conquered Nepal and weighed himself against gold on the banks of the *Vāgavati* in *śake* 1236 (1314 A. D.).<sup>865</sup> There are more or less similar colophons at the end of the *Rājanītiratnākara* and the other *ratnākara*s. The grand-father of Caṇḍeśvara was Devāditya,<sup>866</sup> who was minister of Harasīṃhadeva of Tirhut and who belonged to the *Kārpāṭa* family. One of the sons of Devāditya was Vireśvara who was also a minister for peace and war of the same king and is said to have made grants to learned *Brāhmaṇa*s in *Rāmapura* (i. e. *Simraon* in *Champaran District*) and other cities (verse 10 of *Kṛtyaratnākara*). Mr. Jayasval points out in his introduction to the *Rājanīti-ratnākara* (j) that the correct name of the king was *Harisīṃhadeva*. Another son of Devāditya was Gaṇeśvara who was younger than Vireśvara and who was also a great minister and author of *Sugatisopāna*. A copy of this work bears the date *La-sam* (*Lakṣmaṇasena era*) 224 (i. e. 1343-44 A. D.).<sup>867</sup> In the colophon of this work Devāditya is called 'mahāmatta' (*mahāmātra*) and Gaṇeśvara is styled *mahārājādhirāja*. In the

<sup>865</sup> श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणा मतिमतानेन प्रसन्नात्मना नेपालासिलभूमिपालजयिना धर्मेन्दुदुःखा-  
 किधना । वाञ्छन्त्याः सरितस्तटे सुरधुनीसाम्यं दधत्वाः शुचौ मार्गे मासि यथोक्तपुण्य-  
 समये दत्तस्तुलापूरुषः ॥ 3rd Intro. verse; at the end we have रत्नगुणभुजचन्द्रेः  
 संमिटे शाकवर्षे सदासि घवलपक्षे वागवतीसिन्धुतीरे । अदित त्रुलितमुच्येरात्मना स्वर्ण-  
 राशिं निविशन्निगुणाजामुत्तमः सोमनाथः ॥ इति सप्तक्रियमहासाम्बिधिप्रहिकठकुर-  
 मन्त्रिपरधीवीरेन्द्रात्मजसप्तक्रियमहासाम्बिधिप्रहिकठकुराधीचण्डेश्वरविरचिते विषादरत्ना-  
 करः संपूर्णः ।

<sup>866</sup> आसीन्मेधिलतीरभुक्तिविषये मन्त्रप्रभावाद्भूतः ... देवादित्य इति त्रिलोकमहितो मन्त्रीन्द्र-  
 ब्रह्ममणिः ॥ 2nd intro. verse to हृत्यचिन्तामणि (I. O. cat p. 511, No. 1621) ;  
 अस्ति धीद्वारसिद्धेवन्पतिर्निःशेषविदेपिणां निमांधी मिथिलां प्रशासदसिलां कार्णाट-  
 रंशोद्धवः । verse 4 of सत्यरत्नाकर.

<sup>867</sup> Vide cat. of Nepal palm-leaf and paper mss. p. 132 (Haraprasad Sastri).



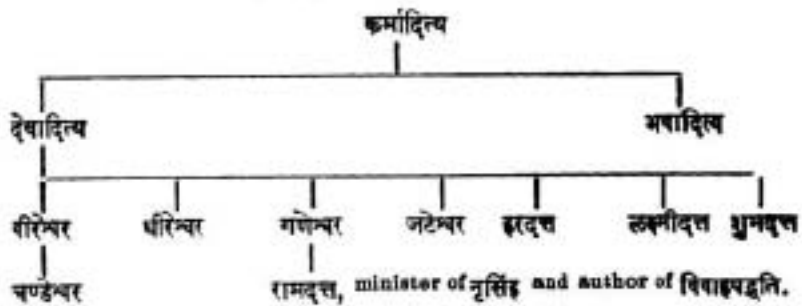
Śraddhāvivēka of Rudradhara the Sugatisopāna is said to be the work of one who was *pratibastaka* (deputy) of Bhavaśarma.<sup>888</sup> Caṇḍeśvara was the son of Vireśvara and like his father and grandfather became minister of Harisinhadeva. This must have happened about 1310 A. D., as he weighed himself in 1314 A. D. The Kṛtyaratnākara (verse 15) says that he touched the very idol of Paśupati in Nepal and worshipped it after conquering the country.

From the Vyavahāratnākara it appears that Caṇḍeśvara was Chief Judge as well as Minister for peace and war.<sup>889</sup> Caṇḍeśvara and his ancestors are highly praised for their liberality.<sup>890</sup> In the Dānaratnākara (verse 2 at the end) he is said to have rescued the earth submerged in the flood of Mlecchas.<sup>891</sup> This probably refers to the defeat of some Mahomedan generals. Harisinhadeva was routed by Ghiasuddin Tughlak in 1324 and retired from Tirhut

888 आदिविकेक p. 4 ( Benares ed. of 1920 संस्कृत ) ' इति सुगतिसोपानादौ भवशर्मप्रति-  
हस्तकथन्ये कमः । '

889 निर्णीय व्यवहारसागमदृशा यः मादृविषाकः स्फुरन्  
विचारचाक्षुषिपणो धर्मं नयत्युन्नतिम् ।  
तेनायं गुरुसन्धिविघ्नहृषो धीरेयसंतीतिना  
श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणा विरचितः माझे रत्नाकरः ॥

Mitra's Notices, vol VI. p. 67. The second pāda has four syllables less.  
The genealogy of चण्डेश्वर's family is



890 परम दानान्तरेकेण लोके निर्मितगौरवः । कल्पद्रुमः पारिजातः कामधेनुः कचित् कचित् ॥  
4th verse at end of दानरत्नाकर, Mitra's Notices, vol. VI. p. 135 ; verse 21  
of कृत्यरत्नाकर says that चण्डेश्वर dug a large lake in अमिरामपुर.

891 मग्ना म्लेच्छमहाजंघे वसुमती येनोद्धृता लीलया.

into Nepal.<sup>892</sup> Hence it follows that the seven Ratnākara some of which (like vivāda and dāna) refer to his weighing himself against gold in 1314 A. D. and his high position at the court of Harisinhadeva were composed between 1314 and 1324 A. D. His Rājanītiratnākara was composed at the command of Bhavēśa. This last belonged to the line of the Kāmeśvara dynasty which began to rule Tirhut in the third quarter of the 13th century, in 1370 A. D. according to Mr. Jayasval (introduction to Rājanītiratnākara, 1). Therefore the literary activities of Caṇḍeśvara extended over about 50 years from 1314 and the Rājanīti-ratnākara was probably his last work composed at a very advanced age. For the somewhat controversial and confused chronology of the Tirhut kings of the Kārṇāṭa and Kāmeśvara dynasties, vide Hp. cat. (Introduction p. 31); Grierson in Ind. Ant. vol. 14, p. 182-196 and Ind. Ant. vol. 28, p. 57; JASB 1915 pp. 407-433 (M. M. Chakravarti); JBORS vol. IX, p. 300 and X, p. 37 (Jayasval).

Caṇḍeśvara exercised very great influence over Maithila and Bengal writers. Misarumiśra, Vardhamāna, Vācaspati-miśra and Raghunandana<sup>893</sup> very frequently quote him. The Viramītrodaya (p. 181) calls the Ratnākara 'Paurastya-nibandha' (eastern digest).

#### 91. Harinātha

Harinātha is the author of a digest called Smṛtisāra on several topics of dharmasāstra. No part of this work has been yet printed. In the India Office there are two mss. of the Smṛtisāra (I. O. cat. p. 448, No. 1488 and p. 449, No. 1489). The first cites 67 authorities (*pramāṇapakāṣ*) on Dharmasāstra, out of which the Karma-pradīpa, the Kalpataru, the Kāmadhenu, Kumāra, Gaṇeśvaramiśra, Vijñāneśvara, Vilamba (?), Śmṛtimañjūṣā and Harihara deserve special mention. This ms. contains the portion of the Smṛtisāra on the saṁskāras, rites on death, śrāddha and prāyaścitta. The other ms. deals with the principal topics of vivāda (various titles of law) and vyavahāra (judicial procedure), viz. partition, father's share

892 The Pañji historian of Mithilā thus describes the departure of हरसिंहदेव 'बाणादिभ्युत्पन्नाशितमितशाकवर्षे पौषस्य शुक्लनवमीरस्मिन्नुवारे । न्यन्त्वा सुपहनपुरीं हरसिंहदेवो दुर्दैवदेशितवचोय गिरिं क्लेश ॥'.

893 The वृत्तरत्नाकर, पूज्यरत्नाकर and शुद्धिरत्नाकर are quoted in the शुद्धितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (o. s. pp. 284, 299, 301, vol. 1).

on partition, larger share to eldest son, persons excluded from partition and inheritance, impartible property; *stridhana*; the several kinds of sons; succession to the property of the sonless; re-union; gambling and prize-fighting and other titles of law; various methods of *daṇḍa* (punishment); the various units of measure etc.; judicial procedure i. e. the plaint, the reply, the means of proof, viz. documents, witnesses, possession, reasoning, oaths, and ordeals; review of judgment; minority and dependence; rules about succession according to various authors. This last portion appears to be a sort of supplement, wherein the views of Bālarūpa, Parijata, Halāyudha, Kalpataru and of the *Smṛtisāra* itself on the order of succession to a man dying sonless are set forth. Viśvarūpa and Śrīkara are named in the summary of Bālarūpa's views and the *Prakāśa* at a later stage (folio 148 b). Bhavadēva-nibandha is also expressly named on possession.

No information is given in the mss. about Harinātha himself. He is styled in the colophons 'mahāmāhopādhyāya.' In several places he refers to the views of the Gauḍas on *dāra*; e. g. he cites the view of the Gauḍas that on a fasting day or śrāddha day one should not employ the twig used in dantadhāvana and that when there is Ekādaśī on two days a house-holder should observe a fast on the first and a *yati* on the second. It appears that he was not a Gauḍa but rather a Māithīla.

The India Office ms. of the *vivāda* portion of the *Smṛtisāra* is dated *śaṁvat* 1614 (i. e. 1558 A. D.). Another ms. of the same portion (vide Mitra's Notices, vol. V, p. 232, No. 1913) was copied in Lakṣmaṇa *śaṁvat* 363 i. e. 1469-1470 A. D. Śalāpāṇi quotes the *Smṛtisāra* in his *Durgotsavaviveka*. Misarumiśra in his *Vivāda-candra* several times refers to the opinions of the *Smṛtisāra*.<sup>894</sup> Hence it follows that the *Smṛtisāra* was composed before the last quarter of the 14th century. Caṇḍeśvara in his voluminous work

894 \* इ. न बाधेः कालसंबोधात्त्रिसर्गोक्ति न विरुध्य इति वचनात् कालसंबोधः काल-  
वस्थानं निर्णयार्थं अधिकरणम् । भोग्याधिविषयमिति स्मृतिसारः । folio 5a of  
विवादचन्द्र ( D. C. ms. No. 57 of 1883-84 ) : अत एव स्मृतिसारो यदा पितृषु  
केनचित्पुत्रेण संसर्गो ( संसृष्टो ? ) तदा तदनं संतुष्टपुत्रो गृहीयात्त्रासंतुष्टपुत्रः संसृष्टि-  
नस्तु संसृष्टीत्यविशेषणमिधानादिन्युक्तम् । folio 37 b ; vide also 57 b for another  
reference to स्मृतिसार.

nowhere refers to Harinātha nor does the latter refer to him. Hence they were probably contemporaries or not separated by any appreciable interval of time. As Harinātha mentions the Kalpataru and Harihara, he must be later than about 1250 A. D. If Ganēśvaramiśra<sup>805</sup> mentioned by Harinātha be the author of the *Sugati-sopāna* ( which is extremely probable ) who was an uncle of Candēśvara, then Harinātha cannot be earlier than about 1300 A. D. and flourished at about the same time as Candēśvara, viz, the first half of the 14th century A. D. Harinātha is quoted by Vācaspati-miśra in his *Dvaitanirṇaya*, by Raghunandana ( in *Udvāhatattva* vol. I, pp. 108, 119, *Ahnikatattva* vol. I, p. 240, *Śuddhitattva* vol. II, p. 240 ), Kamalākara, Nilakaṇṭha and a host of other later writers. In the *Ekādaśitattva* p. 45 Harinātha is spoken of as *upajīvyā* by Vardhamāna and Vācaspati.

There are several works styled *Smṛtisāra* e. g. of Kesavaśarma ( *Mitra's Notices*, vol. II. p. 76 ), of Yādavabhūṣaṇa-bhaṭṭācārya ( *Mitra's Notices*, vol. IV p. 213 No. 1642 ), of Devayājñika ( D. C. Ms. No. 266 of 1884-87 and 344 of 1886-92, the latter being called *Smṛtisārasaṃgraha* ). Hence it often becomes difficult to say in the case of later works, what particular *Smṛtisāra* is being quoted.

### 92. Mādhavācārya

Mādhavācārya is the brightest star in the galaxy of *dakṣiṇātya* authors on dharmaśāstra. His fame stands only second to that of the great Śaṅkarācārya. He had a most versatile genius and either himself wrote or inspired his brother Śaṅkara and others to write voluminous works on almost all branches of Sanskrit literature. As an erudite scholar, as a far-sighted statesman, as the bulwark of the Vijayanagara kingdom in the first days of its foundation, as a *śaṅkyaśin* given to peaceful contemplation and renunciation in old age, he led such a varied and useful life that even to this day his is a name to conjure with. Among his numerous works two deserve special mention here, viz : the *Parāśara-mādhaviya*, his commentary on the *Parāśarasūtra* and the *Kālanirṇaya*.

<sup>805</sup> अथ कर्तास्मिन्नि निमित्तं इत्यादि विधानमन्त्रयेत् । निरामिषं सक्तुं कृत्वा सर्वमुक्तं जने गृहे । असंभवे परेषु वा माह्वनास्तादृशेदयेत् ॥ अत्र गणेश्वरमिश्राः । इदं वाक्यं निरामिषसक्तुं जने विशेषे निमन्त्रणविधायकमग्रे निमन्त्रणाङ्गानि निरामिषसक्तुं जने दीनि धुतिबलात् । स्मृतिसार ( I. D. ms. No. 1488 ).

The Parāśara-mādhaviya has been published several times, the edition in the B. I. series and in the Bombay Sanskrit series being the best known. In the following the Bombay edition has been used. This work is very extensive and occupies about 2300 printed pages in the Bombay edition. It is not a mere commentary on Parāśara's text, but is in the nature of a digest of civil and religious law. The original *smṛti* of Parāśara contains no verses on *vyavahāra*, but Mādhavācārya hangs, on the slender peg of a single verse of Parāśara calling upon the king to rule his subjects with righteousness, his treatise on *vyavahāra* that covers a little over a fourth part of the whole commentary ( vide note 341 above on Parāśara ). The Parāśara-mādhaviya is a work of authority on modern Hindu Law in southern India.<sup>896</sup> His style is lucid and he generally avoids lengthy and abstruse discussions. Besides numerous *smṛti-kāras* and *purāṇas* he names the following authors and works—Aparārka, Devaśvāmin, Purāṇasāra, Prapañcasāra, Medhātithi, Viraṇakāra ( on the Vedāntasūtra ), Viśvarūpācārya, Śambhu, Śivaśvāmin, *Smṛticandrikā*. The Parāśara-mādhaviya was amongst his earliest works. He tells us that there was no commentary on Parāśara before him.<sup>897</sup>

The Kālanirnaya of Mādhavācārya has been published several times. In the following the B. I. edition has been used. He states that he wrote this work after he composed his commentary on the Parāśaras*mṛti*.<sup>898</sup> The work is divided into five *prakaraṇas*. The first ( Upodghāta ) deals with a scholastic disquisition on *kāla* ( time ) and its real nature; the 2nd ( called *vatsara* ) speaks of the year, its various lengths according as it is *candra*, *sāvana* or *saura*, of the two *āyanas*, of the seasons and their number, of the months ( *candra* and *saura* ), of the intercalary months, and the religious acts allowed and forbidden in intercalary months, of the two *pakṣas* ( fortnights ); the third *prakaraṇa* ( *pratipat-prakaraṇa* ) deals with the meaning of the word *tithi*, duration of a

896 १ Mad. H. C. R. p. 206 at p. 217; 11 Moo. I. A. p. 487 at p. 508; I. L. R. 35 Mad. 152 at p. 156.

897 पराशरस्मृतिः पूर्वेन व्याख्याता निबन्धुमिः । मयातो माधवाचार्येण तद्व्याख्यायां प्रयत्नः ॥  
9th Intro. verse.

898 व्याख्याय माधवाचार्यो धर्मान्पाराशरानथ । तदनुष्ठानकालस्य निर्णयं वक्तुमुद्यतः ॥  
4th Intro. verse of कालनिर्णय.

*tithi*, the fifteen *tithis* of a *pakṣa*, two kinds of *tithis*, viz. *śuddha* (i. e. not intermixed with another *tithi* on the same day) and *viddha* (intermixed with another *tithi* on same day), rules about the preference of the first *tithi* for particular religious rites and observances (for Gods and Manes) when intermixed with the preceding and following *tithis*, the fifteen *muhūrtas* of the day and of the night; the *fourth* (*dvitīyādi-tithi-prakarana*) extends the application of the rules about *pratiṣṭhā* to the *tithis* from the second to the fifteenth and decides on what *tithi* (whether intermixed with the preceding or the following) certain *vratas*, such as Gaurivrata on the third, Janmāṣṭamī on the 8th, were to be performed; the *fifth* (*prakīrṇaka* i. e. miscellaneous) deals with rules about the determination of *nakṣatras* for various acts, the *yogas* and *karanas* and rules about *saṁkrānti* and eclipses and the actions proper for them.

The Kālanirnaya besides the names of numerous sages, purāṇas, astronomical and astrological writers mentions the following works and authors :—Kāladarśa (p. 83), Bhoja (as having composed in Ārya metre a work on the Śaiva āgama), Muhūrta-vidhāna-sāra (p. 341), Vāteśvarasiddhānta, Vasiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa, the Siddhānta-śiromaṇi (of Bhāskaracārya), Hemādri (p. 67 his *vratakhṇḍa* and *yvapūṣṭhāṇḍa*).

A good deal about the family and personal history of Mādhvacārya can be gleaned from the above-mentioned two works and other treatises of Mādhvacārya. From the Parāśara-mādhva-viṇya we<sup>899</sup> learn that he was the son of Māyaṇa and Śrīmātī, that Sāyaṇa and Bhoganātha were his younger brothers, that he was a student of the black Yajurveda and of the Baudhāyana-sūtra-caraṇa and belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gotra. The introductory verses and the colophon of the Prāyaścitta-sudhānidhi<sup>900</sup> of Sāyaṇa corroborate most of these particulars. A verse at the beginning of the

<sup>899</sup> श्रीमती जननी यस्य सुकीर्तिर्मायणः पिता । सायणो भोगनाथश्च मणेशुद्धी सद्गोदये ॥  
यस्य बोधायनं सूत्रं शास्त्रं यस्य च याजुषी । भारद्वाजं कुलं यस्य सर्वज्ञः स हि  
माधवः ॥ Intro. verses 6 and 7 of Parāśara-mādhva-viṇya.

<sup>900</sup> यस्य मन्त्रिशिरोरत्नमरित मायणसायणः । यः कृषाति रत्नगर्भेति यथाधेयति पार्थिवीन् ॥  
and the colophon इति माधवभोगनाथसद्गोदरस्य मायणनन्दनस्य सायणाचार्यस्य &c.  
Descriptive cat. of Madras Govt. Sanskrit mss. vol. VII. p. 2680 No. 3490. The king referred to is Śaṅkara.

Kalanirṇaya tells us that Vidyātīrtha, Bhāratīrtha and Śrīkaṇṭha were his teachers.<sup>901</sup> The Parāśara-Mādhaviya highly eulogises<sup>902</sup> Mādhava, compares him to divine and semi-divine councillors like Āṅgīrasa of Indra and says that he was the hereditary teacher (*kulaguru*) and *mantrin* of king Bukka (or Bukka). The colophons to the several works of Śāyana, the younger brother of Mādhavācārya, show that these brothers were closely connected with four rulers of the Vijayanagar dynasty, viz. Bukka and his son Harihara, Kampa and his son Saṅgama. In the *Yājñatantra-sūdhānidhi*<sup>903</sup> (ms. in the Bhau Daji collection) Śāyana, the author of the bhāṣyas on the vedas, is said to be the *kulaguru* of Harihara, son of Saṅgama. In the *Guruvaiśṇava-kāvya* (Vaidivilasa Press ed.) it is said that Vidyāranya was the pupil of Vidyātīrtha, that he composed Vedabhāṣyas and published them in the names of Śāyana and Mādhava, that Harihara and Bukka were the most valiant of the five sons of Saṅgama (v. 48), that Viṣa Rudra was the sovereign of Harihara and Bukka and was defeated by the *suratrāya* i. e. *salun*. The same work says that Vidyāranya founded Vijayanagara in śaka 1258, vaiśākha śuddha 7 Sunday (i. e. 30th April 1335 A. D.) and crowned Harihara king.<sup>904</sup>

Burnell in his introduction to the *Vaiṣṇavabrahmayā* started the theory that Śāyana and Mādhava were identical and put forward an esoteric meaning on the verse that states that Śāyana and Bhoganātha

901 सोहं प्राप्य दिवेकतीर्थं पदवीमान्नायतीर्थं परं मञ्जुं सज्जनसङ्गतीर्थं निपुणः सङ्गन्ततीर्थं  
श्रयन् । लब्धवामाकलयन्प्रभावलहर्ती श्रीमारतीतीर्थतो विद्यातीर्थं मुषाश्रयन् हृदि भजे  
धीकण्ठमव्याहृतम् ॥ 2nd verse of कालनिर्णय.

902 इन्द्रस्याङ्गिरसो नलस्य सुमतिः शौक्यस्य मेधातिथिर्धर्मयो धर्मसुतस्य वैन्वन्पुनः स्वीजा  
निर्मेर्गोत्तमिः । प्रपद्युष्टिरुन्धनीसहपरो रामस्य पुण्यात्मनो यद्वत्तस्य विभोर्भूत्कुल-  
गुरुर्मन्त्री तथा माधवः ॥ 4th verse of परा. मा.

903 तस्याभूद्वन्वयगुरुस्तत्त्वसिद्धान्तदेहिता । सर्वज्ञः सायणाचार्यो मायणाचरन्नुद्भवः । ज्ञेन्द्रस्येव  
यस्यासीद्विद्मः सुमनसां मिथः । महाकृतूनामाहर्ता माधवः सङ्गदेवः ॥ अधीताः  
सकला वेदास्ते च दृष्टार्थगौरवाः । त्वत्प्रणीतेन तद्भाष्यप्रदीपेन प्रदीपिता ॥  
Intro. verses 7, 8, 14.

903a नागेश्वरैर्मित इह शके शालिवाहस्य पाते धातयब्दे शुभसमुचिते मासि वैशाखमासि ।  
शुक्ले पक्षे शुभगुणपितृभे सूर्यवारे शुक्ले सप्तम्यां श्रीविजयनगरं निर्ममे निर्ममेन्द्रः ॥  
गुरुवंशकाव्य VI. 8.

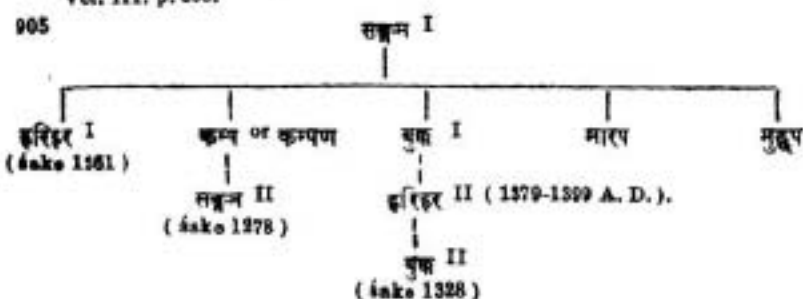


were the younger brothers of Mādhava. But the facts as culled from the works of these two great men and the inscriptions of contemporary Vijayanagara kings are too strong for the hypothesis of Burnell and make it look absurd. The whole subject about the relationship of Mādhava, Sayana and Bhoganātha has been carefully examined by Rao Bahadur R. Narsimhachar in *Ind. Ant.* vol. 45 pp. 1-6 and 17ff and the theory of Burnell has been thoroughly refuted. Sayana and Bhoganātha were as real personages as Mādhavācārya himself. Mādhavācārya in his later years became a *sannyāsin* and was named Vidyāranya. To the items of evidence adduced by R. B. R. Narsimhachar for establishing the identity of Mādhava and Vidyāranya (*Ind. Ant.* vol. 45 p. 18) I may add one more. The *Viramitrodaya* ascribes the commentary on Parāśara composed by Mādhava to Vidyāranya.<sup>904</sup> It has however to be noted that the *Guruvārṣakavya* (Vāṇivilāsa Press ed.) says (V. 41-44) that Vidyāranya was different from both Sayana and Mādhava.

The chronology of the kings of Vijayanagara has been a fruitful source of controversy. It is not necessary to go into that chronology in great detail here. It may be studied in such works as Sewell's 'Forgotten empire' and in *E. I.* vol. III. p. 36, *E. I.* vol. XIV p. 68, *E. I.* vol. XV p. 8. The following pedigree<sup>905</sup> will be sufficient for the purpose of connecting Mādhava and his brothers with the kings of Vijayanagara. The earliest inscription is that of Harihara I dated *śaka* 1261 (1339-40 A. D.) wherein Harihara

904 व्याख्यानं वेदं शङ्खचक्रं विद्यारण्यधीचरजैः पराशरस्मृतिटीकायां देवकद्वयविभागकाले स्वधृतालङ्कारादिकमपि कन्या प्राप्नोतीत्याह शङ्ख इति । की० p. 583; vide p. 672  
 'विद्यारण्यधीचरजोक्तं प्राप्नोति तस्मान्निरिन्द्रिया इत्यादिश्रुतिव्याख्याने तु स्त्रीणां दास-  
 प्रणमलिवेषान्वेवास्याः श्रुतेर्नास्तीति ।'. This refers to the remarks in *पर. मा.* vol. III. p. 538.

905



is said to be a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara and is spoken of as 'Śrī-Vira-Hariyappa-Voḍeya.'<sup>906</sup> The colophon of the Mādhaviya Dhātuvṛtti describes Mādhava as the great minister of Saṅgamarāja, the son of Kamparāja.<sup>907</sup> The Bīṭraguṇṭa grant in *śake* 1278 ( 1356 A. D. ) by Saṅgama II at the request of his teacher Śrīkaṇṭhanātha shows that Bhoganātha<sup>908</sup> who composed the contents of the grant was a *narmasaciva* ( gay or humorous companion ) of Saṅgama II. We saw above that Śrīkaṇṭha was a teacher of Mādhavācārya and that Bhoganātha was the youngest brother of Mādhavācārya. Bhoganātha in order to be a poet and a *narmasaciva* of a reigning sovereign must have been a grown-up man in 1356 A. D. and so Mādhavācārya must have been quite an elderly person about that time. The Kālanirṇaya tells us that in the cyclic year Īśvara following immediately after *śake* 1258 *brāhma* was an intercalary month and that in the cyclic year Bhāva that preceded *śake* 1258 ( i. e. in *śake* 1256 ) Fālguna was an intercalary month and then examines the intercalary months that occurred in the cyclic years up to Vikārī thereafter ( i. e. up to *śake* 1281 ).<sup>908a</sup> As the Kālanirṇaya examines the intercalary months from *śake* 1256 ( i. e. 1334 A. D. ) to *śake* 1281 ( i. e. 1359 A. D. ), it follows that it was either composed during these years or immediately after this period. The Parāśara-mādhaviya was composed before the Kālanirṇaya. Rao Bahadur Narsimhachar states that in a copperplate grant dated 1386 A. D. it is said that Harihara ( II ) gave in the presence of Vidyāranya-śrīpāda certain donations to three scholars who were the promoters

906 ' महामण्डलेश्वरपुष्पश्रिमत्समुद्राधिपतिधीवीरहरियप्पवोडेय ' Int. Ant. vol. X, p. 63.

907 श्रीमत्पुष्पश्रिमदक्षिणसमुद्राधीश्वरकम्पराजसुतसङ्ग्रामराजमहामन्त्रिमापणपुत्रमाधवसहोदर-  
सायणाचार्यकृता माधवीया वृत्तिः ।

908 इति भोगनाथमुधिया सङ्ग्रहभूषालनमस्तचिबेन । श्रीकण्ठपुरसमुद्भये शासनपत्रेषु विलि-  
खिताः श्लोकाः ॥ E. I. vol. III, at p. 30.

908a तादृशं चाधिसासमुदाहरणम् । अष्टपञ्चाशद्युक्तशतद्वयापिके शकवर्षाणां सहस्रे गते  
सति समनन्तरभाषी योयमीश्वरसंवत्सरस्तस्मिन्प्रावणमासोधिकः । ततः पूर्वभाषी यो  
भावसंवत्सरस्तस्मिन् फाल्गुणमासोधिकः ... ननु अधिकमासस्य क्वचिन्विंशत्तमं  
व्यभिचरति न्यूनाधिकसंख्याया अपि दर्शनात् । तथा हि यथोक्तेश्वरसंवत्सरोत्तरभाषिणि  
चित्रभानुसंवत्सरे वैशाखमासोधिकः ... तथा दुर्मसंवत्सरे श्रावणमासोधिकः ।  
हेमलम्बिलम्बिसंवत्सरद्वयव्यवहिते विकारिसंवत्सरे ज्येष्ठोधिकः । तथा च तत्र  
पञ्चविंशत्वं संपद्यते । कालनिर्णय pp. 70-71.

( *pravartaka* ) of the commentaries on the four Vedas ( Ind. Ant. vol. 45 p. 19 ). Another inscription speaks of Vidyāranya in 1378 A. D.<sup>90</sup> This shows that Mādhavācārya had become a *sambhāṣita* at least in 1377 A. D. Tradition says that Vidyāranya died in 1386 A. D. at the ripe old age of 90. Therefore we shall not be far wrong if we place the literary activity of Mādhava-Vidyāranya between 1330-1385 A. D. From the remarks about intercalary months it appears that the Parāśaramādhaviya and Kālanirṇaya were composed between 1335-1360 A. D. There was a tradition among *pandits* that it was Mādhavācārya who composed bhāṣyas on the Vedas and ascribed them to his brother Sāyaṇa. Kāśinātha, in his Viṭṭhala-rūmantra-sāra-bhāṣya says so.<sup>91</sup>

Great confusion has been caused by identifying Mādhava-Vidyāranya with another scholar named Mādhava who was also a *mantrin* of Bukka, who was a great warrior and was governor of Banavase and the country round Goa on the western coast. In a grant<sup>911</sup> of the village Kucara, also called Mādhavapura, dated *śake* 1313 ( 1391 A. D. ), it is said that he routed the armies of the Turuṣkas, wrested Goa the capital of Koṅkaṇa from them and re-established the temple of Saptanātha ( i. e. Sapta-koṭīśvara ). There is another inscription dated *śake* 1290 ( i. e. 1368 A. D. ) where the great minister ( *Mahapradhana* ) Mādhavāṅka is stated to have ruled over Banavase 12000 under king Bukkarāya ( Ind. Ant. vol. IV, p. 206 ). Fleet is wrong in identifying the minister Mādhavāṅka with Mādhavācārya-Vidyāranya. Another grant from Goa ( found by Dr. Bhau Daji ) says that Mādhava-mantrin, son of Caṇḍibhaṭṭa, established the *liṅga* of Saptanātha ( JBBRAS vol. 9, p. 228 ). Vide E. C. vol. VIII, Sorab No. 375 dated *śake* 1268 ( Sunday Mādhava 30, i. e. 11th Feb. 1347 ), where we are told that Mādhavamantrin was governor of Candragutti, capital of Banavase 12000, that he was minister of Mārāpa, younger brother of Harihara I and that he was a disciple of

<sup>90</sup> Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. VI, Koppa 30.

<sup>910</sup> कथं तर्हि माधवाचार्यदेवभाष्यादिषु सायणादेः स्वभ्रातृनाम लिखितमिति चेत्कारण्येन &c. | folio 37 b of the विट्ठलकट्टुप्रसारभाष्य ( D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70 ).

<sup>911</sup> गोवामिर्धा काङ्कणराजधानीमन्येन मन्येरुणदर्शनेन । प्रतिष्ठितास्तत्र तुरष्कसङ्घानुत्पात्य दोष्या मुर्वनैकवीरः ॥ उन्मूलितानामकरोत्पतिङ्गा श्रीसत्ताधादिसुधाभुजा यः । JBBRAS vol. IV, p. 115 ( text ), p. 107 ( translation ).

Kriyāśakti, a Śaiva teacher. In E. C. vol. VII, Shikarpur 281 dated śake 1290 Kārtika bahula 8 (i. e. 15th November 1368) Mādhava is said to have been a son of Cāuṇḍa of the Āṅgīrasa gotra and a minister of Bukka I and his *guru* is said to have been Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti.

From this it follows that the Mādhava *mantri* who was a governor of Banavase and Goa and was living in 1391 A. D. was the son of Cāuṇḍibhaṭṭa and cannot be identified with Mādhavācārya who was the son of Māyapa.

There is a ms. in the Bombay University Library of a work called Kālanirṇayakārikā in 130 verses, which contains the introductory verses of the Kālanirṇaya dealing with the contents, though in a somewhat different order. There are several commentaries on the Kālanirṇaya, viz. Kālanirṇayadīpikā by Rāmacandrācārya composed about 1450 A. D., a commentary called Lakṣmī by Lakṣmīdevī, wife of Vaidyanātha Pāyagūṇḍa. There is a Vivaraṇa of the Kālanirṇayadīpikā, by Nṛsiṅha, son of Rāmacandrācārya (vide D. C. Ms. No. 99 of 1871-72).

### 93. Madanapāla and Viśveśvarabhāṭṭa

The Madanapārijāta compiled under the patronage of king Madanapāla by Viśveśvarabhāṭṭa is a famous work. Like Bhoja, Madanapāla seems to have been a great patron of learning and several works are attributed to him. At least four works on dharmaśāstra are ascribed to him (i. e. were written under his patronage) viz the Madanapārijāta, Smṛtimahārṇava or Madanamahārṇava, Tithinirṇayasāra and Smṛtikaumudī.

The Madanapārijāta is an extensive work printed in the B. I. series. There are 23 introductory verses, the first 13 of which give the genealogy of Madanapāla. In the printed edition these 13 verses are stated to have been added by *Purohita* Śrī-Rāmadeva. The last of the introductory verses states that the work was composed after a careful study of Hemādri, Kalpavṛkṣa (i. e. Kalpataru), Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā, Smṛtyarthasāra and Mitākṣarā.<sup>912</sup> That Madanapāla was only the patron and not the real author of the

<sup>912</sup> हेमाद्रिकल्पवृक्षसारावर्कस्मृत्यर्थसारान् स्मृतिचन्द्रिकां च । मिताक्षरादीनवलोक्य याना-  
न्निबध्नते संयुक्तो निबन्धः ॥

work is made clear in several places. In the introductory verse 20 it is stated that the work was compiled through ( lit. by the mouth of ) learned men.<sup>913</sup> In two places in the body of the work<sup>914</sup> it is said that the author has explained the matter under discussion in his work called Subodhini, a commentary on the Mitākṣarā. Therefore the Madanapārijāta was really composed by Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, the author of the Subodhini. The Madanapārijāta contains nine *śabakas* ( bunches i. e. chapters ) on brahmacharya, the *dharma*s of householders, the daily duties ( *ānuika-kṛtya* ), the *saukṣaras* from *garbhādhāna* onwards ; impurity on birth and death, the purification of various substances ( *dravyaśuddhi* ), *śrāddha*, *dāyabhāga* ( partition and inheritance ) and *prāyaścitta*. In the portion on the *Dāyabhāga* it very closely follows the Mitākṣarā. Its style is simple and lucid. Besides the authors and works mentioned above it cites those noted below.<sup>915</sup>

There is a work called Mahārjaya ascribed to Mādhātā, a son of Madanapāla. In several mss. of this work deposited in the Deccan<sup>916</sup> College there are introductory verses giving the genealogy of Madanapāla that agree almost word for word with the introductory verses of the Madanapārijāta. Moreover two verses that speak of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa occur here also as well as in the Madanapārijāta and Subodhini. This work also is said to have been compiled by

913 श्रीमानर्थमदनपूर्वकवारिजातनामाङ्कितं स्मृतिषधालुगतं निबन्धम् । पर्णाश्रमप्रमुखधर्म-  
विवेचनाय विद्वन्मुनेन सुकृती मितमातनोति ॥

914 यथा चायमेव कमस्तथास्माभिरुपादितो विद्वानेश्वरट्टिकायां सुबोधिण्या दायभाग-  
प्रकरणे । मदनपारिजात p. 654 ; vide p. 603 also for similar words.

915 जगन्नाथसागर, शास्त्रेश, गोविन्दराज, चिन्तामणि ( on श्राद्ध, p. 607 ), धर्मविवृति  
( p. 772 ), नारायण, मण्डनमिश्र, मेधातिथि, रत्नावलि ( on श्राद्ध, p. 607 ), शिव-  
स्वामिन् ( p. 619 ), सुरेश्वर, स्मृतिमञ्जरी ( p. 554 ), स्मृतिमहार्णव.

916 For the *Madārjaya* vide D. C. ms. No. 131 of 1882-83 and Nos. 259 and 260 of 1886-1892. No. 260 does not contain the verses about the genealogy, but the two verses माता पुण्यं and मतिर्येषा ( which are 21 and 22 in the *मदनपारिजात* ) occur in all the three ; in No. 131 and No. 259 the verse माता पुण्यं occurs in the introductory verses and the verse मतिर्येषा occurs at the end of the work and in No. 260 the two verses are the 2nd and 3rd of the introductory verses.

Mandhātā through the learned.<sup>917</sup> It is said to have been based on a study of the *brūti*, the *smṛtis* and the *purāṇas*. The work is divided into 40 *tarāṅgas* (waves). The principal subject<sup>918</sup> of the work is to describe how the various diseases which human bodies are heir to are the result of evil deeds done in past lives (this subject being called Karmavipāka in dharmaśāstra works) and to prescribe various rites and penances for the eradication of the evil results of evil deeds. Among the various rites and penances that are set forth in great detail may be mentioned the Kūṣmāṇḍa-homa, Rudraikāśaṇī, Mahārudrābhiṣeka, Vināyakaśānti, the Nava-grahayajña &c. The Mahārṇava mentions the Karmavipāka of Śātātapa, the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (folio 234 a of D. C. no. 259 of 1886-1892), the Mitākṣarā, the Karmavipāka-samuccaya &c. It is worthy of note that in the Smṛti-kaumudī the authorship of the Mahārṇava is claimed by the author himself and is not ascribed to Madanapāla's son.<sup>919</sup>

The Tithinirṇayasāra is another work compiled under Madanapāla. Stein in his cat. of mss. at Jammu (p. 306) gives extracts from this work. The first fourteen verses are the same as those in the Madanapārijāta. It appears to have been composed by Vīśvanātha, which is most probably a paraphrase of the name Vīśveśvara.<sup>920</sup>

The Smṛtikaumudī contains an introduction of 17 verses, 13 of which set forth the genealogy of Madanapāla. The fourteenth verse tells us that Madanapāla composed works called Yantraprakāśa, Mahārṇava, Pārijāta, Siddhāntagarbha and Tithinirṇayasāra.<sup>921</sup> The 15th verse says that he composes the Smṛtikaumudī through

917 सोयं सुकृतविधाता रिपुकुलजेता मनोति मान्यता । विद्वन्मुसेन मतिमान् सत्कलिरत्नं महार्णवं नाम ॥ 18th verse in D. C. ms. No. 259 of 1886-92.

918 The work begins 'तत्र तावद्वक्ष्यमाणसकलकर्मोपयोगित्वेन कर्मविपाकरूपयोगादिनिवृत्त्यर्थं श्रायश्मिन्नादेरवश्यकर्तव्यता प्रतिपाद्यते ।'.

919 विनायकशान्तिप्रकारोस्माभिर्महार्णवे निरूपितः ।

920 श्रीविश्वनाथसुधिसा स्वनित्यमार्गपान्थेन शास्त्रविलसन्मतिपाटनेन । अस्मिन् अध्याये तिथिनिर्णयसारनाम्नि यन्मे कियानसिललोककृते प्रवासः ॥

921 For the स्मृतिकौमुदी, vide Aufrecht's Oxford cat. p. 275 b, I. O. cat. p. 524, No. 1649 and D. C. ms. No. 51 of 1872-73.

922 यन्प्रपञ्चसमहार्णवपारिजातसिद्धान्तमर्थमिति तिथिनिर्णयसारमुख्याः । सन्धात्र येन रचितः &c.



the learned.<sup>923</sup> The 17 verse says that his predecessors have generally dilated upon the dharmas of the three higher *varṇas* and the *dharmas* of the *śūdra* have not been dealt with by them as a principal topic, therefore he would clearly expound the *dharmas* of the last *varṇa*. At the end of the ms. in the I. O. cat. it is described as the younger sister of the Madanapārijāta and of the Mahārṇava.<sup>924</sup> This is not found in the D. C. ms. which was copied in *śaṣvat* 1615. This work is divided into four kalollāsas, each kalollāsa being subdivided into kiraṇas (rays). The first kalollāsa has two kiraṇas, the second has four, the third and fourth five kiraṇas each. The subjects dealt with are: I. two kinds of *śūdras*, viz: the *kevalaśūdra* (simple *śūdra*) and one who is of mixed descent, being born of a *śūdra* woman from a man of the higher castes; II. general discourses on the *śūdra's* *adhyātma* for engaging in various acts and performing various rites, such as the study of the *śāstras* and *smṛtis*, the performance of *garbhādāna* and other *sanskāras* and the consecration of sacred fires; *sandhyāvandana*; the *śūdra's* capacity for attaining the knowledge of *brahman*; III. marriage; different forms of marriage, prohibited degrees of blood relationship (*sāpinda*), the various rites of marriage such as *kanyādāna*; such *sanskāras* as *nāma-karaṇa* (naming the child), the duties of *śūdras* in ordinary and difficult times; *śauca* for *śūdras*; the various *śrāddhas* for them; the letting loose of a bull in honour of the dead; IV. *śūdra's* daily duties such as *śauca*, brushing the teeth, baths in the morning and at other times, *brahmayajña*, *tarpaṇa*, *vaiśvadeva*, daily *brāhma*, dinner, &c.

The *Smṛtikaumudī* mentions among others *Aparārka*, *Kṛtya-kalpataru*, *Mitākṣara*, *Medhātithi*, *Yājñapārśva* and *Smṛtimañjarī*. It also quotes from the *Vedānta-kalpataru*<sup>925</sup> and the author claims the *Madanapārijāta* as his own work.

It has been seen how all the four works set out above were composed under the patronage of Madanapāla and how they were

<sup>923</sup> विद्वन्मुनेन तनुते विनतोर्जितश्रीरुपपन्नपारुकिरणा स्मृतिकौमुदी सः ॥

<sup>924</sup> अनेन कृतिना कृता स्मृतिप्रदीप्ता कौमुदी महर्षिपुत्रसहोदरी मदनपारिजातानुजा ।

<sup>925</sup> तदुक्तं सत्यामप्युत्पत्तो प्रवाहस्याविच्छिन्नरनादित्वमिति तस्य कर्मात्मके संसारे । तदुक्तं वेदान्तकल्पतरौ ॥ तदात्रत्युपरकारा (?) स्वकालमेकया विना । अनादिकालावृत्तिर्या सा कार्यानादिता मतेति ॥ folio 3a of the D. C. ms. No. 51 of 1872-73; folio 35a

of the same has 'अथ च प्रापकानि मदनपारिजातेष्वाभिर्दक्षितानि'.



probably from the pen of Viśveśvarabhāṭa. There is one more work on Dharmaśāstra which Viśveśvarabhāṭa composed in his own name without the shelter of a patron's name. It is the Subodhinī, a commentary on the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara. The vyavahāra portion of it has been published in Bombay by Mr. S. S. Setlur and also by Mr. J. R. Gharpure. Mr. Govind Das had seen portions of the Subodhinī on the prāyaścitta section also. The Subodhinī does not comment on each word of the Mitākṣarā but explains only important passages. It is a learned work. This was the earliest composition of Viśveśvarabhāṭa, since it is mentioned even in the Madanapārijāta. The first verse of the Subodhinī is also the opening verse of the Mahārṇava and of the Smṛtikaumudī.<sup>926</sup>

From the verses<sup>927</sup> 21 and 22 in the introduction to the Madanapārijāta it appears that Viśveśvara was the son of Pedibhāṭa and Ambikā, that he was of the Kauśikagotra and was the pupil of Vyāsāranya-muni. In the Subodhinī also the verse 'mātā &c.' occurs at the end with slight suitable variations and the verse 'matiryeśam' in the beginning. The second introductory verse in Mr. Gharpure's edition makes Viśveśvara the son of Appabhāṭa,<sup>928</sup> while Mr. Setlur reads 'Peṭṭibhāṭa' which is probably a misreading for Pedibhāṭa. From his father's name it appears that Viśveśvara was a native of the Draviḍa country<sup>929</sup> and migrated to Northern India in search of patronage after he wrote the Subodhinī. Viśveśvara is regarded as one of the leading authorities of the Benares School

926 नमः सकलकल्याणभाजनाय पिनाकिने । तमो हस्मानिवासाय देवतायै गिरा नमः ॥  
सुबोधिनी, The स्मृतिकौमुदी (Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. p. 275b has कल्याणकारणाय)  
and Descriptive Ca. of Govt. Sanskrit mss. (Madras) vol. VII p. 2625, No. 3495 has वरमकल्याण and गिरि नमः.

927 मतिर्येषां शास्त्रे प्रकृतिरमणीया व्यवहृतिः परा शीलं श्लाघ्यं जगति ऋजवस्ते कतिपये ।  
चिरं चित्ते तेषां मुकुटतलभूने स्थितिमियादियं व्यासाख्यपरमुनिशिष्यस्य भणितिः ॥  
माता पुण्यचरित्रकीर्तिविभवा वरवाग्धिका नामतः शाकल्यापरमूर्तिराव्यवहितः श्रीवेदि-  
महः पिता । सोपे कौशिकवंशभूषणमणिः श्रीभट्टविश्वेश्वरो वेदस्मार्तमते नये च सपदे  
वाक्ये कृती वर्धते ॥

928 योषमहत्तमजः श्रीमान् भट्टविश्वेश्वरः सुधीः ।

929 One of the donees mentioned in the Bīṭṛāṅṅṅa grant of king Saṅgama dated 1356 A. D. is Peddibhāṭa; vide E. I. vol. III at p. 28. Bīṭṛāṅṅa is in the Nellore District.

of modern Hindu law.<sup>930</sup> Madanapāla belonged to the family of Ṭāka kings that ruled in Kāṣṭhā (modern Kath) on the Jumna to the north of Delhi.<sup>931</sup> The printed Madanapārijāta makes the family name to be 'Kāṣṭhā,' but this is most probably a wrong reading, as in the Mahārṇava and the other works of Madanapāla the family name is distinctly stated to be Ṭāka. The pedigree of the family as gathered from the Madanapārijāta and the other works is given below. Some works such as the Mahārṇava omit mention of Sahajapāla. About Sādhārṇa it is said that he brought about the remission of all taxes at the three *tīrthas* (Prayāga, Kāśī and Gaya).<sup>932</sup>

930 Vide I. L. R. 16 Cal. 367 at p. 372.

931 अस्ति प्रशस्तविभवेणतपशस्तिविस्तारिणी भुवि शकाधिपराजधानी । दिक्षीति दिव्य-  
विदिता नगरीमत्सङ्गी पल्लवि भानि पुरतस्त्रिदिवोपि यस्याः ॥ तामुत्तरेण यमुनातटदेश-  
निष्ठा काष्ठेयमुदनुपमा नगरी गतिष्ठा । यस्यामगलविभवेपविता बभूवुः काष्ठान्वया  
महितकीर्तिनुचो महीशः ॥ verses 4-5 of मदनपारिजात; at the end of the मदन-  
विनोदनिघण्टु we read टाकान्वये महति भूमिमुजा विशुद्धे काष्ठेति नाम नगरं जयति  
प्रसिद्धम् । Vide Aufrecht's Orl. cat. p. 275 a (ms. of मदनपारिजात) where  
the reading is टाककुलम्बुराज्ञो for काष्ठकुलम्बुराज्ञो of the printed text.  
The pedigree is :



932 तीर्थत्रयीकरविमुक्तिमयीकरयः । verse 10 of the महार्णव, D. C. ms. No. 259 of 1886-92; कनिशाशपाशचयवद्विमोचनार्थं तीर्थत्रयीकरविमुक्तिमयीकरयः ॥ verse 10 of स्मृतिचौमुदी.

In the *Sūryasiddhāntaviveka* of Madanapāla the father of Madanapāla is said to be Sahārāpa<sup>933</sup> which is a Prakrit equivalent of Sādhārāpa. Madanapāla appears to have been a very great patron of learned men and is said to have emulated the fame of Bhoja.<sup>934</sup> Besides the four works described above he compiled several other works, the most famous of which is his dictionary of drugs called *Madanavinodanighaṇṭu*. That work is very extensive, contains about 2250 verses and is divided into fourteen *vargas*, the last of which contains a *prelāsti* of his family.<sup>935</sup> This work contains the names of medical drugs, the qualities of drugs and of dishes and of the flesh of various animals. Some of the words given as synonyms for Sanskrit words occur in the modern Marathi.<sup>936</sup> We saw above that his *Smṛtikaumudī* refers to *Yantra-prakāśa* and *Siddhāntagarbha* as two of his works. These two were works on astronomy.

Another work of his is the *Sūrya-siddhāntaviveka* or *Vāsanārṇava*, which is a commentary on the *Sūryasiddhānta*. There is a ms. of this work in the Bhau Daji Collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society.<sup>937</sup> Therein after giving his pedigree he says that by his works on *Smṛtiśāstra*, on astronomy and mathematics and on medicine he came to be known as *abhinava* Bhoja.<sup>938</sup> In this treatise he refers to his own works already composed called *Siddhāntagarbha*<sup>939</sup> and *Yantraprakāśa*. He also refers to a *Rajamrgaṅka*

933 भवनाङ्गणचङ्गवारणस्तनयस्तस्य नृपः सहारणः । उदियाय जनस्य वीक्षिते नृपती वष  
पुरन्दरधमः ॥ 5th Intro. verse of *सूर्यसिद्धान्तविवेक* (BBRAS cat. part I pp. 95-97.).

934 परिशील्यता कलाकलाय विधानेन च मूरिशो निबन्धाद् । मदनेन महीभृताथ वेन  
प्रधिता नूतनभोजराजकीर्तिः ॥ verse 18 of *मदनपारिजात*; this verse, particularly the 4th pāda, occurs in the *निधिनिर्णयसार* (17th verse), *स्मृतिकौमुदी* (13th verse), the *महावर्णव* (13th verse in D. C. ms. No. 259 of 1886-92.).

935 Vide D. C. ms. Nos. 1065 and 1066 of 1886-92 for *मदनविनोदनिघण्टु*. In No. 1065 there is no *प्रशस्ति*.

936 e. g. such words as दहिबडा (for दधिपूक), लापसी, घेवर, इरडे, नागरमोधा, इलद, बदाम &c.

937 Vide BBRA8 cat. part. I. pp. 95-97 for this ms.

938 प्रतिदिनमुदितैर्नयैः प्रबन्धैः स्मृतिसरणौ गणिते चिकित्सिते च । जगति विजयते विजृम्भ-  
माणैरभिनवभोज इति प्रथा यदीया ॥ 7th Intro. verse.

939 अतः कर्षमाणोल्लाष्यायमप्रस्थं मनेयमस्मरुते सिद्धान्तगर्भसंज्ञके मदनविनोदपरनाम्नि  
धन्धे द्रष्टव्यम् ।

of Bhoja and to Bhāskara's works. The ms. was copied in *samvat* 1459, i. e. 1402-3 A. D. In the colophon of this work his *birudas* (titles) are Paṇḍitapārijāta and Abhinava-Bhoja, and he is also styled Mahārājādhirāja.<sup>940</sup> In the Madanapārijāta and the Mahārṇava the *birudas* are Paṇḍitapārijāta and Kāṭāramalla or Kattāramalla. A work called Ānandasāñjivana on singing, dancing, musical instruments and rāgas is ascribed to Madanapāla.<sup>941</sup> The king Madana, son of Sahāraṇa, who is connected with the restoration of Medhatithi's bhāṣya, must be this Madana.

A great deal has been written concerning the date of Madanapāla. The introductory verses giving the genealogy of Madanapāla must be held to be genuine, as they occur in the ancient ms. (D. C. No. 131 of A. 1882-83) of Mahārṇava copied in *samvat* 1645 (1588-89 A. D.) and in the still older ms. (dated *samvat* 1459) of the Sūrya-siddhānta-viveka. As the Madanapārijāta mentions the Smṛticandrikā and Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi not only in the introductory verses of the Madanapārijāta but in the body of the Madanapārijāta and the Mahārṇava, Madanapāla must be certainly later than 1300 A. D. As the Smṛtikaumudī mentions the Vedāntakalpataru that was composed in the time of the Yadava princes Kṛṣṇa and Mahādeva, it follows that the work was composed after the third quarter of the 13th century. The Madanapārijāta is quoted in the Nṛsiṃhaprasāda, the Antyeṣṭipaddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, the Āhnikatattava (pp. 326, 397, 479, vol. I) of Raghunandana, the Śrāddhakriyākaumudī (pp. 327, 489) of Govindananda. Therefore it is certainly earlier than 1500 A. D. And if we rely on the date when the ms. of the Sūryasiddhāntaviveka was copied (viz. 1402-3 A. D.), it follows that Madanapāla flourished before 1400 A. D. The Madanavinodanighaṇṭu<sup>942</sup> gives the date of its

940 इति श्रीपण्डितपारिजाताभिनेयमोलेत्यादिचिरद्वर्त्तविराजमानेन मदनपारिजात-महार्णव-सिद्धान्तगर्भ-यन्त्रप्रकाशाद्यनेकग्रन्थकर्त्रा श्रीमद्भारजाविराजेन श्रीमदनपालदेवेन विरचितः श्रीसूर्यसिद्धान्तविवेको वासनार्णवः समाप्तः । ; but at the end of the D. C. ms. of the स्मृतिकौमुदी, the colophon is simply इति श्रीरायमदनपालविरचितया शुद्धधर्मोत्पल्योपनिष्या स्मृतिकौमुद्या &c.

941 Vide Mitra's Bikaner cat. p. 509.

942 अन्धे ब्रह्मजगद्युगेन्द्रगणने श्रीविक्रमार्कप्रभोमांघे नासि वल्लभाक्षलालते बह्व्या सुधाशोर्दिने । verse 14 of the last वर्ग in D. C. ms. No. 129 of 1884-87 and No. 1046 of 1886-92. The last has a corrupt reading बह्व्या गुरोर्दिने. Vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 p. 47 for the date.



The Samayoddyota deals with the subjects usually treated of in works on *kala*, viz discussions about the year, the seasons, the months, the intercalary months, the rules about *tithis*, the rules about the proper times for various religious observances, gifts, *homa*, the rules about *kalivarjya*.

There is a ms. of the Dānodyota in the Ānandaśrama collection at Poona (No. 2378). The following are the subjects treated of:—eulogy of *dāna*; the nature of *dāna*, various kinds of *dānas*; the constituent elements (*aṅgāni*) of *dāna*; the donor, proper persons for gifts, persons undeserving of gifts, what things cannot be given away, proper and improper times and places for *dāna*, measures of corn and other substances and weights and units of length &c., finding out the east and other directions, characteristics of a *toraṇa*, *patākā* and *maṇḍapa*, *tulā-puruṣa* (weighing oneself against gold or silver), gift of a thousand cows and other magnificent gifts, dedication of a tank or well and planting of a garden &c. In this work the author refers to Kalpataru and to Hemādri as a *dākṣiṇā-tyanibandhakāra*.

Deccan College ms. No. 392 of 1891-95 deals with the *śānti* section. It treats of rites for propitiating gods and planets and averting the evil consequences of great or small portentous phenomena, such as Vināyaka-śānta, sūrya-śānti, navagraha-śānti, śāntis for birth on certain evil *nakṣatras* like *mūla*, *āśleṣa* and evil astrological conjunctions like *vyatipata*, *vaidhṛtī*, *saṃkrāntī*; rites for the safety of the foetus and of the newly born infant; *ayutahoma*; *lakṣa-homa*, *koṭi-homa* &c. In this section sages like Uttara-Garga, Kātyāyana, Nārada, Baijavāpa (on *grhya*), Mānava-saṃhitā, Yājñavalkya, Śaunaka and purāṇas like the Skanda, Bhaviṣyottara, Viṣṇudharmottara are very frequently cited. Besides the following are among the authors and works referred to:—Apekṣitārthadyotinī, a commentary of Nārāyaṇa, Karmavipākasaṃgraha, Karmavipākasaṃuccaya, Kumāratantra promulgated by the son of Rāvaṇa, Prayogasāra, Vijñāneśvarācārya (in the plural).

A ms. of the Ācāroddyota is noticed by Burnell in his Tanjore cat. (p. 137 b). Stein (in his cat. of Jammu mss.) notices an incomplete ms. of the Vyavahāroddyota (p. 98 No. 2437). M. M. Haraprasad Sastri notices a ms. of the Prāyaścittoddyota (Nepal Palmleaf and Paper mss. cat. XVIII and p. 223).

From the colophons at the end of the several mss. of the Madanaratna it appears that the work was composed under the patronage of king Madanasimha-deva, son of Śaktisimha.<sup>945</sup> The king is styled mahārājādhirāja and one of his titles is kodanḍa-parasurāma (meaning 'who was a veritable Parasurāma in wielding the bow'). The introductory verses<sup>946</sup> to the Samayoddyota in the Vāsrām-bāg collection and the Ulwar ms. refer to Delhi-deśa and its king named Mahīpāladeva. Then verse 9 speaks of Dāmodara whose exact relationship with Mahīpāladeva is not clear. Dāmodara is said to have made the yavanas of Malasthāna (modern Multan in the Punjab) give up the slaughtering of cows. The whole pedigree is given below.<sup>947</sup> Śaktisimha is said to have eclipsed even Bhoja.

945 इति श्रीकोदण्डपरशुरामेत्यादिचिरुदावलीविराजमानमानोज्ञतमहाराजाधिराजधीशक्तिर्षिः-  
क्षमजमहाराजाधिराजधर्मिदनासिंहदेवविगच्छिते मदनरत्नप्रदीपे दानविवेकोद्योते &c. in ms.  
(Ānandāśrama No. 2378); there is a similar colophon at the end of the  
शान्ति section.

946 तस्मादकस्मिकोपादहनघनमहस्तुत्यतः प्रतापज्वालावालाभिभूतद्विषद्वनिपतः। वन्धये भास्कर-  
रस्य । राजा राजावतारो परममरुधोद्गमराजानुभावप्रश्वस्तारातिभूर्मातृतिदनुजवधो-  
भूम्हर्षिपालदेवः ॥ यथासीद्भुवनेषु विभुतच्छणो दामोदराख्यः कृत्वा श्रीमान्पुण्यवद्गणी-  
र्जितरिपुष्पापालसङ्घः प्रभुः । मूलस्थानपुरे लुब्धकनिवहाफान्ते परित्याजितो येनाद्यावधि  
गोवधो यवनकैः शत्राणि ( कुत्राणि ! ) न स्मर्यन्ते ॥ verses 8 and 9 of the Ulwar  
ms. of समयोद्योत.

947 The pedigree is

महर्षिपालदेव  
|  
दामोदर  
|  
देवीदास  
|  
सूर्यदास  
|  
शक्तिसिंह  
|  
मदनसिंह



It is further said that Madanasiriha called<sup>948</sup> together four learned men, viz., Ratnākara, Gopinātha, Viśvanātha and Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭṭa and entrusted the composition of the digest to them. The colophons<sup>949</sup> at the end of the Śāntyuddyota in the Deccan College says that it was composed by Viśvanātha, a resident of Benares and son of Bhaṭṭapūjya, a Śrīmālī Gurjara (Brāhmaṇa). There is a similar colophon at the end of the Prāyaścittoddyota noticed by M. M. Haraprasad Sastri.

Since the Madanaratna mentions the Mit., the Kalpataru and Hemādri, it must be certainly later than about 1300 A. D. It is quoted as a great authority by the writers of the 16th and 17th centuries, such as Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa, Nilakaṇṭha and Mitramiśra. In the Vyavahāra-mayūkha Nilakaṇṭha relies upon the Madanaratna as often as (if not oftener than) the Mitākṣarā. The Viramitrodaya<sup>950</sup> says that the author of the Madanaratna refers to the views of the Mitākṣarā, Kalpataru, and Halāyudha. From this it follows that the Madanaratna was composed at some time between 1350-1500. Madanasiriha and his ancestors are spoken of as ruling the country about Delhi. Though Madanasiriha bears the high-sounding title of maharājadhiraṇya it is highly probable that he was some feudatory chief under the Mahomedan rulers of Delhi. It is difficult to conceive of a period between 1300 and 1500 A. D. when a Hindu ruler was king of Delhi. It may be that during the troublous times of Muhammad Tughlak (1325-1351 A. D.), when the capital was transferred from Delhi to Daulatabad, or during the weak rule of the last kings of the Tughlak dynasty (1388-1413 A. D.) Madanasirihas' predecessors might

948 तेनाहूय मनीषिमण्डनमणिं सन्मिथरत्नाकरं गोपीनाथननुत्तमं च सुधिर्ध्वं श्रीविश्वनाथं तथा । मुग्धं पण्डितमुज्जतसुतिमर्तिं भट्टं च यज्ञाधरं राक्षा शक्तिनं ( क ! ) सुनुना सुकृतिना प्रंधोषमारभ्यते ॥ I. O. cat. p. 537, No. 1681, verse 53; this is verse 21 in the Viśvāmbhaṅg ms.

949 महाराजाधिराजस्य मदनैन्द्रस्य शासनान् । श्रीमाली ( लिना ! ) गुर्जरेण भट्टपूज्यात्मजेन वा । भट्टश्रीविश्वनाथेन काशीनिर्धनिवासिना । शान्तिकं पौष्टिकं वारिं यथाशास्त्रं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ The Ulwar ms. ( Peterson's Ulwar cat. No. 353 ) reads श्रीमहिनाथगुर्जरेण.

950 तत्र मदनरत्नकारेण मिताक्षराकल्पतरुहलायुधदित्तर्वचन्यान्तरेष्वलिखनानिर्मूलत्वमस्य ज्ञानं स्थानमिति प्राजापत्यस्य लिखनसमूलत्वमिति दूषणमुक्त्वा &c. वीर० p. 626; vide वीर० pp. 5, 29, 36, 59 for references to मदनरत्न.

have usurped some territory about Delhi and ruled over it. At all events it would not be far from correct if the *Madanaratna* be placed about 1425-1450 A. D. Dr. Jolly ( R. u. S. p. 37 ) says that the *Madanaratna* names the Ratnākara and the MādHAVIYA. M. M. Haraprasad Sastri ( Report on palm-leaf and paper mss. from Nepal, Intro. pp. 31-32 ) tells us that the dynasty to which Madanasirīhadeva belonged ruled over Gorakhpur-Champaran ( Western Tirhut ), that Madanasirīhadeva was preceded by Śaktisirīhadeva, whose predecessor was Prthvisirīhadeva. The learned Sastri further says that a ms. of the *Madanaratnapradīpa-prāyaścittoddyota* applies the title 'kodanḍaparaśurāma' to Madana ( p. 223 ), that a ms. of the *Amarakośa* was copied in saṁvat 1511 ( 1454-55 A. D. ) when Madanasirīha ruled over Campakāranyanagara ( p. 51 of the body of the Report ) and that a ms. of the *Narasirīhapurāṇa* was copied in La-saṁ 339 ( 1457-58 A. D. ) when mahārājādhirāja Madanasirīhadeva ruled over Gorakṣapura i. e. modern Gorakhpur ( p. 29 of the Report ). The great similarity of the names Madanapāla and Madanasirīha misled J. C. Ghose ( Hindu Law, vol. II, p. XIV, ed. of 1917 ) into holding that the *Madanapārijāta* and the *Madanaratna* were written under Madanapāla. But it is clear from the ancestry of the two kings, Madanapāla and Madanasirīha, and the names of the real authors of the digests ( *Madanapārijāta* and *Madanaratna* ) that they have no connection with each other.

### 95. *Śūlapāṇi*

Next to Jimūtavahana, *Śūlapāṇi* is the most authoritative Bengal writer on dharmaśāstra. Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakravarti gave a very interesting account of his works and time in JASB for 1915, pp. 336-343.

The earliest work of *Śūlapāṇi* appears to have been his *Dīpakalikā*, a commentary on the smṛti of Yājñavalkya. It is a very brief commentary. The portion on the *dayabhāga* section ( Yājñavalkya II, verses 114-149 ) is contained in five printed pages ( vide Ghose's Hindu Law, edition of 1917, vol. II, pp. 550-554 ). In this commentary, besides the sages he names only a few writers and works on dharma, e. g. the *Kalpataru*, *Govindarāja*, the *Mitākṣarā*, *Medhātithi* and *Viśvarūpa*.. He entertained somewhat archaic views on matters of inheritance. For example, he holds that the text speaking of the right of the parents to succeed before the brothers of the

deceased has reference to property acquired by the deceased from his father or grand-father. He explained the word 'apratīṣṭhitā' in the sūtra of Gautama 'stridhanāni duhitṛṇām-apratātānām-apratīṣṭhitānām ca' in the same way as Aparārka, Jīmūtavāhana and the Smṛticandrikā.<sup>951</sup> He says that a full brother though not re-united succeeded before a half-brother though re-united.<sup>952</sup> This explanation of the much canvassed verse of Yāj. offered by Śūlapāṇi is referred to by the Vīramitrodaya.<sup>953</sup> The Vyavahāratattva of Raghunandana several times refers to Śūlapāṇi's explanations of Yāj.<sup>954</sup>

Śūlapāṇi wrote several small treatises on topics of dharmasāstra and intended them to form part of a huge digest called Smṛtīviveka. Fourteen such works are known to have been so written with titles ending in the word 'viveka,' viz. Ekadaśī-viveka, Tithi-viveka, Dattaka-viveka, Durgotsava-prayoga-viveka, Durgotsava-viveka, Dola-yātrā-viveka, Pratiṣṭhā-viveka, Prāyaścitta-viveka, Rasayātrā-viveka, Vratakāla-viveka, Śuddhi-viveka, Śrāddha-viveka, Saṁskṛanti-viveka, Saṁbandha-viveka (on marriage). Of these the Durgotsavaviveka seems to have been amongst his latest works, since he names therein five of his *vivekas* on durgotsava-prayoga, pratiṣṭhā, prāyaścitta, śuddhi and śrāddha. The Śrāddha-viveka is the most famous of his works and has been printed. His Prāyaścittaviveka and Durgotsava-viveka have also been published, the former by Jivananda (1893) and the latter by the Sanskrit Sahitya Pariṣad at Calcutta in Bengali characters. In the Durgotsava-viveka he deals with the worship of Durgā in Āśvina and also in spring (hence the deity is called Vāsantī). In the Durgotsava-viveka, besides such purāṇas as the Kālikā, Bhaviṣyottara, Bhāgavata, Devī, he names a host of writers and works as noted below.<sup>955</sup> In spite of Aufrecht's view

951 अनपत्या निर्धना अर्भकका दुर्मयाश्च । ता विना अन्वयः पुत्रपौत्रादिः ।

952 असंसृष्टपि सोदर एव गृह्णीयात् न तु संसृष्टः सापत्नभाता ।

953 'बाह्ववस्वस्यमृतिटीकायां शूलपाणिः । अम्योदर्वयः संसृष्टी नाम्योदर्वयधनं गृह्णीयात् । असंसृष्टपि सोदर एव गृह्णीयात् । न तु संसृष्टः सापत्नभाता &c.' वीर. pp. 682-683.

954 a. ४ आवेद्यन्ति चेदिम्यनेन स्वयं विवादीन्धापनं राज्ञा न कर्तव्यमिति शूलपाणिमहामहोपाध्यायः । व्यवहारतत्त्व.

955 They are : कालकोमुदी, कालमाधवीय, कालविवेक, कालावर्षा, चक्रनारायणी, जिकन, जितनवाङ्मन, ज्योतिषाम्ब, बालक, महाकविलक्ष्मणाय, वर्षलक्ष्य, वसन्तराज, शारदा-मिलक, श्रीकर्मिष्य, श्रीवल्लभाभ्याय, संवत्सरपदीय, सम्यपदीय ( of श्रीदत्त ). सात-कमुच्यन्ते, स्मृतिस्मरण.

the *Saṁvatsara-pradīpa* is not his own work. A *Sārasamuccaya* is also mentioned in Hemādri ( *Dāna-khaṇḍa* page 135 ). The *Smṛtisāgara* is probably the same as the *Govindārṇava* of Śeṣa Nṛsiṅha or the work of the same name which Kullōka appears to have composed. Śrīkaramiśra is probably the ancient author referred to even by the *Mitākṣarā*.

The *Śrāddha-viveka* has several commentaries by eminent writers such as Śrinātha Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi and Govindānanda. So there are commentaries on the *Prāyaścittaviveka*. Besides the above, the works and authors mentioned in the other *vivekas* are noted below.<sup>956</sup> The *Śrāddha-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi is referred to ( as *Gauḍīya-śrāddha-viveka* ) by Rudradhara,<sup>957</sup> by Vācaspati in his *Śrāddha-cintāmaṇi*, by Govindānanda in his *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī* and by Raghunandana in several of his *tattvas*.

We know very little about the personal history of Śūlapāṇi. In the colophons of his works<sup>958</sup> he is styled *Sāhudīyāla* ( or -na ) *Mahāmahopādhyāya* and Raghunandana also calls him *Mahāmahopādhyāya*. The *Sāhudīyāla* was a degraded section of the *Rādhiya* Brāhmaṇas in Bengal from the days of Ballālasena. As Rudradhara calls him *Gauḍīya*, it follows that Śūlapāṇi was a Bengal Brāhmaṇa. There is a tradition that he was the Judge of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. But this is impossible as the following discussion about his date will show.

There is some uncertainty about the exact age of Śūlapāṇi. As Śūlapāṇi names the *Ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara and the *Kālamādhaviya*, he must be later than about 1375 A. D., since some time must have elapsed before a work from Vijayanagar came to be regarded as an authority in Bengal. As Śūlapāṇi's works are mentioned by Rudradhara, Govindānanda and Vācaspati, the former must be earlier than about 1460. In this connection it has to be noted that Govindānanda not only comments upon Śūlapāṇi's

956 कल्पतरु, कामधेनु, सत्यचिन्तामणि, गोविन्दराज, धर्मप्रदीप, परिज्ज्ञान, भवदेव, मुज-बलमीम, भोजदेव, महानांमकारा, मिलाक्षरा, मेधाविधि, रत्नाकर, शङ्कर, स्थिति-मञ्जरी, इत्यादि.

957 Vide folio 25 a of the Benares edition of रुद्रधर's आदिविवेक ( printed in संवत् 1920 ).

958 Vide I. O. cat. p. 371 No. 1287 and D. C. ms. No. 98 of 1895-98.

works but probably looks upon Śūlapāṇi as an old writer along with Aniruddha.<sup>959</sup>

A ms. of the *Prāyaścittaviveka* was copied at Benares in *śake* 1410 (i. e. 1488 A. D.).<sup>960</sup> From all these data it follows that Śūlapāṇi flourished between 1375 and 1460 A. D.

From the *Śuddhittatva* it appears that Śūlapāṇi wrote *Parīṣiṣṭa-dīpakalikā* (probably a commentary on a *Grhyaparīṣiṣṭa*)<sup>961</sup>.

### 96. Rudradhara

This is a well-known Maithila writer on Dharmaśāstra, who composed several works. His *Śuddhi-viveka* has been published several times (at Benares in 1866, in 1878 and by the Venkateśvara Press in Bombay, *sativat* 1978). That work is divided into three *paricchedas* and deals with purification from impurity on birth and death, the persons liable to undergo purifications, the meaning of the word *putra*, purification of the body and of various substances when polluted, purification of cooked food and water and women in their menses. He tells us that after<sup>962</sup> having examined seven works (*nibandhas*) on *śuddhi* and being encouraged by his father and brother he composed the *Śuddhiviveka*. He further says that he made the effort for the benefit of those who were not disposed to go through such works as the *Ratnakara*, *Parijāta*, *Mitākṣarā* and the *Hāralatā*.<sup>963</sup> Besides these he mentions the *Ācārādārṣa*, *Śuddhi-pradīpa*, *Śuddhi-bimba*, *Śrīdattopādhyāya*, *Smṛtisāra* and *Harihara*.

The *Śrāddhiviveka* of Rudradhara is the most famous of his works. It was printed at Benares in *sativat* 1920. The work is

959 यच्च मधिलेरासनादानयोर्धे चाथ तेति मन्त्रो नास्तीत्युक्तं तदनिरुद्धशूलपाणिप्रभृतीनां प्राचामसंमतम् । p. 71 of *Śāradhikāśikā* mudrā. The word प्राचा may here mean 'eastern writers.'

960 शाके गते दशसमुद्रहिमशुसंस्थे मासे तिथे शिवमुदे शिवशर्मणा यः ।

961 अत एव पितृव्यिता-परिशिष्टमकाश-शूलपाणिस्त-परिशिष्टदीपकलिकाप्रभृतिषु मन्त्राभिधान-पूर्वकवाक्येन वृषोत्सर्ग इत्युक्तम् । *शुद्धितत्व* (vol. II, p. 380).

962 शुद्धो सप्त निषण्णान् रङ्गानुमतः पितृस्तथा ज्ञातुः ।

963 सन्त्येव रत्नाकरपाणिजितमिताक्षरारत्नलादुषोन्वे । तथापि तत्रालसमानसतां भवेत्प्रमोदाय मम प्रयासः ॥

divided into four *paricchedas*. He first defines śrāddha, and then treats of several topics, viz. the varieties of śrāddha, the procedure at śrāddhas, the *mantras* that are recited, the proper time and place for śrāddhas, the Brahmanas worthy to be invited at śrāddha and the proper food etc. Among the numerous works and authors referred to in the work the undermentioned ones deserve notice.<sup>964</sup> He refers to his own Śuddhiviveka as already written.

In several places he tells us that he follows a different tradition on certain matters from that of the Pitr̥bhakti or of the Sugatisopāna. He points out that the *prasatikā* is a kind of grain known in Madhyadeśa as Śāthilā.<sup>965</sup>

For his Vratapaddhati, vide Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 15, No. 1995. He says that he was urged by his brother's advice to write the work and that he follows the Samayapradīpa.<sup>966</sup>

Another work of his is the Varṣakṛtya which deals with festivals and fasts.

He was the son of Mahāmāhopādhyāya Lakṣmīdhara and youngest brother of Haladhara. His works are quoted by Vācaspati in his Dvaitanirṇaya, by Govindānanda in the Śrāddhakriyākaumudī, by Raghunandana in several of his *tattvas*, by Kamalākara and Nilakaṇṭha.

As Rudradhara mentions the Ratnakara, the Smṛtisāra, Śrīdatto-pādhyāya and the Śrāddhiviveka of Śūlapāṇi, he is certainly later than 1425 A. D. A ms. of his Vratapaddhati is dated in Lakṣmaṇa *samvat* 344 i. e. 1463 A. D.<sup>967</sup> Besides he is quoted by Vācaspati and Govindānanda. Therefore he must have flourished between 1425 and 1460 A. D.

964 कृष्णराव, गोविलगृह्यभाष्य, उन्मोघपरिशिष्टटीका, वरिनात, विनृमकि ( of श्रीसो-  
पाण्याय styled प्राचीन ), भुजबलभीम, भोजराज, महर्णव, त्नाकर, आदिकल्प,  
आदपल्लव, आदविके ( मोदीय i. e. of शूलपाणि ), सुगतिसौतान ( styled भव-  
शर्मप्रतिहस्तकग्रन्थ ), स्मृतिसार, इत्यादिग्रन्थ.

965 प्रसातिका मध्यदेशे शाठीला इति वसिष्ठे धान्यम् । folio 21 b of the Benares ed. of  
सेवतु 1920.

966 एष अध्यातृचरणोन्मोघः समवप्रदीपानुसारी ग्रन्थाः । at the end of the व्रतपद्धति.

967 Vide M. M. Haraprasad Sastri's cat. of palm-leaf and paper Nepal mss.  
XIII and p. 73.

The Rudradhara who was a pupil of Caṇḍeśvara and author of the Kṛtyacandrikā, the Vivādacandrikā and the Śrāddhacandrikā appears to be a different author.

### 97. Misarumisra

Misarumisra is famous for his works called Vivādacandra and Padārtha-candrikā (on the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system). There is a ms. of the Vivādacandra in the Deccan College (No. 57 of 1883-84). That work deals with the titles of Law (vyavahārapadas) such as ṛṇādāna (recovery of debt), nyāsa (deposit), asvāmivikraya, saṁbhūya-samutthāna (partnership), dāyavibhāga, stridhana; and then with procedure, viz. the plaint, reply, pramāṇas, witnesses, possession etc. It frequently quotes the Ratnākara (on vivāda and vyavahāra) of Caṇḍeśvara and several times criticizes him. Besides numerous smṛti writers the other authors and works named are : Parijāta, Prakāśa, Balarāpa (often), Bhavadeva and Smṛtisāra (frequently).

In the mss. and colophons the name of the author seems to be Misarūmisra.<sup>968</sup> He tells us that he wrote the work under the orders of princess Lachimādevī, wife of prince Candrasīrha who appears to have been the younger brother of Bhairavasīrhhadeva of the Kameśvara dynasty of Michila. The work was probably called Vivāda-candra to connect it with the prince Candrasīrha. The Vivāda-candra first<sup>969</sup> speaks of king Bhavēśa of the Kameśvara dynasty, then of his son Harasīrhhadeva, then of his son Darpanārāyaṇa and the latter's queen Hirā or Dhīra and then of Candrasīrha and his queen Lakhimā or Lachimā. We saw above that Caṇḍeśvara who had weighed himself against gold in 1314 A. D. wrote in his old age

968 श्रीचन्द्रसिंहनृपतेर्देविता लक्ष्मि महादेवी । रचयति पदार्थचन्द्रं मिसरुमिश्रोपदेशेन ॥  
Intro. verso 2 in Mitra's Notices vol. IX p. 12 No. 2901; vide I. O. cat. p. 454 No. 1500 'इति महामहोपाध्यायश्रीमिसरुमिश्रविरचितो विवादचन्द्रः समाप्तः'.

969 अभूदभूतप्रतिमल्लगन्धो राजा भवेशः किल सर्वभौमः । अन्त्याजयद्यो बहुभर्तृकत्वं दोषं  
भुषोपि ममुहप्रधाम् ॥ तस्मादनुजोजनि सुनुसारो धीमान्मासुनुसमानसारः । राजो-  
पजीष्यो हरसिंहनामा ततो नृपो दर्पनरायणोभूत् ॥ दर्पनरायणनृपतेः श्रीमद्दीरा  
महादेवी । अलभत तनयं तनयं नरपतिगुणराशिपूरितं शुभम् ॥ श्रीमल्लसिमादेवी  
तस्य चन्द्रसिंहनृपतेर्देवितस्य । नाम्ना मिसरुमिश्रद्वारा रचयति विवादचन्द्रमभिरामम् ॥  
Intro, verses in the Deccan College ms.



under Bhavēsa his work on Rājanīti. Lachimādevī was queen of the great-grandson of this Bhavēsa, who became king of Tirhut in the third quarter of the 14th century. Therefore Candrasinha must have flourished about the middle of the 15th century and Misaramisra's work must be assigned to that period. M. M. Chakravarti points out (JASB for 1915, p. 425) that for Dhīrasinha, a son of Darpanārāyaṇa, there is an authentic date, viz. 321 of the Lakṣmaṇasena era in Tirhut (i. e. 1438 A. D.), when a ms. of Śrinivāsa's Setudarpaṇi (com. on Śrutibandha) was copied during Dhīrasinha's reign.

That the Vivādacandra is a work of authority on Hindu Law in Mithila has been recognised from very early days in the British courts.<sup>970</sup> The Vivādacandra held that the word *stridhana* was to be applied to such woman's property as was technically so called (by the sages) and not to all property that comes to a woman.<sup>971</sup>

#### 98. *Vācaspatimisra*

Vācaspatimisra is the foremost *nibandha* writer of Mithila. His Vivādacintāmaṇi has been recognised by the High Courts in India and by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as a work of paramount authority on matters of Hindu Law in Mithilā.<sup>972</sup> Vācaspati was an extremely voluminous writer and appears to have composed dozens of works. In the *Śrāddhakalpa* *alias* *Pitrbhaktitarāṅgiṇī*, almost his latest work, he says that he wrote in his youth ten works on śāstra and thirty *nibandhas* on *smṛti* and composed the work in question in his declining years.<sup>973</sup> At least eleven works of his bearing the title 'cintāmaṇi' are known. They are briefly noticed below.

The Ācaracintāmaṇi deals with the daily rites of Vajasaneyins.<sup>974</sup> The Āhnikacintāmaṇi is quoted in his Śuddhicintāmaṇi. The

970 *Vide* 2 Moo. I. A. p. 132 at p. 147 and p. 152 (where there is a citation in English from the *विवादचन्द्र*).

971 'स्त्रीधनं परिभाषिकमेव न सर्वम्' folio 33 a of the D. C. ms.

972 *Vide* 11 Moo. I. A. 139 at p. 174 and 487 at p. 508, I. L. R. 30 All. 267 at p. 290 (P. C.), I. L. R. 10 Cal. 392 at p. 399, I. L. R. 12 Cal. 348 at p. 351.

973 भास्के दश स्मृतौ विराज्जिह्वा येष बोधने । निर्मितास्तेन चरमे वयस्येष विनिर्मेने ॥  
*vide* I. O. cat. p. 556 No. 1730.

974 अहोरात्राश्रितो धर्म इह वाजसनेयिनाम् । निवस्यते इति नत्वा श्रीवाचस्पतिशर्मणा ॥  
Mitra's Notices, vol. V. p. 169, No. 1857.

Kṛtyacintāmaṇi was published in Bengali characters at Benares in *śake* 1814 (vide JASB. for 1915, p. 395) and deals with the festivals that are celebrated on different days in the year. The Tīrthacintāmaṇi has been published in the B. I. series. It is divided into five *prakāśas*, viz. Prayāga, Puruṣottama (Puri), Gāṅgā, Gayā and Vārāṇasī and deals with such topics as the purpose of pilgrimages, the preliminaries of pilgrimage, the various rites to be performed at the several *tīrthas*, the subsidiary sacred places at the principal *tīrthas* etc. He mentions the Kalpataru, Gaṇeśvara-miśra, Jayaśarma, the Mitākṣarā, Smṛtisamuccaya and Hemādri. In the introduction he explicitly states that he composed the work after carefully examining the Kṛtyakalpadrūma and Pārijāta, the Ratnākara and other works.<sup>975</sup> The Dvaitacintāmaṇi is mentioned in his Kṛtyacintāmaṇi. The Nīticintāmaṇi is mentioned in the Vivādacintāmaṇi (p. 72). The Vivādacintāmaṇi (text) was published at Calcutta in 1837 (which edition is used in this work) and was translated into English by Prasannakumar Tagore (in 1863) with a learned preface. It explicitly states that the author carefully studied the Kṛtyakalpadrūma, Pārijāta and Ratnākara.<sup>976</sup> The work deals exhaustively with the eighteen titles of law (*vyavahārapadas*). The principal authors and works, besides the usual smṛtis and purāṇas, mentioned in the work are noted below.<sup>977</sup> In this work he mentions several vernacular equivalents for Sanskrit terms. The Vyavahāracintāmaṇi<sup>978</sup> deals with judicial procedure, viz. the four principal topics thereof, viz. *bhāṣā* (the plaint), *uttara* (reply of defendant), *kriyā* (evidence),

975 श्रीकृत्यकल्पद्रुमपारिजातरत्नाकरादीनवलोक्य यत्नात् । ग्रन्थं मूर्ध्ना मधुसूदनाय वाचस्पतिस्तीर्थविधिं तनोति ॥ तीर्थचिन्तामणि, vide p. 268 also.

976 श्रीकृत्यकल्पद्रुम ... यत्नात् । वाचस्पतिः श्रीपतिनन्दमौलिर्विधाचिन्तामणिमातनोति ॥

977 कृत्यक, गृहस्थरत्नाकर, पारिजात, प्रकाश, बालक्य, भाष्यकार (of शङ्खलक्षित, p. 67, the same quotation occurring in the वि. र. p. 234), मिताक्षरा, मेधा-निधि, रत्नाकर, लक्ष्मीधर, स्मृतिसार, इत्याद्युच. Note the following words 'स्फुटकरोवकरः गोमूतल इति प्रसिद्धः' (p. 63), 'आरक्षकः कोटाल इति प्रसिद्धः' (p. 95, i. e. Kotwal in Marathi), 'संकमः साकम इति प्रसिद्धः' (p. 101; compare Marathi सांकम).

978 माधोचरित्रियापदा निर्णयः सौपदेशकः । चतुष्पादसप्तविधयो व्यवहारो निरूप्यते ॥ I. O. cat. p. 417 No. 1400.

*nirṇaya* (decision). The Śuddhicintāmaṇi was printed at Benares in Bengali characters in *śaṭ* 1814 (JASB for 1915, p. 396 n 2). The Śūdrācārācintāmaṇi deals with the duties of śūdras (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 22, No. 2001). The Śrāddhacintāmaṇi is a standard work and was printed at Benares in Bengali characters in *śaṭ* 1814.

Besides the works and authors enumerated in the foot-note above, the others mentioned by him in his several Cintāmaṇis are noted below.<sup>979</sup>

Besides these there is a group of Vācaspati's works with the title 'nirṇaya'. The Tithinirṇaya<sup>980</sup> starts with an invocation of the highest Being (paramātman) while most of his works are begun with an obeisance to Hari or Kṛṣṇa. It first divides *tithis* into śuddhā and viddhā (commingled with another tithi) and then discusses all the *tithis* from the first to the fifteenth and also *amāvāsya*; it deals with the questions as to the rites of that *tithi* which is *kṣaya*, with śivarātrivrata, naktavrata, holidays, fasts, jayantivrata, holikā festival etc. The Dvāitanirṇaya,<sup>981</sup> as its name implies, is concern-

979 अनिरुद्ध, असहाय, आचारप्रदीप, उदयकर, कर्क, कर्मप्रदीप, कालविवेक, कालादर्श, कुलाणव, गोविन्दराज, दुर्गाभक्तिरत्निणी, पितृभक्ति, प्रदीप, भवदेव, ममिषराक्षस, भोजराज ( or simply राज ), राजमार्तण्ड, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, वर्धमानोपाध्याय, विवेक, स्वयम्भारमातृका, सुद्धिसार, आह्वकल्पपिप्तामणि, आह्वपल्लव, आह्वपञ्जी, आह्व-विवेक, श्रीदत्तोपाध्याय, सुगतिसोपान, स्मृतिपरिभाषा, स्मृतिदर्पण, स्मृतिसागर, हरि-हरमिश्र, हरिहरपद्धति, हारलता.

980 अद्वैतोद्बोधगम्याय निर्गुणस्थितिहेतवे ।  
जगतामादिभूताय नमस्ते परमात्मने ॥  
सिलोक्त्य मुनिवाक्यानि संप्रदायानुसारतः ।  
तिथिहेतुविधौ यत्प्राक्तिक्रियते तिथिनिर्णयः ॥  
Mitra's Notices, vol. V. p. 149 No. 1139.

981 Vide Mitra's Notices, vol. I, p. 149 No. 275 and vol. V, p. 294 No. 1973 for the हेतुनिर्णय.

ed with the settlement of some doubtful points of Dharmasāstra such as the names to be given to brāhmanas and the other *varṇas*, doubts on gifts and consecration of tanks and wells, doubts about daily bath, *sandhya*, *devapūjā*, *vaiśvadeva*, daily offerings to manes, about judicial proceedings and the taking of interest, about various *vratas* like *ekādaśī* and *janmāṣṭamī*, about intercalary months, about the proper time for marriage and *upanayana*. The Mahādāna-nirṇaya<sup>82</sup> expatiates on the sixteen munificent gifts such as weighing against gold and silver. In the introductory verses Vācaspati gives the genealogy of his patron's family from Bhavēśa, whose son was Harasimhadeva, whose son was Narasimha, whose son Bhairavendra bore the *biruda* (appellation) Hari-nārāyaṇa. A verse<sup>83</sup> at the beginning and one at the end attribute the work to Bhairavendra and to Rāpanārāyaṇa respectively. Rāpa-nārāyaṇa was the *biruda* of Rāmaabhadra, a son of Bhairavendra. Therefore it looks probable that the work was commenced in the reign of Bhairava and was completed in the reign of his son Rāmaabhadra. M. M. Chakravarti says that Bhairava himself bore at one time the *biruda* Rāpanārāyaṇa. M. M. Haraprasad Sāstri (Nepal cat. p. 90) mentions a Vivadanirṇaya of Vācaspati. The Śuddhinirṇaya of Vācaspati deals with impurity on birth and death, the religious acts that must be performed even in times of impurity, *sapinda* relationship, periods of impurity for the principal *varṇas* and mixed castes; periods of impurity on abortion, the deaths of infants and women, accidental deaths etc., over-lapping of several periods of *āśauca*; impurity arising from carrying a corpse; rites after the death of a *sannyāsin*; impurity from contact of lower castes, such as washermen and *cāṇḍālās*, freedom from impurity at tīrthas and marriages etc.

82 Vide Haraprasad Sāstri's cat. of palm-leaf and paper Nepal mss. p. 122 for the महादाननिर्णय.

83 श्रीवाचस्पतिधीरं सहकारितया समासाद्य । श्रीभैरवेन्द्रवृत्तिः स्वयं महादाननिर्णयं तनुते ॥  
श्रीरूपनारायणभूमिपालकृतो महादाननिर्णययोग्यम् । यथाऽसूनाश्रितदिक्षतीनामाकल्प-  
माकल्पनु प्रपत्तीनाम् ॥ at end.

Besides these, Vācaspati appears to have either composed or contemplated writing seven works called *Mahārṇava* on *kṛtya*, *ācāra*, *vivāda*, *vyavahāra*, *dāna*, *śuddhi* and *pitṛyajña*. Of these the *Kṛtya-mahārṇava* is found and deals with festivals and fasts and the proper times therefor ( vide JASB for 1915, p. 398 ). He also wrote the *Gayāśrāddhapaddhati*, the *Candana-dhenupramāṇa* and the *Dattaka-vidhi*. Probably his last work, as stated above, was the *Śrāddhakalpa* *alias* *Pitṛbhaktitarāṅgiṇi*.

Apart from the works on *dharmaśāstra*, Vācaspati wrote also on the systems of philosophy. But it is not necessary for our purpose to go into that question.

Most of his works styled '*cintāmaṇi*' are mentioned by Raghunānanda in the *tattvas* ( e. g. *Kṛtyacintāmaṇi* in *Ekadaśitattva*, *Vivāda* and *Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi* in *Dayatattva* ). The *Śuddhicintāmaṇi* is quoted in the *Śuddhitattvārṇava* of Śrinātha-ācārya-cūḍamaṇi, the *Śrāddha-cintāmaṇi* is quoted in the *Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī* ( pp. 265, 475 ) and in the *Śuddhikaumudī* ( pp. 89, 93 ) of Govindānanda, the *Vivāda-cintāmaṇi* is quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya* ( p. 697 ) and the *Vyavahāracintāmaṇi* is criticized in the same work ( p. 288 ). His *Pitṛbhakti-tarāṅgiṇi* is mentioned in the *Śuddhitattva* and *Śrāddhatattva*. Vācaspati vouchsafes very little information about himself or his family. In the colophons of his works he is generally styled *mahāmahopādhyāya* and *mītra* or *saṃmītra*. In the colophon of the *Śūdrācāra-cintāmaṇi*<sup>984</sup> he is described as the *pariśad* ( the adviser of the king in finally deciding difficult points of *Dharmaśāstra* ) of *Mahārājadhirāja* *Harinārāyaṇa*. We saw above that his *Mahādānanimāya* connects itself with two kings *Bhairava* and his son *Rūpanārāyaṇa*. At the end of the *Śrāddhakalpa* we are told that Vācaspati who was the *pariśad* of *Rāmabhadradeva* *alias* *Rūpanārāyaṇa*, son of *Hari-*

984 महाराजाधिराजश्चमहारायणपरिषद् सकलपण्डितमण्डलीशिरोमणिना श्रियाचस्पति-  
मित्रेण विरचितः शुद्राचारचिन्तामणिः &c. Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 22  
No. 2001.

nārāyaṇa, composed the work at the bidding of his patron.<sup>985</sup> Vardhamāna in his Daṇḍaviveka says that one of his *gurus* was Vācaspati.<sup>986</sup> It is probable that it is this Vācaspati that is meant. But as against this we must remember that Vācaspati in his Śrāddha-kalpa quotes Vardhamāna Upadhyāya on śrāddha. Vardhamāna wrote his Daṇḍaviveka while king Bhairava was reigning and his Gaṅgākṛtyaviveka for Rāmabhadradeva. So Vācaspati was an elder contemporary of Vardhamāna.

Prasannakumar Tagore assigned 1423 A. D. as the time of the Vivādacintāmaṇi (vide preface p. xxviii). Ghose in his Hindu Law (vol. II p. xiv) says that Vācaspati wrote the Śrāddhacintāmaṇi by order of queen Jayā, widow of king Bhairavadeva and

- 985 समस्तेत्यादिमहाराजाधिराजश्रीहरिनारायणात्मज-समस्तेत्यादिमहाराजाधिराजश्रीरूपनारायणपदवीसमलङ्कृतमिथिलासङ्गण्डलश्रीमद्भामभद्रदेवचरणमार्दिष्टेन नमस्विषदा श्रीवाचस्पतिशर्मणा विरचितोऽयं ब्राह्मकल्पः परिपूर्णः । I. O. cat. p. 556 No. 1130.

The pedigree of the कामेश्वर kings of Mithilā from भवेश is :



Vide Ind. Ant. vol. XIV, p. 196 for a detailed pedigree gathered from Pāṣṣas of Mithilā (though somewhat confused) and Ind. Ant. vol. 28, pp. 57-58.

- 986 उवाचान्मण्डकमित्रः सहस्रवाचस्पती च मे गुरुः । दण्डविवेक verse 6.

mother of Puruṣottamadeva,<sup>987</sup> that Harinārāyaṇa (i. e. Bhairava) ruled from 1513 to 1527 and that the latter was killed by Nasrat-shah, the Pathan king of Bengal. M. M. Chakravarti holds that the literary activity of Vācaspati lay between 1450 to 1480 A. D. Since Vācaspati mentions the Ratnākara (of Candēśvara) and Rudradhara as his authorities he must be later than about 1425 A. D. Vācaspati's works are quoted by Govindānanda and Raghunandana. Therefore Vācaspati is certainly earlier than 1540 A. D. The ms. of the Mahādānanirṇaya found in Nepal is dated in 392 of the Lakṣmaṇasena era (Monday of Vaiśākha, dark half, 12th *tithi* i. e. 22nd April 1511 A.D.) The ms. of the Śuddhinirṇaya (Mitra's Notices vol. X, p. 58, No. 3308) was copied in *sauvat* 1416, which must in this particular case be taken as equivalent to *lake* 1416 i. e. 1494-95 A. D., since Vācaspati could not have flourished about 1360 A. D. (which corresponds to Vikrama *sauvat* 1416). Hence the period assigned by Chakravarti for the literary activity of Vācaspati appears to be correct. That date is further corroborated by the fact that Vācaspati wrote under Bhairavendita and his son Rāmaprabhadradeva, that were 4th and 5th in descent from king Bhavēśa of Mithilā, who as we saw above began to rule over Mithilā in the third quarter of the 14th century.

This Vācaspati who flourished in Mithilā in the latter half of the fifteenth century is very often confounded with other authors bearing the same name. The great philosopher Vācaspati who was author of the Bhāmati on the Śārīrakabhāṣya of Śaṅkara and of several other commentaries on other systems of philosophy flourished in the first half of the 9th century as he wrote his Nyāyasūcinibandha in 898 (most probably of the Vikrama era).<sup>988</sup> There was another (Candraśekhara) Vācaspati who wrote the Smṛtisārasaṅgraha (cat. of Calcutta San. College mss. vol. II, p. 181, No. 203) and flourished in the first half of the 18th century.

987 Compare विष्णोप्यक्तः(?) पुरातन शम्भोरिव देवतामार्धम् । देवीसनाभिरेषा जयति जयात्मा  
महादेवी ॥ श्रीभैरवेन्द्रधरणीपतिधर्मपत्नी राजाधिराजपुरुषोत्तमदेवमाता । वाचस्पतिं  
निश्चितचन्द्रविदं निबुध्य ज्ञेते विनिर्णयविधिं विधिरुत्तनोति ॥ verses 5 and 7 of  
द्वैतनिर्णय, Mitra's Notices, vol. I p. 149.

988 व्याचक्षुमिनिबन्धोत्सावकारि सुधिषां मुदे । श्रीवाचस्पतिमिश्रेण वस्वद्वयमुवाचरे ॥



## 99. Nṛsiṃhaprasāda

This is an encyclopaedic work on dharmasāstra, no part of which has been yet printed. The Benares Sanskrit College has a complete ms. of this vast work. I could examine the whole of it. Besides, the Deccan College collection has two mss. of portions of it, viz. of the *Dānasāra* (No. 353 of 1875-76) and of the *Tīrthasāra* (No. 352 of 1875-76). The *Dānasāra* and *Śāntisāra* are also noticed in Mitra's cat. of Bikaner mss. (pp. 429-430) and six sections out of twelve are noticed in the I. O. cat. p. 434 No. 1467. Unless otherwise stated the references here are to the Benares Sanskrit College ms.

The Nṛsiṃhaprasāda is divided into twelve<sup>989</sup> sections called 'sāra' on *saṁskāra*, *āhnikā*, *śrāddha*, *kāla*, *vyavahāra*, *prāyaścitta*, *karmavipākā*, *vrata*, *dāna*, *śānti* (the averting of evil foreboded by natural portents and other strange occurrences), *tīrtha* and *pratiṣṭhā* (consecration of temples, idols etc.). Each section<sup>990</sup> begins with an invocation of Nṛsiṃha (the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu) after whom the work is named Nṛsiṃhaprasāda (the fruit of the grace of Nṛsiṃha). In the *Samśkārasāra*, after invoking Nṛsiṃha, the introduction tells us that<sup>991</sup> when king Rāma ruled in Devagiri (modern Daulatabad), Śālavat was ruler of Delhi and that after the latter Nijamasāha wielded power over the world. Then after pronouncing an eulogy on Nijamasāha (verses 10-13) the author

989 संस्कारसारः पथमो द्वितीयस्त्वाह्निकाभिधः । आद्रसारस्तृतीयस्तु चतुर्थः कालनिर्णयः ॥  
पञ्चमो व्यवहाराख्यः प्रायश्चित्ताभिधो ... (तorn) नाशकः (सप्तमस्त्वपनाशकः) ॥  
अष्टमो व्रतसारख्यः पुराणोक्त्याभिधायकः । नवमो दानसारख्यः सर्ववर्णोपकारकः ॥  
दशमः शान्तिसंहो वै तैर्धे एकादशः स्मृतः । देवप्रतिष्ठासारश्च द्वादशः परिकीर्तितः ॥  
verses 17-20 of संस्कारसार.

990 e. g. verse 8 of the संस्कारसार. The first verse of आह्निकसार is प्रणम्य श्री-  
नृसिंहेन (इ तु ! ) दलार्थशेन भूभुजा । श्रीनृसिंहप्रसादेन दिनानुष्ठेयमुच्यते ॥ the  
आद्रसार begins 'श्रीनृसिंहे नमस्कृत्य दलार्थशेनहीपतिः । आद्रसारं प्रकुरुते सर्ववेदिक-  
तुष्टये ॥'

991 श्रीमद्भुवनिरो पुरन्दरपुरस्पर्धाधिचन्द्रदे रामे राजनि शामवित्किल बभौ राजा स बिह्लीश्वरः ।  
बिह्लीशायुपरि मयुः समभवन्नेजामसाहो महाय् सद्गोर्वण्डनिनवनापमहिमा राज्यं यथे  
चलपयत् ॥ verse 9.

speaks of himself. We<sup>99</sup> are told that the author was Dalapati ( or Dalādhiśa ), son of Vallabha, of the Bhāradvāja-gotra and of the Yajñavalkya śākhā ( i. e. Śuklayajurveda ) and that he was the keeper of the imperial records of Nebajana ( ? ). There are elaborate colophons<sup>100</sup> at the end of almost each section ( called sara ) in which we are told that Dalapati was the pupil of Sūryapāṇḍita, that he was a great exponent of the Vaiṣṇavadharma, that he was the chief minister and keeper of the records of Nijāmasāha, who was the overlord of all Yavanas ( Mahomedans ) and ruler of Devagiri. In some colophons he is styled Mahārājadhīraja. It is doubtful whether Dalapati or Dalādhiśa was the real name of the author or was merely a title. It is not unlikely that Sūryapāṇḍita said to be the *guru* of the author is the same as Sūrya, the father of the great Maratha saint Ekanātha, who wrote his Bhāgavata at Benares in *lake* 1495 ( i. e. 1573 A. D. ) and who states that he was born in a family of devout Vaiṣṇavas.

The Nṛsiṃhaprasāda names numerous authors and works. In the beginning of the Saṁskārasāra, he mentions a host of writers and works that he consulted.<sup>101</sup> Besides these he mentions Some-

992 श्रीद्विजराजवर्णितकालकूरहीरः समुद्राद्वातकुलानुगः प्रथमया यः शासयामकुरुः ।

श्रीमन्नेवजनसमस्तकरणाधीशः सतामयणीः श्रीमद्बलभूषितं विजयते श्रीमान्दल-  
धीश्वरः ॥ verse 14 of संस्कारसार. The third line is metrically faulty in the  
6th syllable. This verse occurs in each *sar* at the end with variations.

In the D.C. ms. No. 358 of 1875-76 the last two lines are श्रीमद्बलभूषित-  
स्मरितस्तत्संप्रदायायणीः सारे दानकसंज्ञकेतिपतुरे श्रीमान्दलधीश्वरः ॥

993 a. g. at the end of the आह्वारः श्रीमत्प्रेमपदापमहाराजधिराज-संभूपुरीसुन्दरीदेव-  
गिरिपुरधरधीश्वर-समस्तवचनाधीश्वर-श्रीमन्निनामसाहसनसंकरणाधीश्वर-सकलविद्यावि-  
शालद-बाह्यवर्कयलुभासाभवतंक-द्विजराजकुलालकूरहीर-धीषण्यवभवतंक-श्रीवल्लभा-  
त्मज-श्रीवल्लभपण्डितवसद्दासदितसूर्यपण्डितमिधगुरु-मन्वादिपणीतनीतिशास्त्राभिज्ञ-महा-  
प्रभुस्वकार्यैर्वाक्षयपतिनिधीकृत-श्रीमद्वाराजदलपतिराजवरिचिने श्रीनृसिंहप्रसादे &c.

994 कालाद्दशान्तभट्ट-विज्ञानेश्वर-भट्टेमाद्वि-दीपिकाविवरण-असहाय-वर्षेणपरिजत-मदनपारि-  
जात-रुच्यकल्पतरु-माधव-स्मृतिचन्द्रिका-स्मृतिरत्नावलि-स्मृतिद्वैप-स्मृतिचिन्तामणि-स्मृ-  
तिभास्कर-मेधातिथि-विज्ञाननिलक-अपराक-विज्ञानमाकण्ड-भोजराजीय-विश्वरूपनिबन्ध-  
नारायणीय-गणेश-वाक्यमीमांसा-मृत्तिमीमांसा-निबन्धसर्वस्व-स्मृतिमहाणय-शान्तपरीत्यक-  
मैत्रियाकसमुच्चय-माधवीय-मैत्रुणिकर्मविषाक-पवराध्याय-पवरमञ्जरी-जानिबिबेकप्रमुसल-  
नेकनिबन्धाश्च &c. folio 3b.

śvara (commentator of the Tantravārtika) and Kaladīpa in the Saṁskārasāra; the Purāṇasāra in the Āhnikasāra; Pārijāta and Vāḍibhayaṅkara in the Vyavahārasāra; Kāmika, Jñānarātnāvali, Balārakodaya in the Dānasāra.

The contents of some of the sections of the Nṛsīṃhaprasāda may be set out here. In the Saṁskārasāra the author treats of the meaning of *dharma*, śruti, smṛti, the authoritative nature of purāṇas, kalivarjya (usages prohibited in the kali age), puṇyābhivācana, madhuparka, vṛddhiśrāddha, garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, jātakarma, nāmakarṇa, upanayana, marriage and other *saṁskāras*, the duties of brahmachārins, snātakas, householders, vānaprasthas and saṁnyāsins. In the Āhnikasāra the author after dividing the day into eight parts speaks of the actions appropriate to each viz : in the first getting up from bed at the brāhma-muhūrta, śauca, brushing the teeth, decoration of the hair, bath etc; in the second study; in the third, looking after dependents and pursuit of one's livelihood; in the fourth midday bath, brahmayajña, tarpaṇa, vaiśvadeva, daily śrāddha; in the fifth dinner and foods prescribed and forbidden; in the sixth and seventh reflecting over itihāsa and purāṇa; in the 8th decision about worldly affairs, evening sarīdhya etc. In the Kālasāra (which is incomplete in the Benares ms.) he defines the nature of *kāla* and gives rules and decisions about months, *tithis* and such festivals as Navarātri, Janmāṣṭami etc. In the Vyavahārasāra the author deals with the meaning of vyavahāra, the eighteen titles of law, the four-fold method of deciding dharma, the pramāṇas (means of proof), dāyavibhāga etc. In the Vratasāra he speaks of the several principal *vratas* in each month, some of which are for both men and women, some for men only and some for women only. In the Dānasāra he dilates upon the nature of dāna, its varieties, the various results of dānas, the proper time and place for dānas, proper recipients of dāna, what things can be the subjects of gifts, units of gold, silver etc., the description of kuṇḍa, maṇḍapa and vedi, the sixteen great dānas such as tulā, hiranyagarbha, brahmāṇḍa, kalpapāḍapa etc. and three *atidānas*, viz. land, cows and learning; gifts of images, food, ornaments, bedstead etc.; gifts on saṁkrānti and eclipses etc. The Tīrthasāra is interesting for this that as the author hailed from Devagiri he speaks principally of *tīrthas* of the Deccan and Southern India. In this work he speaks

of Setubandha, Puṇḍarika<sup>995</sup> or Pauṇḍarika (modern Pandharpur in the Sholapur District, it seems), Gayātirītha, eulogies of Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇa-Veṅyā, Narmadā, Malaprahāriṇī etc.

The Nṛsiṃhaprasāda being a work from the Deccan held the view that marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter was sanctioned by the Veda and was not to be censured.<sup>996</sup> It says that where there is (irreconcilable) conflict between the smṛtis and purāṇas there is an option.<sup>997</sup>

As the Nṛsiṃhaprasāda relies upon the Mādhaviya and the Madanapārijāta, it is certainly later than 1400 A. D. As it is mentioned as an authority in the Dvaitanirṇaya of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa and in the Mayūkhas of Nilakaṇṭha it must be earlier than about 1575 A. D. If by the Dipikāvivarāṇa which it enumerates among its principal authorities is meant the com. of Nṛsiṃha, son of Rāmacandrācārya, on his father's commentary of the Kālanirṇaya (which is most probable), then the Nṛsiṃhaprasāda must be later than about 1500 A. D. Dr. Bhandarkar<sup>998</sup> says that Rāmacandrācārya lived about 1450 A. D. A ms. of the Dipikāvivarāṇa was copied in *śaṃvat* 1604 (1548 A. D.).<sup>999</sup> The Benares Sanskrit College ms. appears to have been copied for Rāmapāṇḍita Dharmadhikarī at Benares, who is said to have been the father of Nandapāṇḍita<sup>1000</sup> (see sec. 105 below). At the end of several *saras* either *śaṃvat* 1568 (1511-12 A. D.) or 1569 occurs as the date.<sup>1001</sup> This may be said to be the

995 त्रैलोक्येन तटे देवि दक्षिणे तीर्थमुत्तमम् ... पर्मेरीया नदी यत्र करवीरकुशाकुशोः ।  
शोभिता सङ्गता भेष्यास्तस्माद्योजनमन्तलः । पोण्डरीकमिति स्थातं तत्तीर्थं तीर्थपूजितम् ।  
पाण्डुरङ्गस्तत्रास्ते &c.

996 वस्तुनस्तु मालुलसुतापरिणयनं वेदाभिहिततया न दोष इति ... विस्तरेण वक्ष्यामः ।  
संस्कारसार folio 9.

997 यत्र स्मृतिपौराणयोर्विरोधस्तत्र विकल्पः । संस्कारसार folio 14a.

998 Report, 1883-84, pp. 58-60.

999 Vide I. O. cat. p. 530, No. 1662.

1000 Vide Benares 'Pandit' (New series) vol. V, pp. 377-78 for an announcement about the *nṛsiṃhaprasāda* by a learned descendant of नन्दपण्डित.

1001 At the end of the colophon of the *अधिकसार* we have the date 'संवत् १५६८ समये आश्विनपदि १३ शुक्रवारे' and on the back of that part of the ms. the date 'संवत् १५६९ वैशाखपदि ७ शुके' i.e. 7th May 1512 A. D. At the end of the *कर्मविवाकसार* we have 'संवत् १५६९ समये कात्तीपुर्-  
श्रविष्येपरपरणसंनिधाने'. At the end of the *तीर्थसार* we have 'संवत् १५६८ समये वैशाखसुदि द्वितीया रवौ'.

date of the actual composition of the work or of the copying of the ms. for Rāmapaṇḍita. It seems difficult to believe that Rāmapaṇḍita for whom the ms. was copied in 1511-12 A. D. was the father of the famous Nandapaṇḍita. We know that Nandapaṇḍita composed his *Vaijayanti* in 1623 A. D. Rāmapaṇḍita must have been a man of middle age before he could order the copying of a huge ms. like the *Nṛsiṃhaprasāda*. If he did this in 1511-12 A. D. his son could hardly have been alive 120 years later. Therefore it looks probable that the dates ( *samvat* 1568 and 1569 ) are not the dates when the ms. was copied for Rāmapaṇḍita, but rather the dates of the composition of the original work or of the copying of the ms. from which Rāmapaṇḍita got his own ms. copied. At all events it is clear that the *Nṛsiṃhaprasāda* could not have been composed later than 1512 A. D. As the author was a minister of Nijāmasāha who ruled over Devagiri, it appears that he is referring to Ahmad Nizam Shah who ruled from 1490-1508 A. D. or to his son Burhan Nizam Shah ( 1508-1533 A. D. ), most probably the former.<sup>1003</sup> It may be taken as certain that the work was composed between 1490 and 1512 A. D.

### 100. Prataparudradeva

The *Sarasvativilāsa* was compiled by Prataparudradeva, a king of the Gajapati dynasty who ruled at *Cuttack* ( *Kāṭakanagari* ) in Orissa. The *Dayabhāga* portion of this work was published with an English translation by Rev. Thomas Foulkes in 1881. An edition of the whole of the *vyavahāra* section of the *Sarasvativilāsa* has recently been published in the Mysore Government publication Series. Through the kindness of the Editor, Dr. Shamasastri, I was able to secure the printed sheets of 352 pages before publication. In the following reference is made to the paragraphs of Foulkes' edition and the pages of the Mysore edition.

After invoking deities the work starts with the *prastāvi* of the king and his family ( pp. 2-11 ). Descent is traced to the Sun himself through Daśaratha, Rāma and his sons. Kapilendra was the founder of the Gajapati family whose son was Puruṣottama. His queen was Rupambika. Prataparudradeva or Vira-Rudra-deva

<sup>1003</sup> Vide Lane-Poole's ' *Muhammadan dynasties* ' ( ed. of 1928 ) p. 320 for the names and dates of the Nizam Shāhs.

was the son of Puruṣottama. He is spoken of as having given protection to Sultan (Suratrāṇa) Husanshah who threw himself on his mercy.<sup>1001</sup> In the colophons<sup>1002</sup> the king is styled Gajapati, Gauḍeśvara (king of Gauḍa), lord of Kalubariga (modern Gulbarga) in the Kārnāṭaka country of nine crores (probably of revenue) and as the protector of Sultan Husanshah of Jamunāpura. It is significant that the same titles are applied to Puruṣottama<sup>1003</sup> in his Poṭavaram grant of *śaka* 1412 (1490 A. D.) and in other inscriptions. Pratāparudradeva, while ruling his capital<sup>1004</sup> Kāṭaka-nagarī, called together an assembly of *Pandits* and compiled an extensive digest of civil and religious law. The royal author feels qualms of conscience on the question of eulogising himself and his family but stifles them easily by saying that a poet can also be an appreciative critic of his own productions.<sup>1005</sup> He boasts that he composed the work for saving scholars the trouble of bringing harmony among the conflicting dicta of Vijnānayogī, Aparārka, Bhāruci and others, that there was no work that could equal his own and that his literary effort would make his predecessors' works afford illustrations of the maxim that when a certain purpose is served by one the existence of others is superfluous.<sup>1006</sup> Then it

1003 p. 11 'शरणागतहुसनसाहिसुराणवज्रपञ्जरः.'

1004 इति श्रीश्रीगजपति-गौडेश्वर-नवकोटिकर्णटकलुबरिगेश्वर-शरणागतजमुनापुराधीश्वर-हुसनसाहिसुराण-शरणारक्षण-श्रीवृर्गावरपुत्र-परमपवित्रचरित्र-राजाधिराज-राजराजपरमेश्वर-वीरमतावरुद्रदेवमहाराजविरचिते स्मृतिसंग्रहे सरस्वतीविलासे व्यवहारकाण्डे &c.

I. O. cat. p. 419 No. 1404.

1005 श्रीश्रीगजपतिगौडेश्वरनवकोटिकर्णटकलुबरिगेश्वरमतावरुद्रोत्तमदेव &c. E. I. vol. XIII p. 155; vide Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II, appendix pp. 165-167, Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 355 and M. M. Chakravarti's article on 'Uriya Inscriptions of 15th and 16th centuries' in JASS vol. 62, part 1, pp. 88-104 for inscriptions of this dynasty.

1006 'स चाप्यं श्रीरुद्रो गजपतिरवोऽयाम्प्रायोध्या ... भूकान्ताकटकं कटकनगरीं समा-नयन्' p. 11.

1007 अत्र वर्णयितुं वर्षयोरभेदे कनिष्ठतयोरपि अवस्थामेदेन भेदकथनमेकस्यैव कवेः कवि-सङ्घटयत्ववन्न विरुध्यते । p. 11.

1008 यथाविहितसमामण्डपान्तरे सम्पवाहविवाकामान्वपुरोहितज्योतिर्विदादितहिनो विद्वान-योगि-भासकचपरारं मेधातिथ्यसहाय-चन्द्रिकादिवदुपन्येकवाक्यतापर्यालोचनवशात्वात-तन्त्रेभ्यो मा भूदिति सकलस्मृतिसमुच्चयमतिगम्भीरं नानिविस्तृतं प्रबन्धं प्रसीति । ... इति गर्वमद्वे नैव नैव गर्वमद्वेभ्योऽपि । समे तु गर्वं शङ्केतं न समस्ति समस्तु नः ॥ pp. 11-12; एकेन चरिताधत्तादितरामधत्तानयः । पूर्वप्रबन्धेर्विषयीभवेदिति ममोद्यमः ॥ p. 14.

is said that the *vyavahāra-kāṇḍa* was first taken in hand even before the *ācāra-kāṇḍa* following the special desire of the king Virarudra Gajapati.<sup>1009</sup> But it appears from references in the *vyavahāra-kāṇḍa* itself that before that part was finished the *ācāra-kāṇḍa* had been completed.<sup>1010</sup> The *Sarasvatīvilāsa*, being a work composed under the express orders of a king for the benefit of his subjects, makes the nearest approach to the Austinian conception of law as a command addressed by political superiors to political inferiors and enforced by a sanction.

The principal topics dealt with in the *Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa* are : the hall of justice, the method of judicial procedure, the plaint, the reply, documents, possession, *ṛṇādāna*, *dāyavibhāga*, *sahasa* and other titles of law. In the beginning of the work he sets out at great length the views of ancient writers on politics about the constitution of the *maṇḍala*, such as those of Parāśara, Uśanaś, Viṣṇu, Bṛhaspati, Viśālākṣa, Manu etc. He generally follows the views of *Vijñāneśvara* on *dāyavibhāga*, but here and there strongly criticizes him, e. g. he says that *Vijñāneśvara* gave a very far-fetched interpretation<sup>1011</sup> of *Yājñavalkya*'s verse 'rikthagrāha ṛṇam dāpyah.' The *Sarasvatīvilāsa* is a work of authority in Southern India on matters of Hindu Law, though inferior to the *Mitākṣarā*.<sup>1012</sup> It informs us that, though the *Smṛticandrikā* passed over the ordeals of water and poison on the ground that they had gone out of vogue, in Utkala the ordeal of water alone was resorted to and in Śārasena ( Mathurā ) and Magadha ( Bihar ) the ordeal of poison alone was administered.<sup>1013</sup>

1009 तत्तत्प्रचारकाण्डाद् व्यवहारकाण्डः प्रथमारब्धः । ... तथापि परिरुद्रगजपतिमहाराज-  
न्यायाक्षानुसारेण प्रथमं व्यवहारकाण्डः प्रक्रम्यते ॥ p. 15.

1010 अथ यद् यद् वक्तव्यमस्ति तदस्माभिर्गपि आचारकाण्डे विवाहकरण एव प्रवृत्तिमिति  
नत एवावधार्यम् । p. 343.

1011 एतद्व्याख्यातकम् (1) विज्ञानयोगिना पूर्वाचार्यच्छत्यानुगच्छता (•च्छायामनुगच्छता ? )  
अधिपक्षेपसमाधानाभ्यामतिक्रेश्माश्रित्य कृतम् । p. 262 ; vide p. 207 for another  
example of the criticism of विज्ञानेश्वर.

1012 Vide 2 Mad. H. C. R. 206 at p. 317, 33 Mad. 439 at p. 441, 35 Mad. 153 at  
p. 156.

1013 यथोक्तं चन्द्रिकाकारेण जलविषयोक्तसंज्ञानुष्ठानत्वात्तद्विधिभेदाख्याय कोशविधिरुपपन्न  
इति । उक्तलविषय कचिद्देशेषु जलविधेरेव प्रामाणिकत्वेन व्यवहियमाणत्वात् । शूरेसेन-  
मण्णादिव कचिद्देशेषु विषयविधेरेव प्रामाणिकत्वेन परिगृहीतत्वात् । p. 200.



Besides the usual dharmasūtras and other smritis, the principal authors and works named in the *Sarasvativilāsa* are noted below.<sup>1014</sup> The *Sarasvativilāsa* presents in the case of the dharmasūtras, particularly of Viṣṇu and Gautama, great variations from the printed texts of these works (vide sec. 10, p. 70 above). The *Sarasvativilāsa* in scores of places gives the conflicting views of Bhāruci and the Mitākṣarā (for which see under Bhāruci, sec. 61). The *Sarasvativilāsa* also contains valuable information about the views of such authors as Asahāya, Bhavadeva and Śrīkara whose works have not yet come to light.

Burnell (introduction to *Vaiṣṇa Brāhmaṇa* p. vii) took *Pratāparudradeva* to be the king of that name who belonged to the Kakatiya-Gajapati dynasty of Warangal and who was carried captive to Delhi in 1322 A. D. But in this he was wrong. It has been shown above that the king connected with the composition of the *Sarasvativilāsa* belonged to the Gajapati dynasty that ruled at Cuttack and not at Warangal. *Pratāparudradeva* ruled from 1497 to 1539 A. D. Therefore the *Sarasvativilāsa* must have been composed in the first quarter of the 16th century. Foulkes thinks (Intro. p. xx) that the work was composed about 1515 A. D. His argument is that though the commentary of Mādhavācārya was written about two hundred years before the *Sarasvativilāsa*, the latter is entirely silent about it in his work and that the reason of this is to be sought for in the rivalry of the two dynasties of *Pratāparudra* and *Kṛṣṇarāja* of Vijayanagara which was set at rest by a marriage alliance about 1516 A. D. Vide Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's 'sources of Vijayanagar History' (p. 116), where we are told that the daughter of the Orissa king married to *Kṛṣṇadevarāja* was named *Jaganmohini* (according to some) or *Tukkā* (according to others) and Sewell's 'A forgotten empire' p. 320. Another argument advanced by Foulkes for 1515 A. D. as the date of the work is that during the latter part of his reign *Pratāparudradeva* had come

<sup>1014</sup> अपराज, असहाय, कर्किभाष्य, कुलार्क, गुरु (प्रभाकर), चन्द्रिका (१. ० स्मृतिचन्द्रिका), देवराज, देवस्वामी, धारेस्वर, निबन्धनकार, प्रदीप, प्रदीपिकाकार, भवदेश, भवनाथ, मारुधि, मिताक्षरा, यज्ञपति, मेधातिथि, राजलासक, लक्ष्मीधर, वरदराज (called आधुनिक as contrasted with मरुधि), विज्ञानेश्वर, वृत्तिकार (० आप० श्रौत), वेदान्त-संहिता, शालिकानाथ, श्रीकर, संप्रहकार, सोमशेखर, सोमेश्वर.

under the influence of the great Vaiṣṇavite saint Caitanya, who made Puri his residence during the last years of his life and that the *Sarasvativilāsa* has in the beginning an invocation of Śiva. Caitanya was born in śake 1407 Fālguna Full-moon (i. e. in 1486 A. D.); vide Bhandarkar's 'Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism' (p. 83) and Caitanya is said to have gone to Puri about 1510 A. D. and died in 1533 A. D. (Beames in Ind. Ant. vol. II, p. 1 ff). Both these arguments are not of much weight. As a matter of fact in some mss. there is an invocation of both Viṣṇu (Hayagrīva) and Śiva; vide Descriptive Cat. of Government S. mss. at Madras vol. VI, p. 2426 No. 3221. The latest work of certain date that the *Sarasvativilāsa* names is the *Smṛticandrikā* and it is rather matter for surprise that no work belonging to the 14th and 15th centuries is quoted or named by the *Sarasvativilāsa*. But this circumstance alone is hardly of any worth in face of the positive statement in the work itself that it was composed by Pratāparudradeva Gajapati. Vide JBORS. vol. V, pp. 147-148 and Ind. Ant. for 1929, pp. 28-33 for information about the Empire of Orissa and its emperors, Kapilendra (who died in 1470 A. D.), Puruṣottamadeva (1470-1497) and Pratāparudra-deva.

There is a ms. of a work called *Pratāpamārtanda* or *Praudha-pratāpamārtanda* (D. C. ms. No. 48 of 1872-73) which is ascribed to Pratāparudra, ruler of Utkalā, whose capital was Kataka on the banks of the Citrotpalā. It mentions Kapileśvara Gajapati, his son Puruṣottama, father of Pratāparudra. In the colophon the king is described as 'Gajapati-Gauḍeśvara-navakoṭi-karṇāta-kalabarageśvara-rūpa-nārāyaṇa' &c. The work is divided into five *Prakāśas* on *Padārthanirṇaya*, *Vatsarādinirṇaya*, *Tithinirṇaya*, *Vratānirṇaya* (such as *Navarātra* &c.), *Viṣṇubhakti*. He expressly mentions as his authorities Hemādri, Kalpataru, Ratnakara, Mitākṣarā, Mādhaviya, Anantabhaṭṭa, *Smṛticandrikā*, Aparārka, Parijata, Kāladārśa, Devadāsa. Here there is an express mention of Mādhava which refutes Foulkes' theory set out above.

#### 101. Govindānanda

Govindānanda wrote several works out of which four have been printed in the Bibliotheca Indica series, viz: the *Dānakaumudī*, *Śuddhikaumudī*, *Śrāddhakaumudī*, *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī*. The last work deals with *tithinirṇaya*, *vratas* on several *tithis* all the year

round, festivals like Durgotsava, Kojagara etc. All these works appear to have formed part of a general digest called Kriyakaumudī. Besides these he wrote a commentary called Arthakaumudī on the Śuddhidīpikā of Śrīnivāsa which was printed in Bengali characters, and also a commentary called Tattvārtha-kaumudī on Śulapāpī's Prāyaścittaviveka (published by Jivānanda at Calcutta). His works are of great utility on account of the numerous authors and works quoted therein. The following deserve special mention.<sup>1015</sup> He was the son of Gaṇapatibhaṭṭa and was styled Kavikaṇkācārya. From the introductory and final verses of his works it appears that he was a Vaiṣṇava. His father was a resident of Bagri in the Midnapur District of Bengal.

Since he quotes the Madanaparijata, the Gāṅgā-vākyāvalī, Rudradhara and Vācaspati, he must be later than about 1500 A. D. He is quoted by Rāghunandana in his Maṃasatattva and Ahnikatattva. So he cannot be later than 1560 A. D. His Śuddhi-kaumudī examines intercalary months<sup>1016</sup> from *śaka* 1414 to *śaka* 1457 (i. e. from 1492 A. D. to 1535 A. D.). Therefore it appears that he wrote his Śuddhikaumudī immediately after *śaka* 1457 (i. e. 1535 A. D.). He wrote the Śrāddha-kaumudī and Varṣa-kriyā-kaumudī after the Śuddhi-kaumudī. Therefore we shall be very near the truth if his literary activity be placed between 1500 and 1540 A. D.

*Vide* M. M. Chakravarti in JASB for 1915 p. 355 for information about Govindānanda.

<sup>1015</sup> कुल्लुक, चण्डीदत्त, ( com. of काव्यमकरांश ), गङ्गावाक्यावलीकार, मदनपारिजात, राजमार्तण्ड, रुद्रधर, वर्धमानोपाध्याय, वाचस्पति, विस्तारद, शुद्धिविवेक, सायणभाष्य.

<sup>1016</sup> अत एव विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे-समाह्वये साष्टमासे तस्मान्मासोतिरिच्यते । स चाधिमत्सकः प्रोक्तः काम्यकर्मसु गृहीतः ॥ इति । तथा चतुर्दशवर्षाधिकचतुर्दशशतशकाब्दे वैशाखो मलमासः । ततः परं षोडशवर्षाधिकचतुर्दशशतशकाब्दे भाद्रे ऊनविंशद्मासे मलमासः । ... ततः परं द्वाविंशत्यधिकचतुर्दशशतशकाब्दे ज्येष्ठे पञ्चविंशद्मासे मलमास इत्याद्येकशो व्यवहृतो दृश्यते । शुद्धिकौमुदी p. 266; vide p. 270 for intercalary month in *śaka* 1440 and 1457.

## 102. Raghunandana

Raghunandana is the last great writer of Bengal on dharmasāstra. He compiled an encyclopaedic work on the different branches of dharmasāstra styled *Smṛtitattva*, divided into 28 sections called *tattvas*. He cites the names of over 300 authors and works in his encyclopaedia, which have been collected together by M. M. Chakravarti (JASB for 1915 pp. 363-375). His wonderful mastery over *smṛti* material and his erudition displayed in the *Smṛti-tattva* earned for him the appellation *smṛtabhaṭṭācārya* or simply '*smarta*' from later writers. For example, the Viramitrodaya refers to him in that way and so does Nilakanṭha in his *Vyavahāramayūkha*.<sup>1017</sup> His *Smṛtitattva* was printed at Serampore in Bengali characters so far back as 1834-35 A. D. and it has also been published by Jivananda (in two volumes). Some *tattvas* have been separately published as e. g. the *Vyavahāra-tattva* and the *Dāyatattva* (published at Calcutta in 1828 by the Department of Public Instruction). His *Dāyatattva* was translated into English by Golapcandra Sarkar. In his *Mamāsāsatattva* the names of his *tattvas* are given.<sup>1018</sup> Vide Mitra's Notices, vol. III. p. 50 No. 1081 and I. O. cat. p. 420 No. 1405 for an enumeration of the *tattvas* and for reference to the volumes and pages in the Serampore edition. The *tattvas* are not arranged in the verses quoted below according to their chronological order, but according to the exigencies of the metre. In this work I have used Jivananda's edition.

1017 Vide वीर० p. 697 on गौतम's sūtra 'स्त्रीधनं दुहितृग्रामपत्तानामपत्तिष्ठितानां च'; स्ववह्निरमयूत (text p. 112 of my edition) 'स्मर्तहरेरनायासपंचयेव'.

1018 मल्लिकुचे तया दूये शुषो च दशसंस्कृतौ । प्रायश्चित्ते विवाहे च तिथ्या जन्माष्टमीवते ॥  
दुर्गो मने व्यवहृतविक्रादस्यादिनिर्णये । तडागमवनोत्सर्गं वृषोत्सर्गञ्च वते ॥ प्रतिष्ठायां  
परिक्षायां ज्योतिषे वास्तुपक्षके । दीक्षायामाह्निके कृत्ये क्षेत्रे च पुत्रपोत्तमे । सामश्राद्धे  
यजुःश्राद्धे शुद्धकृत्यविधाने । इत्यष्टाविंशतिस्थाने तत्त्वं वक्ष्यामि यत्नतः ॥

The 28 तत्त्वाः are on मल्लिकुच (intercalary month), दूय, शुद्धि, संस्कार, प्रायश्चित्त, विवाह, निवि, जन्माष्टमी, दुर्गोत्सव, व्यवहार, एकदशी, तडागमव-  
नोत्सर्ग, वृषोत्सर्ग (3 तत्त्वाः on छन्दोगवृषो०, यजुर्वृषो०, and ऋग्वृषो०), वन,  
प्रतिष्ठा (two on देवप्रतिष्ठा and गृहप्रतिष्ठा), दिव्य (1.० परीक्षा), ज्योतिष,  
वास्तुपक्ष, दीक्षा, आह्निक, कृत्य, पुत्रपोत्तमक्षेत्र, सामश्राद्ध, यजुःश्राद्ध, शुद्धकृत्य.  
In the Serampore edition कृग्वृषोत्सर्ग is not printed (vide Chakravarti in JASB 1915 p. 363). In Jivananda's edition also the कृग्वृषोत्सर्ग is not  
included and the जन्माष्टमीतिथ्य seems to be included under तिथितत्त्व.

It is not feasible to give even brief summaries of Raghunandana's *tattvas*. Their vary names indicate the subject matter. But one of them, the *Dāyatattva*, deserves special mention. It treats of partition made by father, partition among brothers after their father's death, persons not entitled to a share, property not liable to partition, evidence of separation, *stridhana* and its devolution, inheritance to one dying sonless etc. His *Tithi-tattva* contains a description in Sanskrit of the game called *Caturaṅga* played on the full moon of Āśvina by four players.

Besides the 28 *tattvas* Raghunandana is said to have composed several other works. There is a commentary on the *Dāyabhāga* attributed to him. Colebrooke suspected its genuineness, but the colophon of the commentary<sup>1019</sup> gives the same details about Raghunandana as are found in his admitted works. It is to be noticed that the *Dāyatattva* of Raghunandana sets forth the same principles of Hindu law that are peculiar to *Jimūtavāhana*, though in matters of detail they disagree in a few cases. The *Vīramitrodaya* styles the author of the *Dāyatattva* a follower of *Jimūtavāhana*.<sup>1020</sup> It has been held by the Calcutta High Court that Raghunandana's is the best commentary on the *Dāyabhāga* and that the authority of Raghunandana is acknowledged and respected universally in the Bengal School.<sup>1021</sup>

Besides the above, Raghunandana wrote also *Tīrthātattva* or *Tīrthayātrāvidhitattva*, the *Dvādaśyātrātattva* (on the principal festivals at Jagannāthapurī, one in each month), *Tripuṣkaraśānti-tattva*, *Gayāśrāddhapaddhati* and *Rāsayātrāpaddhati*. His works however are not very much in vogue elsewhere than in Bengal.

Raghunandana was the son of Hariharabhaṭṭācārya and was a Bengal Vandyaghaṭṭiya Brāhmaṇa. He was a pupil of Śrinātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, whose works are frequently quoted in the several *tattvas* (vide Chakravarti in JASB for 1915 p. 351 n. 2). According to tradition Raghunandana and the great Vaiṣṇavite saint Caitanya were pupils of the same teacher, Vasudeva Śārvabhauma, who was

1019 इति श्रीवन्द्यपटीवर्हरहरभट्टाचार्यात्मजरघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्यकृता दायभागटीका समाप्ता ।

1020 जीमूतवाहनस्तु ब्राह्मणदिविवाहेषु यद्भनं तदेवानेन व्यवस्थाप्यते न तु तत्तद्विवाहोक्तयाः सर्वे धनम् । ... इत्याह । तदनुगामी दायनस्वरूपेण । वी० प. 703.

1021 I. L. R. 4 Cal. 550 at p. 554 ; I. L. R. 22. Cal. 347 at p. 351.

the shining light of the new logic (navyanāyā) at Navadvīpa and were residents of that place (Sarvadhikari's Tagore Law Lectures, first edition p. 403ff.).

Among the authors and works quoted in his encyclopaedia by Raghunandana those noted below deserve mention.<sup>1022</sup>

Aufrecht placed Raghunandana between 1430-1612 A. D. Dr. Jolly (Tagore Law Lectures p. 10) places him early in the 16th century. In I. L. R. 48 Cal. 643 (F. B.) at p. 695 it is said that Raghunandana belongs to the latter half of the 15th century. As Raghunandana's works are quoted and criticised by the Viramītrodaya (pp. 79, 531, 683, 697, 703 etc.,) and by Nilakaṇṭha, Raghunandana is certainly earlier than 1600 A. D. As he names Mādhavācārya, Śūlapāṇi, Rāyamukuta, Rudradhara and Vacaspati, he is later than about 1500 A. D. If tradition is to be believed that he was a fellow-student of Caitanya he must have been born about 1490 A. D. Caitanya is said to have been born in 1485 or 1486 A. D.<sup>1023</sup> In his Jyotiṣtattva he mentions *śake* 1421<sup>1024</sup> in connection with the position of Viṣṇu. That shows that the work was not composed probably very much long after that date (i. e. 1499-1500 A. D.) In the same Tattva (vol. I. p. 568)

1022 अद्भुतसागर, अनन्तभट्ट, अनिरुद्ध, भविष्यत्, आचारचन्द्रिका, आचारविस्तारणि,  
आचारदर्श, कर्मोपदेशिनी, कलानन्द, कविकल्पसरस्वती, कानधेनु, कामरूपयनिचन्द्र,  
कालकौमुदी, कालनिर्णय ( ५१ भाष्य ), कालविवेक, कालादर्श, कुल्लुकभट्ट, कृत्य-  
कौमुदी, कृत्यचिन्तामणि, कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव, गङ्गावाक्यवलि, गृहस्थरत्नाकर, गोविन्द-  
भट्ट, गोविन्दमानसोद्भास, चण्डेश्वर, जिकन, जमिन्वाहन, कुण्डलद्वय, तीर्थचिन्ता-  
मणि, दानवाक्यवलि, द्वापकलिका, दुर्गाभक्तिरत्निणी, द्वैतनिर्णय, नव्यवर्धमानो-  
पाध्याय, निर्णयामृत, पण्डितसर्वस्व, पशुपति, पारिजात, पितृद्विधा, पितृभक्ति, पितृ-  
भक्तिरत्निणी, पृथ्वीधरनिष्ठापाय, मयोगसार, मायस्थितिविवेक, महालोकसेनदेव, बालक,  
महालोकसर्वस्व, भवदेवभट्ट, भूमिपराक्रम, भुजबलभूमि, भोज, भद्रपारिजात, महा-  
दाननिर्णय, माधवाचार्य, सुद्वजपाणव, योगलोक, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, राममुकुट, रुद्रधर,  
वाचस्पतिनिध, विद्यापति, विवादचिन्तामणि, व्यवहारचिन्तामणि, शूलपाणि, श्राद्ध-  
चन्द्रिका (of his teacher), श्रीदत्त, सुगतिसोपान, इतिनाथ, हरिभक्ति, हरिहर, हेमाद्रि.

1023 Vide Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's 'Chaitanya's pilgrimage and teachings' for 1485 (as birth date) and M. T. Kennedy's 'Religious life of India' (1925) p. 13 for 1486 A. D.

1024 विष्णुं मीनकम्बार्थं त्रेकाक्षिन्ने शकाब्दे । (Jivananda vol. I. p. 562).

for calculating ravi-saṁkrānti he takes śake 1489 as the basis (i. e. 1567 A. D.). So that Tattva was composed just about that year. A ms. of the Chandoga-śrāddha-tattva was copied in śake 1497 (1575-76 A. D.)<sup>1025</sup> and a ms. of the Maṭha-pratiṣṭhā-tattva was copied in śake 1498 (i. e. 1576-77 A. D.).<sup>1026</sup> Therefore he must have flourished before 1575. Thus he flourished between 1490 and 1570 and his literary activity, which must have been spread over a long period if we consider the number of his works, lies between 1520-1570. Vide an interesting discussion about his date in JASB for 1915, pp. 354-357 by M. M. Chakravarti who places Raghunandana between 1510-1565 A. D.

### 103. *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa*

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was the most famous of the celebrated family of the Bhaṭṭas of Benares. For a detailed account of the family and the contribution of the several members thereof to dharmaśāstra, vide my Introduction to the Vyāvahāramayūkha (v-xvi). M. M. Haraprasad Śāstri has brought to light a biography of this family written by Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, a son of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (Ind. Ant. for 1912 vol. 41, pp. 7-13). Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's father Rameśvarabhaṭṭa whose gotra was Viśvāmītra migrated from Pratiṣṭhāna (Paithan) in the Deccan to Benares. Rameśvarabhaṭṭa was a very learned man and his learning drew to him students from the whole of India. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was born according to Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa's biography in śake 1435 in the month of Caitra (i. e. about March 1513 A. D.). Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was the eldest of three sons, the other two being Śrīdhara and Madhava. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa learnt all the śāstras at the feet of his father. Pandits all over India looked up to him as their leader and patron and he was an assiduous collector of Sanskrit mss. It is said that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa brought down by his holiness rain in a season of drought and thereby induced the Mahomedan ruler that had razed the temple of Viśveśvara at Benares to the ground to allow him to rebuild it. For his erudition and piety Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was honoured with the title 'Jagadguru' and his family was given the first place of honour in the assembly of learned Brāhmaṇas and at the recitations of the Vedas. It was Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and his equally worthy descendants that raised dakṣiṇāṭya pandits to the

1025 Mitra's Notices, vol. III, p. 50 No. 1081.

1026 Mitra's Notices, vol. III, p. 53 No. 1083.



position of high eminence at Benares which they still hold. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa wrote numerous works on dharmaśāstra among which may be mentioned the *Antyeṣṭipaddhati* ( printed by Nirṇayasāgara Press ), the *Tristhalisetu* ( dealing with the ceremonies to be performed generally at all sacred places and particularly at Prayāga, Kāśī and Gaya ) and the *Prayogaratna* ( printed at the Nirṇayasāgara Press, 1915 A. D. ). This last contains detailed descriptions and rituals of the saṁskāras from *garbhādhāna* to *vivāha*. His are standard works on the subjects they deal with and are used even now almost throughout the whole of India. He composed a commentary on the introductory verses contained in the *Kalamādhava* ( vide Madras Triennial cat. vol. III. Sanskrit C. p. 4114 No. 2852 ) and a commentary on portions of the *Śāstradīpikā* of Parthasārathimīśra. He composed a work on ordeals which is referred to in the *Vyavaharatattva* of Nilakaṇṭha ( vide p. 457 of my edition and Bikaner cat. p. 387 No. 832 for a *Divyaṇuṣṭhāna-paddhati* of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa ) and also *paddhatis* on the dedication of gardens, tanks etc. He exercised a profound influence over later writers directly and indirectly through his sons and grand-sons.

As he was born in 1513 A. D. and composed the commentary on the *Vṛtataratnākara* in 1545 A. D., his literary activity must be placed between 1540 and 1570 A. D. This is further corroborated by the fact that his grandson Kamalākaraḥṭṭa composed the *Nirṇayasindhu*, one of his earliest works, in 1612 A. D.

There is a work on dharmaśāstra called *Dharmapravṛtti* composed by a Nārāyaṇa. Mr. K. P. Jayasval holds that this was composed by *jagadguru* Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa ( JBORS for 1927, vol. XIII, parts III-IV, p. IX ). The same view is held by M. M. Haraprasad Śāstri ( Ind. Ant. for 1912 p. 7 ). But this identity is extremely doubtful. The benedictory verses<sup>1027</sup> in the *Dharmapravṛtti* are different from those of the *Prayogaratna* and *Tristhalisetu*, the method of treatment and the style are different and the colophons are also different. The author of the *Dharmapravṛtti* does not mention his ancestors as Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa does. Nilakaṇṭha in his *Vyavahāramayūkha*

1027 The introductory verse is नारायणं नमस्कृत्य कामर्दां च सरस्वतीम् । गणनाथं  
गुरुं चैव धर्मसंरक्षणाय नमः ॥ धर्मप्रवृत्तये कियते कल्लो नारायणेन तु । I. O. cat. p. 480  
No. 1540.

finds<sup>1028</sup> fault with the *Dharmaprayṛtti* by saying that certain quotations therein are unauthoritative.

#### 104. *Toḍarānanda*

Raja Toḍaramalla, the celebrated finance minister of Akbar, compiled an extensive encyclopædia of civil and religious law, astronomy and medicine. The several parts of that encyclopædia dealing with *ācāra*, *dāna*, *vyavahāra*, *brāddha*, *vivēka*, *prāyaścitta*, *samaya* were called *saukhyas*. An account of some of the *saukhyas* that were available to me may be concisely given here. The *Vyavahārasaukhya* ( D. C. ms. No. 366 of 1875-76 ) begins with an invocation of Śiva, speaks of the *paraśika* emperor<sup>1029</sup> ( Akbar ) of Hind ( India ) and then deals with the several topics of judicial procedure such as the king's duty to look into disputes, the *śabha*, judge, meaning of the word *vyavahāra*, enumeration of 18 *vyavahārapadas*, time and place of *vyavahāra*, the plaint, the reply, the agent of the parties ( *pratinidhi* ), *pratyakalita*, the superiority of one mode of proof over another, witnesses, documents, possession, inference, ordeals and oaths, grades of punishments and fines. The *Vyavahārasaukhya* does not dwell on the exposition of the several titles of law. Besides the *smṛti* writers, it principally relies on the *Kalpataru*, the *Parijata*, *Bhavadeva*, the *Mitākṣara*, the *Ratnākara*, *Harihara* and *Halayudha*. The several sections are styled *hargas*.

The *Vivāhasaukhya* ( D. C. ms. No. 868 of 1884-87 ) is concerned with the astrological aspects of marriage ( e. g. the proper year, month, day, sign, *nakṣatra* &c., for marriage ). It names numerous authors and works, some of which are noted below.<sup>1030</sup>

1028 Vide p. 134 of *व्यवहारमूल* ( my edition ).

1029 श्रीमान्देवपारसीकरणशिकस्य राजायणी राजा टोडरमलचण्डकिरणस्तीव्रप्रतापोदयः ।  
लोकानामतिगाढवुर्नैवतमोऽप्येसाय पद्योन्सवानातन्वन् व्यवहारनिर्णयकरक्षेणीं तनोत्यु-  
ज्ज्वलाम् ॥ 2nd verse.

1030 उत्पल, चण्डेश्वर ( ०० राजाभियेक ), चतुर्भुजचिन्तामणि, जयतुङ्ग, त्रिविक्रम,  
देवतमनोहर ( देवह १ ), देवहचिन्तामणि, पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय, भीमपराक्रम, भुजपल, माहेश्वर,  
राजमार्तण्ड, रत्नकोश, लल्लट, विवाहपटल ( ०१ वराह ), विवाहवृन्दावन, व्यवहार-  
चण्डेश्वर, व्यवहारोच्चय, श्रीपति, सत्याचार्य, सारावलि, संहिताप्रदीप, सिद्धान्त-  
विशेसणि.

The Śrāddhasaukhyā (D. C. ms. No. 257 of 1884-87) is an extensive work and deals with the usual topics such as the different kinds of śrāddhas, the time and place for śrāddha, the proper brahmanas, sapinḍikarāṇa &c. The sections of this work also are divided into *harṣas*. Besides those enumerated above the authors and works mentioned are noted below.<sup>1031</sup>

The Jyotihsaukhyā (D. C. ms. No. 915 of 1886-92) constitutes the Saṁhitā branch of Indian astronomy and deals with such topics as the results of eclipses, the appearance of comets, the rise of Agastya, Ursa major, the signs of the Zodiac &c. It frequently refers to Kāśyapa, Garga (or Vṛddhagarga), Parāśara, Mayūracitra, Varāha. The colophons state that Toḍaramalla was a scion of the Taṇḍala (or - na) family and that the work was compiled by Nilakanṭha at the order of Toḍaramalla.<sup>1032</sup> This Nilakanṭha appears to be the author of the Sañjātatantra on which a commentary was written by his son Govinda in 1622 A. D., in which it is stated that Nilakanṭha was honoured by Akbar and had composed the Toḍarānanda.<sup>1033</sup> In the Tājika-Nilakanṭhi of Nilakanṭha it is stated that the author composed works on the three branches of Jyotiṣa which gave delight to Toḍara.<sup>1034</sup>

The Jyotihsaukhyā was composed in śaka 1494<sup>1035</sup> (i. e. 1572 A. D.). The ms. of the Vyavahārasaukhyā bears at the end the date *śaivāt* 1638 (1581-82<sup>1036</sup> A. D.) which seems to be the date of its composition. Toḍaramalla was a man of versatile genius. He distinguished himself as an able commander as well as a great

1031 कर्क, त्रिकण्डमण्डन, नारायण, प्रकाशकार, माधवीय, रघुमान, वासुदेव, शङ्खपल्लव, शङ्खविवेक, श्रीदत्त, स्मृतिमञ्जरीकार.

1032 इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेविलक्ष्मणिलकटोदरमल्लकारिणे श्रीदेवहर्षनीलकण्ठ-विरचिते टोडरानन्दे ज्योतिःसुखे संहितास्कन्धे &c. folio 23a.

1033 Vide cat. of BBAS mss. part I, p. 187 No. 262.

1034 यन्नाम प्रथितं हि भूमिवलये शिष्यप्रशिक्ष्यैर्महद् भूमिपालसमूहसेवितपद्मोक्तस्त्वरेणान्वितः । श्रीदिलीपमुखा हि टोडरविमोहनन्दे ज्योतिषं त्रिस्कन्धं स्वरुतेः सुवदनिव-हैस्तत्सार्गिकं चाकरोत् ॥ 9th verse, Peterson's cat. of Ulwar mss., extract No. 502.

1035 'तथा च सांप्रतिकः शकः १४९४ षट्त्रिंशत्त्रयिंशत्तुः ४०२०' folio 33.

1036 'संवत् १६३८ समये कुरुसुदि २ शुक्रवार' D. C. ms. No. 366 of 1875-76.

financier and statesman. For a brief account of his life, vide Blochmann's translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I. pp. 351-352. It is there stated that he was *Khetri* by caste, that, though it is generally stated that he was born at Lahore, he was really born at Laharpur in Oudh (p. 620) and that he died at Lahore on the 11th day of 998 of the Mussulman era<sup>1037</sup> (i.e. 1589 A. D.). The Marathi magazine '*Itihāsaśaṅgraha*' publishes an inscription on a stone found in the *Draupadikuṇḍa* at Benares wherein it is said that Toḍara of the Tanḍana family constructed that beautiful reservoir in 1646 of the Vikrama era<sup>1038</sup> (i.e. 1589 A. D.). Therefore it follows that literary works were compiled under the patronage of Todarmal between 1565-1589 A. D.

### 105. *Nandapāṇḍita*

Nandapāṇḍita was a voluminous writer on dharmaśāstra. An account of his principal works on dharmaśāstra is given below, particularly because most of them are yet unpublished.

He composed a commentary called *Vidvanmanoharā* on the *Parāśarasūrti*. He expressly mentions therein that he follows the commentary of *Madhavācārya*.<sup>1039</sup> This commentary is referred to in his *Vaijayanti*.<sup>1040</sup>

He also appears to have written a commentary called *Pramitākṣarā* or *Pratitākṣarā* on the *Mitākṣarā* of *Vijñāneśvara*.<sup>1041</sup> This com-

1037 Vide also 'Akbar' in the *Rulers of India series* (1890) p. 134 where the date of his death is given as 10th Nov. 1589 A. D.

1038 Vide *इतिहाससंग्रह* ed. by the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, vol. I, part 4, p. 20. कृतुमिगमरसाभासंमिने (१६४६) दसरेषे शुक्रतिथिनिहितेषी टोडरहोणि-  
शालः । विहितिविधपूर्तोचीकट्यबाहवापी विमलसलिलसागं वदसोवानपङ्क्तिम् ॥

1039 धर्माधिकारिकुलकैवकाननेन्दुधरामण्डलसुनेन विनायकेन । व्याख्यायते कलियुगो-  
पिनवर्णधर्मशास्त्रं पराशरमुसोद्वृतमल्पशब्दैः ॥ माधवाचार्यनिर्दिष्टव्याख्यामार्गानुसारिणः ।  
स्मलनति (स्मलनोवि ?) न मे दोषः परप्रवचगामिनः ॥ verses 3 and 5, I. O.  
cat. p. 377 No. 1301.

1040 विद्वन् वैजयन्ताशरस्मृतिविद्वन् विद्वन्नोद्गरायां दत्तकमीमांसायां चात्माभिरिति नेह  
अन्यते । वैजयन्ती on विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 42.

1041 On विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 9 he says 'स्वरिषाः पुनः संस्कारामावश्रवणपादितोत्तमभिः  
तस्मिन् मितक्षरादीकायां प्रतीताक्षरायामिति नेहोच्यते ।' folio 86 b of the I. O.  
ms. (of वैजयन्ती), on विष्णु 16. 1 'विशेषस्तु मितक्षरादीकायां प्रमिताक्षराया-  
ममृतकृतायामवगन्तव्यः' (folio 93 b).

mentary was probably not completed, as only fragments are found with his descendants.

Nandapaṇḍita also composed a work called Śraddhakalpalatā, which is referred to in his Śuddhicandrikā<sup>1043</sup> and in the Vaijayanti. In this work<sup>1044</sup> he refers to a city called Sadharaṇa (probably modern Saharanpur) where the Sahagila family ruled. He speaks of Siṅhamalla, Vasāvana, Rūpacandra, Bhūpacandra and Paramānanda as successive members of the dynasty and says that he was urged to write the work by the last of them and that he relies upon the Śraddhadīpikā of Govindapaṇḍita.<sup>1045</sup> At the end of the ms. of the Vaijayanti in the Deccan College Collection it is said that the Vidvanmanohari, the Smṛtisindhu and the Śraddhakalpalatā were the commentaries composed by Nandapaṇḍita.<sup>1046</sup> But from the contents given in the India Office Catalogue it does not appear that the work was a commentary. It is divided into five *śabakas* and deals with the usual topics, viz. what is śraddha, the proper time and place for it, the proper brāhmaṇas, various kinds of śraddhas &c. The principal authors and works named therein are given below.<sup>1047</sup> The Śuddhicandrikā, a commentary on the Śaḍaśīti or Aśaucanirṇaya of Kauśikaditya, is also one of the works of Nandapaṇḍita. It is referred to in his Vaijayanti<sup>1048</sup>. The Bhadkamkar collection made by Prof. Velankar contains a ms. of this work and it has recently been published in the Chowkhamba S. series. The principal authors and works quoted therein are noted below.<sup>1049</sup>

1043 'स च ज्येष्ठ एकेत्युपादितं आद्रकल्पलतायाम्' folio 31 b of शुद्धिचन्द्रिका; on विष्णु 21. 19 'अत्रान्यो विशेषः आद्रकल्पलतायामस्मभिरुपादित इति नेहोच्यते' । folio 123 b ( वैजयन्ती ).

1044 Vide I. O. cat. p. 556 No. 1731 for आद्रकल्पलता.

1044 गोविन्दपण्डितकृतानुवल्ग्व्याख्यानतः । आद्रकल्पलतामेतां कुर्वे तां आद्रदीपिकाम् ॥ I. O. cat. p. 557.

1045 'परशुरामृतेष्टीका विद्वन्मोहरा स्मृतिसिन्धुः । आद्रकल्पलता चैता नन्दपण्डितकृता टीकाः ॥' D. C. ms. No. 39. of 1866-68.

1046 कालविधान, कालदर्श, चन्द्रप्रकाश, धर्मप्रदीप, निर्णयप्रदीपिका, पुराणसमुच्चय, आद्रकमल, आद्रकशिका, आद्रचिन्तामणि, आद्रनिर्णय, आद्रप्रदीप, स्मृतिद्वय, स्मृतिरत्नावलि, स्मृतिसार.

1047 on विष्णु 22. 8 'विररस्तु शुद्धिचन्द्रिकायामवगन्तव्यः' folio 125 b of वैजयन्ती.

1048 अमृतव्याख्या (०० पारस्करगृह्य), धर्मप्रदीप, धर्मप्रवृत्ति, नारायणसर्वज्ञ, मङ्गलाल (१), मदन, माधव, ललित, लोकाट, वर्धमान, विज्ञानेश्वर, विन्वादर्श, विन्वेश्वर, शङ्कर, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृत्यर्थसार, इरदत्त (०० गौतमधर्मसूत्र), झरलता, झरलतानिर्णय.

Another work of Nandapaṇḍita is the *Smṛtisindhu*, which seems to have been an extensive digest of *smṛti* material. Portions of it have been recovered. In the Deccan College Collection there is a ms. of the *Saṁskāra-nirṇayataṅga* of the *Smṛtisindhu*, which, according to a verse at the end, was composed by Nandapaṇḍita at the command of king *Harivaṁśa-varman* of the *Māhendra* family and son of king *Maṅga*.<sup>1049</sup>

It appears that he compiled a summary of the doctrines of his work *Smṛtisindhu*. That summary was called *Tattvamuktāvali*.<sup>1050</sup> It is almost certain that the fragment of the *Tattvamuktāvali* noticed in the BBRAS cat. at p. 217 is part of this work. That fragment contains 8 verses on *upakarma* and three on *holika* with commentary and the verses are numbered from 557 to 564 and then 607-609. If the above surmise be correct, the work was a large one and contained over 610 verses. Two of the verses name *Hemādri* and *Parijata*.<sup>1051</sup>

The *Vaijayaṁti* or *Keśava-Vaijayaṁti* is a famous work of his. It is a commentary on the *Viṣṇudharma-sūtra*. Extracts from it have been published by Dr. Jolly in his edition of *Viṣṇu*. This is an extensive work. The following account is taken from the ms. in the India Office Library (vide cat. p. 393 No. 1342 for a brief description). In this work he refers to a *Brāhmaṇa* dynasty of the *Vasiṣṭha gotra* at *Vijayapura* (*Vijayanagara*?) in *Karnāṭa* country, in which was born *Koṇḍapanāyaka*, whose son was *Keśavanāyaka*, whose son was *Ananta* *alias* *Vāvarasa*, whose sons were *Keśava* and *Rudra*. *Keśava*, son of *Koṇḍapa*, seems to have gone

1049 'अस्ति श्रीहरिवंशवर्मनृपातिर्महोत्तमपुत्रस्यामजो माहेन्द्रान्वयपतौलिमुपपातनिः सङ्कल्पविन्ता-  
मणिः । निर्वन्धेन निवन्धराजमसृजत्तत्कीर्तिवन्धोऽवतलं तत्स्थानाम्नु नन्दपण्डित इमं  
धर्माधिकारी मुवः ॥ D. C. ms. No. 612 of 1883-84 ; vide Bhaadarkar's Report  
for 1883-84 p. 353 for extract.

1050 Vide Mitra's Bikaner cat. p. 476 No. 1204 for a ms. of the तत्त्वमुक्तावली  
with the commentary बालमुखा. The last verses are: तत्त्वमुक्ताः समुद्रव्य  
स्मृतिसिन्धोः स्वयंरुताः । तत्त्वमुक्तावलीमिता निर्ममे नन्दपण्डितः ॥ तत्त्वमुक्तावलीव्याख्या  
बालमुखा रता मया । बाललीलाधरः रुग्णः शीयतामनया सदा ॥

1051 It begins श्रावणे श्रवणे कुर्युःपाकर्मोश्चलायनाः । 557; verse 561 is पटिकाहव-  
मप्युक्तं पारिजातमृतश्रुतेः । and 564 is हेमाद्रिरप्युवाचात्र पञ्चमी केवलामपि ।

to Benares with his sons and grand-sons and made extensive gifts of all kinds.<sup>1052</sup> There is a hyperbolical description of his great gifts (*mahādānas* including *tula*, i. e. weighing against gold or silver). Keśavanāyaka enjoined upon Nandapaṇḍita the task of composing a commentary on the *Viṣṇusmṛti*.<sup>1053</sup> In the colophons at the end of the chapters of *Viṣṇu*, Keśavanāyaka is styled Mahārājadhirāja and it is said that Nandapaṇḍita was encouraged in the task by Keśavanāyaka *alias* Tammasānāyaka. At the end of chapter 101, we are told that Keśavanāyaka, Nandapaṇḍita's patron, secured *mokṣa* by breathing his last on the Maṇikarpikā in Benares.<sup>1054</sup> There are six verses at the end one of which says that in the Kali age there is no one more liberal than Vavarasa (a son of Keśavanāyaka) and no one more learned than Nandapaṇḍita.<sup>1055</sup> As he wrote on the encouragement of Keśava, the commentary is also styled Keśava-Vaijayanṭī. Among the authors and works mentioned in this commentary are Devasvāmī, Būdhāsmṛti, Bhavadeva, Mādha-vācārya, Vācaspati, Sarvajña, Subodhini (com. on the Mit.), Haradatta, Hemādri. In the *Vaijayanṭī* he refers to no less than six of his works viz : the *Vidvan-manohara*, the *Pramitākṣara*, the *Śraddha-kalpalatā*, the *Sūddhīcandrikā*, the *Dattaka-mīmāṃsā* (vide note 1040 above). But in the *Dattaka-mīmāṃsā* itself he refers to his Keśava-Vaijayanṭī as already composed.<sup>1056</sup> Therefore it follows that both works were probably being composed at the same time. The *Vaijayanṭī* is one of the leading authorities of the Benares School of modern Hindu Law.<sup>1057</sup>

1052 श्रीविश्वनाथेक्षणकाम्ययासौ पुत्रैश्च पौत्रैश्च युतः प्रपौत्रैः । गम्भीरवेदीन गजः स्वयूथ्यैः  
कदाचिदानन्दवनं निवेश ॥ (verse 63).

1053 धर्मार्थयानि कोटिशोत्र विहिताः संतोषमन्तस्ततो नैव प्राप यदा तदा रचयितुं विष्णुस्मृते-  
भ्यास्तुतिम् । ऐच्छत्तत्र च रामपण्डितसुतं श्रीकेशवः क्षमातिर्विद्वत्सदि नन्दपण्डितमति-  
धीत्या म्ययुङ्क्त स्वयम् ॥ verse 91.

1054 कामो बाबरसाङ्गणमभूतिभिः पुत्रैः शुभैः रूपापितो मोक्षः श्रीमणिकर्णिकामुनि तनुत्यागेन  
संपादितः ॥

1055 कलौ वावरसादन्यो बदान्यो न महीतले । श्रीनन्दपण्डितादम्भो विद्वान्नाम्यो न  
जानुषित् ॥

1056 ' अस्मत्कृतायां विष्णुस्मृतिटिकायां केशववैजयन्त्यामन्ययेयम् ' । ( on priority among  
the twelve kinds of sons ) p. 112 of दत्तकमीमांसा.

1057 Vide I. L. R. 16 Cal. 367 at p. 372.



Nandapaṇḍita, though he generally follows the Mitākṣarā, was not a slavish admirer of Viṇṇāneśvara. He does not accept the explanation the Mitākṣarā gives of Yāj II. 17 (śākṣiśūbhayataḥ etc.). Similarly on Viṣṇu 8. 12, 22. 41, 23. 11, 27. 2 he emphatically says that the Mitākṣarā is wrong.<sup>1058</sup> He prefers the father to the mother as an heir (on Viṣṇu 17. 6-7) and seems to have placed the paternal grandmother as an heir after the mother but before the brother (folio 101 b). He explains *sapiṇḍa* relationship in the same way as the Mit.<sup>1059</sup> does. He says that the word 'bhrātaraḥ' in Yāj. should be explained as standing for 'brothers and sisters' and that in the father's line, after the brother and brother's son, the brother's grandson succeeds and, on failure of the brother's grandson, the paternal grandfather, his son and grandson are heirs one after another, i. e. in each line three generations succeed and then there is a devolution in favour of the next higher line. This view is opposed to that of the Subodhini and the Smṛticandrikā, which take only the son and grandson of each paternal ancestor. Vide my notes to the Vyavahāramayūkha for fuller details (pp. 253-254). Nandapaṇḍita stands alone among modern *śāstrabhāṣya* in having recognised a uterine brother<sup>1060</sup> (i. e. the son of the same mother but of a different father) as an heir. It is remarkable that Nanda-

[1058 एतेन पुंसवनस्य द्वेऽन्नसंस्कारतयासकृत्करणं मन्यमानो विज्ञानेश्वरोऽपि परास्तः । वैजयन्ती on विष्णु 27. 2.

1059 पिण्डो देहो जनकः स समानो येषां ते सपिण्डास्तेषां मायाः सपिण्डता । वैजयन्ती on विष्णु, 22. 5 (folio 124 a).

1060 Vide वैजयन्ती on विष्णु 17. 8 (folio 102 a). The important portion is 'तत्र प्रथमं समानमातापितृका भ्रातरो गृह्णीयुः । पित्रवयवधिक्येन प्रत्यासन्नतरत्वात् । तदभावे समानमातापितृका भगिन्यो गृह्णीयुः । तासां भिन्नमातृकाश्चापेक्षया संनिहितत्वात् । भिन्नोदराणां माया भिन्नबीजानां मित्रा विपक्वात् । तदभावे तु तेषां गृह्णीयुः । ... तत्रापि प्रथमे समानपितृकाः पश्चात्समानमातृका बीजस्य प्राधान्यात्पत्यसत्तेश्च क्रमनियामकत्वात् । तद्यथा । एकस्य द्वे पत्न्यौ । तत्रैकस्यां द्वौ पुत्रावप्यस्यामेकः पुत्रस्तेन जनितोऽनन्तरं च द्विपुत्रान्यपक्षिमाश्रित्य पुत्रान्तरं जनयामासेति तस्माच्चयः पुत्रा यन्तुवुः । तत्र पूर्वोक्तान्यतरस्मिन्प्रतीति तद्वत् समानमातापितृक एव प्रथमं गृह्णीयात् । तदभावे समानपितृको भिन्नोदरोऽपि गृह्णीयात् । बीजमाधान्यात् । तदभावे समानमातृको भिन्नपितृकोऽपि ।'

paṇḍita preferred a person's predeceased son's widow (i. e. widowed daughter-in-law) as an heir to that man's own daughter.<sup>1061</sup>

The Dattaka-mīmāṃsā is the most famous work of Nandapaṇḍita. It was translated very early by Sutherland (comprised in Stoke's Hindu Law Books). In the following the edition of Bharatacandra Śiromaṇi (published in 1885 with his own commentary) has been used. In this work he lays down rules as to the person who may adopt, when he may adopt, who can give in adoption, who may be adopted, the motives of adoption, the necessary ceremonies of adoption, the results of adoption. Among the authors and works quoted or referred to those mentioned below may be noted.<sup>1062</sup>

From very early days of the British rule in India the Dattaka-mīmāṃsā came to be regarded as the standard work on adoption. In *Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramalinga*<sup>1063</sup> the Privy Council says "Again of the Dattaka-mīmāṃsā of Nandapaṇḍita and the Dattaka-candrikā of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa, two treatises on the particular subject of adoption, Sir William Macnaghten says that they are respected all over India; but that, when they differ, the doctrine of the latter is adhered to in Bengal and by the southern jurists, while the former is held to be the infallible guide in the provinces of Mithila and Benares." That this estimate is somewhat too strongly put has been said by the Privy Council itself in *Bhagwansingh v. Bhagwansingh*<sup>1064</sup> 'to call it infallible is too strong an expression and the estimates of Sutherland and of West and Bühler seem nearer the true mark; but it is clear that both works must be accepted as bearing high authority for so long a time that they have become embedded in the general law.' The Privy Council further lays down 'their Lordships cannot concur with Knox J. in saying that

1061 वेजयन्ती on विलु 17. 4 ( folio 100a ) श्वशुरमरणे श्वशुरस्नुषयोः स्वयसाभ्येन श्वशुरमरणे स्नुषया एव साधारणस्याप्यात् ( 1 ) । तदभावे क इत्याह । तदभावे दुहितृणां । तेषां पुत्रादिस्नुषान्तानामभावे दुहितरी धनं गृह्णीयुः । Vide I. L. R. 16 Cal. 367 at p. 376 where this view is referred to.

1062 अपराकं, कल्पलह, देवस्वामी, प्रयोगपरिज्ञान, प्रवरमञ्जरी, मिताक्षरा, मेघानिधि, वाक-स्थानि, वेजयन्ती, सर्वज्ञ, सुबोधिनी, शशरस्वामी ( com. on सत्यापादधीन ), स्मृति-चन्द्रिका, हरदत्त, हेमाद्रि.

1063 12 Moo. I. A. 297 at p. 437.

1064 I. R. 36 I. A. 153 at p. 161.

their (of the Dattaka-mīmāṃsā and Dattaka-candrikā) authority is open to examination, explanation, criticism, adoption or rejection like any scientific treatises on European jurisprudence'.<sup>1065</sup> Even in those parts of the Bombay Presidency where the Vyavahāramayūkha is a work of paramount authority, the Dattakamīmāṃsā has on the subject of adoption been preferred in certain matters to the Vyavahāramayūkha. For example, the Bombay High Court, following the Dattaka-mīmāṃsā, has laid down that among the three higher castes a man cannot adopt his own daughter's, sister's, or mother's sister's son. The view of the Vyavahāramayūkha, on the contrary, is that he can take these in adoption. The limits to which Nandapaṇḍita will be followed by the courts are laid down in *Ramachandra v. Gopal*: 'The authority of Nandapaṇḍita must be accepted except where it can be shown that he deviates from or adds to the *smṛtis* or where his version of the law is opposed to such established custom as the Courts recognise'.<sup>1066</sup>

Several views expressed in the Dattakamīmāṃsā have been set at naught in the various provinces by the British Indian Courts. Nandapaṇḍita held that a widow could not adopt at all.<sup>1067</sup> Except in Mithilā this view has nowhere been entertained in India and the Courts have held that the Law of Benares, Bengal, Madras and Bombay is different. Nandapaṇḍita put forward the position that the brother's son must be preferred for adoption over any other *sagotra* or *sapiṇḍa*.<sup>1068</sup> This has, however, been treated in all provinces as no more than a mere recommendation and that failure to observe it entails no legal or religious consequences whatever. The expression 'putracchāyā' in 'putracchāyāvaham' occurring in the text of Śaunaka was explained by Nandapaṇḍita to mean 'similarity to a son born' and he said that the similarity consisted in the possibility of being begotten by means of *niyoga* and the like.<sup>1069</sup> Sutherland wrongly introduced the word 'marriage' after

1065 L. R. 26 I. A. 113 at p. 132.

1066 I. L. R. 32 Bom. 619 at p. 624.

1067 अनेन विधवाया भर्षनुकानासंभवत् अनधिकारो गम्यते ।

1068 संनिहितसगोत्रसपिण्डेषु च भ्रातृपुत्र एव पुत्रीकार्यं इति ।

1069 पुत्रवच्छाया पुत्रसादृश्यं तच्च नियोगादिना स्वयमुत्पादनयोग्यत्वं यथा भ्रातृसपिण्डसगोत्रादिपुत्रस्य । ततश्च भ्रातृपुत्रव्यमानुलदौहित्रमाग्निनेयादीनां विरासः ।

*nijaga* in his translation and some of the High Courts in India, following this wrong translation, evolved the rule that no one could be adopted whose mother the adopting father could not have legally married in her maiden state.<sup>1070</sup> But the Bombay High Court has laid down that the rule is restricted to the three specified cases of the daughter's son, the sister's son, and the mother's sister's son.<sup>1071</sup> From the text ( *brāhmaṇāditya nāsti bhāgineyaḥ sutaḥ kvacit* ), Nandapaṇḍita evolved the curious rule that a widow cannot adopt to her deceased husband her own brother's son. But the Privy Council has refused to follow this *dictum* on the ground that the gloss of Nandapaṇḍita is an extension not based on the authority of any *smṛti* and has upheld such an adoption.<sup>1072</sup>

About the personal history of Nandapaṇḍita we do not know much. Mandlik in his *Hindu Law* ( LXXII, n. 3 ) gives what information he could gather from descendants of Nandapaṇḍita living in Benares. According to him the founder of the family was Lakṣmīdhara who was a resident of Bidar ( now in the Nizam's dominions ) and who went to Benares. Nandapaṇḍita was the sixth in descent from him. Dr. Jolly visited at Benares Pandit Dhuṇḍirāja Dharmādhikārī who was 9th in descent from Nandapaṇḍita ( Tagore Law Lectures, p. 15 ) and Mandlik's information also was gathered from persons who were 9th in descent from Nandapaṇḍita. Mandlik also gives a detailed genealogical tree. We learn from several works of Nandapaṇḍita and their colophons that he was also named Vināyakapaṇḍita and was the son of Rāmapaṇḍita of Benares who is styled Dharmādhikārī. Nandapaṇḍita also is described as Dharmādhikārī in the *Saṁskāranirṇaya-taraṅga* of the *Smṛtisindhu* ( vide note 1049 above ). It appears that Nandapaṇḍita was at different times patronised by rich patrons from different parts of India. He composed the *Śrāddhakalpalatā* for Paramānanda of the Sahagila family of Sādhārāṇa, the *Smṛtisindhu* for Harivathāsavarman of the Māhendra family and the *Vaijayanti* for Keśavanayaka of Madhurā.

1070 Vide I. L. R. 11 Mad. 49 ( F. B. ), I. L. R. 27 All. 417, I. L. R. 43 Mad. 830.

1071 Vide I. L. R. 32 Bom. 619, I. L. R. 36 Bom. 533, 15 Bom. L. R. 824 ( paternal aunt's son could be validly adopted ), I. L. R. 39 Bom. 410 ( adoption of half-brother held valid ).

1072 *Pattal v. Parbatī* I. L. R. 37 All. 359 ( P. C. ).

Mandlik notes that Nandapaṇḍita is credited with the authorship of 13 works. Eight works of Nandapaṇḍita have been named and described above. Mandlik names six of these. Besides these he is said to have written Navarātra-pradīpa, three sections of a work named Harivarṇśavilāsa (viz. dānakautuka, ahnikakautuka and saṁskāra-kautuka), Bālabhūṣā, Tīrthakalpalatā, Kālanirṇayakautuka, Kāṣīprakāśa, Mādhavānanda. But we saw above (note 1050) that the Bālabhūṣā is only a commentary on the Tattvamuktāvalī (probably composed by another writer). The Kāṣīprakāśa was certainly composed by Nandapaṇḍita as he is described in the India Office ms. to have been the son of Rāmapaṇḍita.<sup>1073</sup> That work was composed at the order of one Sarvabhaṭṭa, who was the *guru* of Kṛṣṇanāyaka of Madhurā. In Mitra's Notices two works, Jyotiḥśāstrasamuccaya and Smārtasamuccaya, are described as composed by Nandapaṇḍita, son of Devaśarman and Vṛndā.<sup>1074</sup> The latter seems to have been an extensive work and dealt with *tithinirṇaya*, intercalary month, marriage, sapinda relationship, the saṁskāras, daily observances, *antyesti* (funeral rites), *śalaka*, *śuddhi*, *śraddha*, *prayascitta*, *dayabhāga* and *vyavahāra*. Though the name of the father, Devaśarman, creates suspicion in one's mind, both these works must be regarded as the works of Nandapaṇḍita, son of Rāmapaṇḍita, as in the Smārtasamuccaya the author refers his readers to his Dattakamīmāṃsā for the subject of adoption. It is not unlikely that just as Nandapaṇḍita had the *alias* Vināyaka, his father Rāmapaṇḍita was also called Devaśarman.

Mandlik (Hindu Law LXXII, n. 3) notes that on a copy of the Mādhavānanda-kāvya composed by Nanda the year *śamvat* 1655 (1599 A. D.) is given, probably in Nandapaṇḍita's own handwriting. The Vaijayanti was one of Nandapaṇḍita's latest works. That work, we are told, was composed at Kāśī in Vikrama *śamvat* 1679 (Nov. 1623) on the Full moon of Kārtika when the sun was in Scorpio and the moon in Taurus.<sup>1075</sup> Therefore the literary

1073 Vide I. O. cat. p. 391 No. 3701.

1074 Vide vol. V. p. 80 No. 1762 and vol. VI, p. 165 No. 2105.

1075 वर्ये विक्रमभास्करस्य गणिते नन्दाद्रियद्भुमिनिः

पूर्णे कार्तिकमासि वृश्चिकगते भानौ वृषस्थे विद्यौ ।

काश्या केशवनाथकस्य नृपतेराज्ञामवाप्य स्मृते-

र्विष्णोर्व्याहृतिमाचकार दिमलां श्रीनन्दशर्मा सुधीः ॥ 7th verse at the end.

activity of Nandapaṇḍita must be placed between 1595 and 1630 A. D. Mandlik in his *Hindu Law* (p. 281) says that the *Vaijyanti* of Nandapaṇḍita is referred to in the *Vyavahāramayūkha* of Nīlakaṇṭha. I have not been able to find the reference in the latter work.

### 106. Kamalākaraḥṭṭa

Kamalākaraḥṭṭa was one of the foremost scions of the Bhaṭṭa family. He was a grandson of the famous Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and a son of Rāmakṛṣṇabhaṭṭa. He was one of three brothers, the eldest being Dinakara *alias* Divakara<sup>1076</sup> and the youngest was Lakṣṇābhaṭṭa,<sup>1077</sup> who studied under Kamalākaraḥṭṭa. Kamalākaraḥṭṭa's father Rāmakṛṣṇa also was a very<sup>1078</sup> learned man and a profound *mīmāṃsaka* and his mother Uma immolated herself as a *sati*. Kamalākara was a man of profound erudition and composed works on almost every śāstra. In some of his own works there are high eulogies of his learning and proficiency in Tarka, Nyāya, grammar, mīmāṃsa (in both the schools of Kumārila and Prabhākara), Vedānta, Poetics, dharmaśāstra and Vedic sacrifices.<sup>1079</sup> He composed more than twenty-two works. At the end of his *Vivādatāṇḍava*, it is said that he composed the *Nirṇayasindhu*, a commentary on the *Vārtika* (of Kumārila), a work on the *mīmāṃsā* (śāstratattva) and a series of 20 other works.<sup>1080</sup> At the end of a ms. of the

1076 सिन्दुमाधवपदाकरोलम्बीकृतविग्रहम् । उद्यादासं धारं मद्दिवाकरमुपास्महे ॥  
6th Intro. verse of निर्णयसिन्धु.

1077 अर्थाय लक्ष्मणारुदेन कमलाकरसोदरात् । आचाररत्नं सुधिया यधामति वित्तम्यते ॥  
7th Intro. verse of आचाररत्न.

1078 यो बाहूतन्त्रगहनार्णवकर्णधारः शास्त्रान्तरेषु निश्चितेष्वपि मर्ममेता । योत्र क्षमः किल  
रुतः कमलाकरेण प्रीतोमुनास्तु सुकृती सुधरामरुणः ॥ शूद्रकमलाकर.

1079 तर्के दुस्तर्कमेधः कणिततिभणितिः पाणिनीये प्रपञ्चे न्याये प्रायः प्रवृत्तः प्रकटितपटिमा  
भाषाशास्त्रमप्ये । प्रायः प्राभाकरिणे पथि प्रथितदुरुहान्तवेदान्तसिन्धुः । श्रौति साहित्यकाव्ये  
प्रचुरतरंगतिर्धर्मशास्त्रेषु यथा ॥ from काव्यप्रकाशव्याख्या D. C. ms. No. 423 of  
1895-1902.

1080 देनाकारि मोद्गटा वार्तिकस्य टीका चान्या विंशतिग्रन्थमाला । श्रीरामाक्षरचोरविता  
निर्णयेषु सिन्धुः शास्त्रे तत्त्वकौतूहले च ॥ Vide I. O. cat. p. 455 No. 1502; also vide  
D. C. ms. No. 122 of 1883-84 for a ms. of कमलाकर's commentary on the  
first pāda of the 2nd chap. called प्रावार्थ of the तन्त्रवार्तिक.

Śāntiratna in the Bhau Daji collection there is a list of 22 works of his out of which the Nirṇayasindhu is said to have been the first.<sup>1081</sup> More than half of these works are concerned with topics of Dharmaśāstra, viz. the Nirṇayasindhu, the Dānakamalākara, Śāntiratna, Pūrtakamalākara, Vratakamalākara, Prāyaścittaratna, Vivadatāṇḍava, Bahvrcāhnika, Gotrapravaradarpaṇa, Karmavipākaraṭna, Śūdrakamalākara, Sarvatīrthavidhi. The Śūdrakamalākara, the Vivadatāṇḍava and the Nirṇayasindhu are the most famous of his works on dharmaśāstra. Brief references may be made here to some of the works of Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa other than the three mentioned above. It appears from the introductory verses of the Vratakamalākara that Kamalākara intended to compose a digest on dharma called Dharmatattva in ten paricchedaś<sup>1082</sup> and not only carried it out but added some more works on dharma. It will be noticed that nine out of these 10 sections are enumerated under the same names at the end of the Śāntiratna quoted above, the one not named being the section on *acara*. Burnell mentions a work called Acāradīpa by Kamalākara on daily duties and on the same page notices another work on āhnika by Kamalākara.<sup>1083</sup> It is difficult to say whether both are names of the same work. It is not unlikely that the *acara* section of the digest Dharmatattva is the same as the Bahvrcāhnika enumerated at the end of the Śāntiratna. There is a ms. of the Bahvrcāhnika at Bikaner.<sup>1084</sup> It deals with daily duties commencing with rising

1081 आद्यो निर्णयसिन्धुस्तु चार्तिके टिप्पणी पुनः । काव्यप्रकाशेण व्याख्यादाने च कमलाकरैः ॥ शान्तिरत्नं ततः पूर्ववत्तथैव कमलाकरः । ग्रन्थो वेदान्तरत्नं च समावेशकृत-  
इत्यम् ॥ प्राच्यभिज्ञे रत्नमेकं व्यवहारं तथापरम् । बहुचर्चाहिकमन्यच्च गोत्रैर्वैरदपेयः ॥  
रत्नं कर्मविपाकैरुप्यं कान्धीर्यस्य पद्धतिः । सोमपयोर्गैः शुद्राणां धर्मो रुद्रस्य पद्धतिः ॥  
टिप्पणी च तथा शास्त्रैर्विफालोक्तसंज्ञिता । मीमांसायां तथा शास्त्रतत्त्वस्य कमलाकरः ॥  
सर्वतीर्थविधिष्वेव भक्तिरत्नं तथोत्तमम् । रामरुणसुतेनेत्येव कमलाकरशर्मणा । इत्यधिकं  
विशतीनां च ग्रन्थानां रत्नमालिका । सेवां कर्तुमशक्तेन स्मृता रामपादयोः ॥  
concluding verses of शान्तिरत्न.

1082 रामरुणसुतेन कमलाकरशर्मणा । क्रियते धर्मतत्त्वानां कमलानामिहाकरः ॥ प्रवदाने  
कर्मपाकः शान्तिपूर्तं तथैव च । आचारो व्यवहारश्च प्राच्यभिज्ञमधारम् ॥ शुद्रधर्म-  
स्तीर्थविधिः परिच्छेदा द्वात्रयं तु । Intro. verses to मनकमलाकर, vide Mitra's  
Bikaner cat. p. 499, No. 1071.

1083 Vide Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 135 b.

1084 Vide Mitra's Bikaner cat. p. 355 No. 767.



from one's bed at the *brāhma mubarta*. In this work Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa refers to his own *Prāyaścittaratna*, and to the *Madanapārijāta*, *Madanaratna*, *Mādhava* and *Śulapāṇi*. The *Pūrtakamalākara*<sup>1085</sup> was an extensive work and dealt with the dedication of tanks, wells, trees and gardens to the public, the dedication of *Aśvattha* tree and five sacred trees, dedication and laying the foundation of public buildings, consecration of sacred images, of *Śalagrāma*, of temples and flags, repairing of images, accidental breaking of temples, consecration of *Vināyaka*, pacification of planets, coronation of kings and emperors. In this work he mentions his own *Dāna-kamalākara*.

The *Śāntiratna* or *Śāntikamalākara* is a huge work.<sup>1086</sup>

It deals with various rites for propitiating *Vināyaka*, the nine planets, and for averting the consequences of portentous occurrences and evil omens, birth on such constellations as *mala*, the observances known as *Ekādaśīni*, *Laghurudra*, *Mahārudra*, *Śatacaṇḍī* &c. He refers to his own *Nirṇayasindhu* in this work.

For his *Gotrapravaradarpaṇa* or *Gotrapravarānirṇaya*, vide I. O. cat. p. 579 No. 1780. He follows the *Pravaramaṅjari* in this work. This work is referred to in his *Nirṇayasindhu*.

In the Bombay Asiatic Society's Library there is a ms. of his *Saṁskāra-prayogakamalākara* which appears to be over and above the 22 works enumerated above.<sup>1087</sup> He starts with an enumeration of the 48 *saṁskāras* mentioned by Gautama, deals with the several *saṁskāras* of *puṁsavana*, *jātakarma*, marriage &c., and with *utsarjana* and *upākarma*, propitiatory rites on the first appearance of menses, the *Aṣṭakā śrāddha* &c.

His *Śāstratattva-kautūhala* or *Tattva-kamalākara* appears to have been a work of considerable interest dealing with the bearing of the doctrines and maxims of the *Mīmāṃsā* system on ritual and *dharmasāstra*.<sup>1088</sup> A ms. of it is dated *saṁvat* 1695 *caitra śukla* 4 Friday (i. e. 9th March 1638 A. D.).

1085 Vide Mitra's Notices vol. V. p. 138 No. 1881 for *पूतकमलाकर*; in the Bombay Asiatic Society's collection there is a portion of this.

1086 Vide I. O. cat. p. 568 No. 1758 and BBRAE cat. p. 234 No. 729 for *शान्तिरत्न*.

1087 Vide I. O. cat. p. 514 No. 1630 for *संस्कारकमलाकर*.

1088 Vide Mitra's Notices, vol. III. p. 335 No. 1331 for *तत्त्वकमलाकर*.

For the *Prāyaścittaratna*, vide Bühler's report, 3, p. 108.

I was able to secure a ms. of the *Vivādatāṇḍava* from the Mandlik collection in the Fergusson College at Poona. That work closely resembles in method and matter the *Vyavahāramayūkha* of Kamalākara's cousin Nilakantha, the section on ordeals being almost the same in both. It treats of the following subjects: the *sabhā*; members of the *sabhā*; Judge, *amātya*; the scribe and the accountant; conflict of *smṛtis*; the plaint, the reply, the modes of proof, viz., documents, witnesses, possession; modes of punishment; the principal and secondary sons; the enumeration of the eighteen titles of law; partition of heritage and detailed description of the other titles. Like the *Vyavahāramayūkha*, the *Vivādatāṇḍava* quotes the *Madanaratna* as frequently as (or perhaps more frequently than) the *Mitākṣarā*. The other writers and works quoted are noted below.<sup>1089</sup> As it mentions several works of his own, viz. *Nirṇayasindhu*, the *Dānakamalākara*, the *Prāyaścittaratna* and the *Śūdra-dharma* (i. e. *Śūdrakamalākara*), the *Vivādatāṇḍava* was one of his latest works. On several points he differs from his own cousin Nilakantha. For example, he prefers the mother to the father as an heir and does not give the sister a high place among the *gotraja* heirs as Nilakantha does. The *Vivādatāṇḍava* has been frequently noticed in judicial decisions.<sup>1090</sup>

The *Śūdrakamalākara* (also called *Śūdra-dharmatattva* or *Śūdra-dharmatattvaprakāśa*) has been printed in Bombay several times (with Marathi translation). I used the *Nirṇayasāgara* edition of 1895. In this work he refers to his own *Dānakamalākara*, *Pūrtakamalākara*, *Prāyaścittaratna* and *Nirṇayasindhu*. Out of about two hundred authors and works quoted therein, prominent ones are noted below.<sup>1091</sup> This work is a standard treatise on the duties and religious observances of *Śūdras*.

1089 अपरार्क, कल्पतरु, गोविन्दरान, जीमूतवाहन, दिव्यतरु (of गोड i. e. रघुनन्दन), भोज, मनुटीका, माधवीय, रत्नाकर, विष्णुरूप, शिरोमणि, शिरोमणिमहाचार्य.

1090 Vide I. L. R. 33 Bom. 452 at p. 459, I. L. R. 9 Cal. 315 at p. 324, I. L. R. 39 Cal. 319 at p. 331 for references to *विवादाण्डव*.

1091 आचार्यचूडामणि, तिथितरु, मदनरत्न, माधवीय, रूपनागयणीय, शुद्धिविवेक (of रुद्रधर), श्रुत्याणि, श्रीदत्त, स्मृतिकौमुदी, हरिहरभाष्य.

He first starts with the discussion that the Śūdra is not authorised to study the Vedas, but that he can listen to the recitation by Brāhmanas of smṛtis and purāṇas and religious rites are to be performed for Śūdras with Purāṇic *mantras*. Then the following subjects are dealt with:— worship of Viṣṇu and other deities by Śūdras and the observances of *vratas* and fasts by them; Śūdra can make gifts of works of public utility (*pūrta*); Śūdra can adopt a son; the conflicting views as to the number of saṁskāras for a Śūdra, most authors holding that he is entitled to ten saṁskāras (without Vedic *mantras*), viz. garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, simanta, jātakarma, namakarāṇa, sīṣunīkramāṇa, annaprasāna, caḍākarma, karmavedha and vivaha; the five great daily yajñas were to be performed for the śūdra according to the Vājasaneyasākha;<sup>1092</sup> śrāddhas for Śūdra (to be performed with uncooked food); actions prescribed and forbidden in the case of Śūdras; the details of various rites and saṁskāras of Śūdras; the daily duties of Śūdras; impurity on birth and death; rites after death; duties of wives and widows; persons of mixed castes who have to follow the rules laid down for Śūdras; rules for those who are born of *pratiloma* connections; about *Kaṣṭhas*.

The Nirṇayasindhu or Nirṇayakamalākara is the most famous of Kamalākara's works. It is a monument of erudition, industry and lucidity. It has been judicially referred to as a work of authority.<sup>1093</sup> I have used the Nirṇayasāgara edition of 1905 (with Marathi translation). In the whole range of nibandhakāras there is hardly any other writer, except perhaps Nilakaṇṭha and Mitra-miśra, who lays under contribution as many works as Kamalākara does. In the Nirṇayasindhu about one hundred smṛtis and over three hundred nibandhakāras are mentioned by name. In the introductory verses he expressly says that he pondered over the views of Hemādri, Mādhava and other learned writers. The work is divided into three *paricchedas*. The following is a very concise

1092 This is interesting 'तथा शूद्राणां पञ्चमहायज्ञाश्च भवन्ति । ... ते च वाजसनेयि-  
शाखया कार्याः । शूद्रा वाजसनेयिन इति गौडनियम्ये दक्षोक्तेः । हरिहरभाष्ये विवाह-  
प्रकरणेऽप्येवमुक्तम्' शूद्रकमलाकर p. 51; vide शूद्रकृत्यविचारतत्त्व (Jivānanda  
vol. II p. 634) and मलमासतत्त्व (vol. I, p. 792) for an explanation of this.

1093 I. L. R. 3 Bom. at p. 197; *Kāṣṭhakaṇṭha* and v. Bai Mani I. L. R. 11 Bom.  
247 at p. 254; I. L. R. 46 Bom. at p. 556; I. L. R. 49 Bom. 739 at p. 757;  
I. L. R. 9 Cal 315 at p. 324.

statement of the contents of this voluminous work. The principal subject is to give decisive opinions as to the proper times for various religious acts; the various views about the year being solar, lunar, sidereal etc., months of four kinds, lunar, solar etc., saṁkrānti rites and gifts; intercalary month; *kṣayanāsa*; about *tithis*, *śuddha* and *vidhva* (combined with another *tithi* on same day); *vratas*; the various *vratas* and festivals during the twelve months of the year; the *samskāras* from *garbhādhāna* onwards; *sapinda* relationship; consecration of images; auspicious times (*muhūrtas*) for various actions such as sowing operations, buying horses and cattle &c.; *śrāddha*; impurities on birth and death; rites after death, rites for *sati*; *samnyāsa*.

The time when Kamalākara flourished can be determined with great accuracy. We saw above that the *Nirṇayasindhu* was one of his earliest works and that it is referred to in several works of his. According to a verse at the end of the *Nirṇayasindhu* the work was composed in 1668 of the Vikrama era on the 14th day of the dark half of the month of Māgha when cyclic year was Raudra (i. e. on the 20th February 1612 A. D.). In a ms. noticed by M. M. Haraprasāda Śāstri the same verse is read differently, so as to refer the composition to Vikrama *samvat* 1678; but it is clearly a copyist's error or misreading, since the cyclic year Raudra cannot tally with Vikrama 1678.<sup>1094</sup> We saw above that a ms. of the *Tattvakamalākara* is dated 1638 A. D. Kamalākara was a voluminous writer and therefore we shall be not far wrong if his literary activity be assigned to the period between 1610 A. D. and 1640 A. D. This date is corroborated in several ways. His grandfather Nārāyaṇbhaṭṭa was born in 1513 A. D. and he quotes in his *Nirṇayasindhu* the *Toḍarānanda* compiled in the last quarter of the 16th century. Gagābhaṭṭa *alias* Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, who officiated at the coronation of the great Shivaji in 1674 A. D., was Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa's nephew.

1094 वसुधतुक्तुम्भिते श्वेच्छे नरपतिविक्रमलोभ याति रोद्रे । तपसि शिवतिथौ समापितोयं  
 (पुनलिपादसोद्वेर्षितश्च ॥ 6th verse at end; vide Notices of mss. by Haraprasād Śāstri vol. X, p. 324, No. 4233 where the reading is वसुधतुक्तुम्भिते.

## 107. Nīlakanthabhaṭṭa

In my introduction to the *Vyavahāramayūkha* ( Poona, 1926 ) I have dealt exhaustively with the personal history of Nīlakanṭha, his works, their contents, their position in dharmasāstra literature, the period of Nīlakanṭha's literary activity and his position in modern Hindu Law. In the following a brief résumé of the conclusions there arrived at is given.

Nīlakanṭha was a grandson of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and a son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa. Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa was a profound *mīmāṃsaka* and composed several works on *mīmāṃsā*, viz. a com. on the *Śāstradīpikā*, the *Vidhirasāyaṇadūṣaṇa*, the *Mīmāṃsābālaprakāśa*. He also wrote *Dvaitanirṇaya* ( vide Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol, III part 2. pp. 67-72 for an account of it ) and the *Dharmaṇṭya* or *Sarvadharmaṇṭya*. Nīlakanṭha composed an encyclopaedia of religious and civil law, styled *Bhagavantaśāstra*, in honour of his patron Bhagavantaśāstra, a Bundella chieftain of the Seṅgara clan, that ruled at Bhareha near the confluence of the Jumna and the Chambal. This work is divided into 12 sections ( called *mayūkhas* ' rays ' ) on *saṃskāra*, *ācāra*, *kāla* ( or *saṃyā* ), *śrāddha*, *niti*, *vyavahāra*, *dāna*, *utsarga*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *prāyaścitta*, *śuddhi*, *śānti*. These have been printed at Benares and some of them have been printed in Bombay at the Gujarati Press and by Mr. Gharpure. Besides this encyclopaedia he composed also a work called *Vyavahāratattva*, which is a summary of the *Vyavahāramayūkha*, and probably a work styled *Dattakanirṇaya*. The *Vyavahāratattva* has been for the first time published by me as appendix I to my edition of the *Vyavahāramayūkha*.

Nīlakanṭha is one of the foremost *nibandhakāras*. Being brought up in a family that had made the study of *mīmāṃsā* its own for several generations, he is very acute in applying the maxims and rules of *mīmāṃsā* to dharmasāstra. He stands unsurpassed by any mediaeval Sanskrit writer on dharmasāstra in mastery over the vast *smṛti* lore, in lucidity of exposition, in conciseness and ease of style, in clarity of vision and sobriety of judgment. Though he admired the learning and labours of such predecessors as Vijñāneśvara, Hemādri and others, he does not slavishly follow their dicta and expresses his dissent from them most frankly.

His Vyavahāramayūkha is a work of paramount authority on matters of Hindu law according to the decisions of the Bombay High Court in Gujerat, the island of Bombay and northern Konkan.<sup>1095</sup> Even in the other parts of the Bombay Presidency such as the Maratha country and the Ratnagiri District the Vyavahāramayūkha occupies a very important place though it is subordinate to the Mitākṣarā.<sup>1096</sup> The general principle on which the Bombay High Court acts in construing the rules laid down in the Mitākṣarā and the Vyavahāramayūkha is that the two works are to be harmonized with one another wherever and so far as that is reasonably possible.<sup>1097</sup> Though the Mitākṣarā is a paramount authority in the Maratha country and the Ratnagiri District and though it is silent about the sister's right as a *gotraja* heir, the courts, in deference to the authority of the Vyavahāramayūkha, have assigned to the sister a high place as an heir even in the Maratha country and in Ratnagiri. Among the other Mayūkhas, the Saṁskāramayūkha has been frequently relied upon by the courts.<sup>1098</sup> The Prāyaścittamayūkha and the Pratiṣṭhāmayūkha<sup>1099</sup> have also been relied upon in the High Court.

The period of Nilakantha's literary activity can be settled within very narrow limits. He was the youngest son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa. In the Dvaitanirṇaya, Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa quotes the views of the Tōḍarānanda which, as we saw above, must have been composed between 1570 and 1589 A. D. So the Dvaitanirṇaya could not have been composed before 1590 A. D. Nilakantha, the youngest son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, could hardly have commenced his literary career earlier than Kamalākara who was the second son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa's elder brother. Kamalākara composed his Nirṇayasindhu in 1612

1095 Vide *Lallubhai v. Manikvarbai* I. L. R. 2 Bom. 388 at p. 418; I. L. R. 6 Bom. 541 at p. 546; I. L. R. 14 Bom. 612 at pp. 623-624; I. L. R. 24 Bom. 367 (F. B.) at p. 373.

1096 Vide *Krishnaji v. Pandurang* 12 Bom. H. C. R. 65 at pp. 67-68; 5 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J.) 181 at p. 185; 7 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J.) at p. 169; I. L. R. 14 Bom. 612 at p. 616.

1097 *Gajabai v. Śrīmanī Shāhājīrao* I. L. R. 17 Bom. 114 at p. 118 and *Keserbai v. Hunsraj* I. L. R. 30 Bom. 431 at p. 442 (P. C.).

1098 I. L. R. 2 Bom. 388 at p. 425; I. L. R. 3 Bom. 353 at p. 361; I. L. R. 32 Bom. 81 at pp. 88 and 96; 46 Bom. at p. 884.

1099 Vide *Parami v. Mahadevi* I. L. R. 34 Bom. 278 at p. 283 (for प्रायश्चित्त-मयूख) and 22 Bom. L. R. p. 334 (for प्रतिष्ठा-मयूख).



A. D. So Nilakanṭha's literary activity must have commenced a good deal after 1610. One ms. of the Vyavahāratattva bears the date *śaka*vat 1700 ( 1644 A. D. ). This shows that the Vyavahāratattva was composed not later than 1644 A. D. The Vyavahāratattva refers to the Vyavahāramayūkha as already composed. Hence we may say, without being far from the truth, that Nilakanṭha's literary career falls between 1610 and 1645 A. D. This date is confirmed by the fact that Nilakanṭha's son Śaṅkara wrote the Kuṇḍabhāskara in 1671 A. D. and Divākarabhaṭṭa, the son of Nilakanṭha's daughter, composed his Ācārārka in 1686 A. D. It appears that there was probably a rivalry between the two great cousins Kamalākaraḥṭṭa and Nilakanṭha. On many matters their views diverged. Though the Nirṇayasindhu is said to have been composed in 1668 of the Vikrama era, yet from the references to several works of his own in the Nirṇayasindhu it looks as if Kamalākara revised it from time to time by adding on references to his own other works and to those of others. The Nirṇayasindhu (III *pariccheda*, section on Dattakagrahaṇa ) emphatically says that he who asserts the absence of ownership in one's son in spite of Vedic indications is a fool.<sup>1109</sup> It is not unreasonable to suppose that this is a hit at Nilakanṭha who must have been younger than Kamalākara and who tries hard in his Vyavahāramayūkha to establish that there is no ownership in one's wife and children.

#### 108. The Viramitrodaya of Mitramiśra

The Viramitrodaya is a vast digest composed by Mitramiśra embracing almost all branches of dharmasāstra. Excepting the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi of Hemādri, this work is probably the largest known on dharmasāstra. But it surpasses in interest and usefulness even Hemādri's work since it deals with vyavahāra also. It was divided into sections called *prakāśas*. So far the *prakāśas* on vyavahāra, paribhāṣā, saṁskāra, rājaniṭi, āhnikā, pūjā, tīrtha and lakṣaṇa have been published, the first by Jivananda ( Calcutta 1875 ) and the rest in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series. The text of the dāyabhāga portion of the Vyavahāraprakāśa was also published by Golapchandra Sarkar Sastri with an English translation ( Calcutta 1879 ). It appears that

1100 ' पुत्रे स्वत्वभावेन तद्वत् मूलं एव ' निर्णयसिंधु, contrast व्यवहारमयूक p. 92 ' गवा-  
दाणिषा गार्वापा स्वत्वभावेन तस्यामुत्पन्नेष्वेव तदभावात् । '



Mitrāmīśra wrote on *prāyaścitta* also.<sup>1101</sup> But that work has not yet been met with. The very names of the sections of the *Viramitrodaya* convey an idea of the subjects dealt with in them. The *Lakṣaṇa-prakāśa* deals with the auspicious signs of men, women, the several parts of human body, elephants, horses, thrones, swords, bows and with the characteristics and qualities of the queen, the ministers, the astrologer, physician, doorkeeper, description of *śalagrāma*, *śivaliṅga*, *rudrākṣa* beads etc. In the *ābhiṅga-prakāśa* he dilates upon the daily duties beginning with one's rising from bed on *brāhma-muhūrta*, *śauca*, *ācamana* and ending with going to bed. The *Vyavahāraprakāśa* is probably the largest *nibandha* on *vyavahāra*. This is divided into four parts. The first part deals with the meaning of *vyavahāra*, the constitution of the *sabha* (court of justice), the appointment of judges, conflict of *dharmaśāstra* and *arthaśāstra*, assessors, the various grades of courts, the procedure about complaints and defendant's replies and their faults; the burden of proof and the means of proof. The second gives a detailed exposition of the means of proof, viz. witnesses, documents, possession and ordeals. The third treats of the eighteen titles of law including *dayaviḥbhāga* and the fourth very briefly speaks of those matters which were to be started *suo motu* by the king and not by a private individual. The *dayaviḥbhāga* portion of the *Vyavahāraprakāśa* occupies a little more than one-fourth of the whole of the work.

In the *Tīrthaprakāśa* he deals with the nature of *tīrthas*, the utility thereof for men, the persons entitled to undertake pilgrimage, the proper times for pilgrimage, the ceremonial acts to be performed at *tīrthas* such as shaving, fasts, bathing, gifts, the description of the several *varṣas* and *dvīpas* and of sacred rivers like the Ganges, Narmadā, sacred places like Gayā, Prabhāsa, Badrī, Puṣkara and Pūrī.

In the *Pūjāprakāśa* he speaks of the definition of *pūjā*, persons entitled to perform *pūjā* (worship of gods), the rewards of *pūjā*, proper times and places for *pūjā*, *śalagrāma*, the proper articles and clothes for the worship of idols, proper flowers, fragrant substances, *naivedya*, the detailed method of worshipping Viṣṇu, Śiva, the Sun, Durgā, Brahmā etc. In the printed edition there are no introductory verses here.

1101 अथोद्भूतत्वात्तद्वर्तमानां त्वेनेनापि निष्कासनमित्यादि पापश्रितप्रकारो (पदकरणे) विवेक्यामः । परि० p. 640 (अथवा section, Jivananda ).

In the *Saṁskāra-prakāśa* the author enumerates the *saṁskāras* and describes in detail *garbhādhāna*, *pūṁsavana*, *anavalobhana*, *śimantonayana*, *jātakarma*, *nāmakaraṇa*, *śiśuniṣkramaṇa*, *annaprāśana*, *cūḍā*, *upanayana*, *vivāha* etc., the duties of *brahmacārins*, *gotras*, *pravaras* and *sapindya*, all astrological matters in connection with marriage, *piṇḍapitrayajña*, *sarpabali*, *aṣṭakāśrāddha*, *śulagava*.

The *Rajanitiprakāśa* treats of the definition of *rajan*, the proper time and procedure of coronation, the daily routine for kings, the qualifications of ministers, commander-in-chief and the dependents of the king, forts, capital, palaces, the four expedients of *sama* etc., the six *gṇas*, auspicious and evil signs, marching for battle, *Kaumudī* and *Indradhvaja* festivals etc.

In all his works *Mitramiśra* mentions hundreds of authors and works. The portion on *vyavahāra* is full of long-drawn controversies in which he refutes the views of numerous predecessors. The *Viramitrodaya* enters into polemics far more frequently than *Nilakaṇṭha*. He generally upholds the *Mitākṣarā* of *Vijñāneśvara* against all its critics, particularly the writers of the Bengal school. But he does not slavishly admire the *Mitākṣarā* in every thing. Now and then he rebukes even *Vijñāneśvara*. For example, he does not approve of what the *Mitākṣarā* says about the son called *Kanina*.<sup>1102</sup> He finds fault with *Vijñāneśvara*'s explanation of the verse 'anyodaryastu' as extremely forced and far-fetched and as simply exhibiting the author's pedantry.<sup>1103</sup> Out of the host of works and writers that he names in the *vyavahāra* section the important ones are noted below.<sup>1104</sup>

1102 या तु मिताक्षराकृता यद्यनूक्यामत्यन्तस्तीर्हि मातामहस्तोष्युदायां तदा वोदुरेवेति व्यवस्था कृता सापि मनसि न चमत्कारमाप्नुयति । वीर० p. 606.

1103 विज्ञानेपर्येणपि मानवसंवादावाग्योद्वेस्तु संसृष्टी नान्योद्वयो धनं हरेदिति पाठेन योगीश्वरचनस्य वस्तुद्वयानुसंधानादित्या क्लृप्तमवन्तमतीवमानार्थकं स्वपक्षाविलसितमात्रम् । वीर० p. 681 ; vide वीर० pp. 183, 668 for other criticisms of the *Mitākṣarā*.

1104 अपराङ्ग, कल्पतरु, गोपाल, चण्डेश्वर, जीमूतबाह्वन, तत्पर्यपरिशुद्धि ( of उद्वयन ), द्वायतत्व, धारेश्वर, नवविषयक, पारिजात, पार्थसारथि, प्रकाश, प्रदीप, भवदेव, भवनाथ, भद्ररत्न, माधवीय, मिताक्षरा, मेघानिधि, गधुनन्दन, रत्नाकर, लीलावती, वाचस्पति, वादभयङ्कर, विज्ञानयोगिन्, विद्यारण्य, व्यवहारतत्व, व्यवहारतिलक ( of भवदेव ), व्यवहारचिन्तामणि, शारदातिलक, शास्त्रदीपिका, श्रुत्याणि, सोमेश्वर, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृतिरत्न, इत्यादि.

The Viramitrodaya is a work of high authority in the Benares School of Hindu Law. The Privy Council has laid down that 'the Viramitrodaya is properly receivable as an exposition of what may have been left doubtful by the Mitākṣarā and declaratory of the law of the Benares school.'<sup>1105</sup> Similarly it has been said by the same high tribunal that the Viramitrodaya may be referred to even in Bengal where the Dāyabhāga is silent.<sup>1106</sup> But where the text of the Mitākṣarā on any point is quite clear, the gloss of the Viramitrodaya on the text of any sage which is in conflict with the rule laid down in the former cannot be referred to for the purpose of casting a doubt on the clear rule of the Mitākṣarā.<sup>1107</sup> The Viramitrodaya is inferior to the Vyavahāramayūkha in Western India<sup>1108</sup> and its doctrines are not followed in those provinces when in conflict with those of the other two works. Their Lordships of the Privy Council say in *Pedachala v. Subramania*<sup>1109</sup> 'although the Smṛticandrikā in the Southern Presidency is regarded as the most authoritative commentary on Vijnaneśvara's work, the Viramitrodaya holds, as in Western India, a high position. It supplements many gaps and omissions in the earlier commentaries and illustrates and elucidates with logical preciseness the meaning of doubtful prescriptions.'

There is a ms. of the Dānaprakāśa in the Deccan College (No. 305 of 1884-1887). It is an extensive work and contains the usual topics about gifts.

Besides the digest called Viramitrodaya Mitramiśra composed a commentary on the smṛti of Yājñavalkya. There is a ms. in the Deccan College (No. 58 of A 1883-84) which contains portions (with gaps) of the commentary on the three kandas (ācāra, vyavahāra, prāyaścitta). From the portion available it appears that

1105 *Vide Girdharilal v. The Bengal Government* 12 Moo. I. A. 448 at p. 466 (where following the Viramitrodaya the maternal uncle was held to be an heir as a bandhu); vide *Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramlinga* 12 Moo. I. A. 397 at p. 438.

1106 *Moniram v. Keri Kolitani* I. L. R. 5 Cal. 776 (P. C.) at p. 789 (where it was held that unchastity in the case of a widow subsequent to her inheriting her husband's property does not work forfeiture of her rights).

1107 I. L. R. 25 Cal. 354 at pp. 367-368.

1108 12 Moo. I. A. 397 at p. 438 and I. L. R. 3 Bom. 369.

1109 I. L. R. 44 Mad. 753 (P. C.) at p. 764 = I. L. R. 48 I. A. p. 349.

the commentary was of considerable extent, though not as voluminous and as full of polemics as his digest. The *ācāra* portion had at least 446 folios (with 6 lines on each side and 30 letters in each line), the *vyavahāra* at least 257 and *prāyaścitta* a great many more than 153. Besides the works noted above he quotes the *Karma-pradīpa* and the *Smṛtisāra*. In this work he does not quite approve of the reasons for the preference shown to the mother over the father as an heir by the *Mitākṣara*, viz. the occurrence of the word 'mātā' as the first word when the word 'pitarau' is dissolved and the greater propinquity of the mother as compared with the father, since the latter can beget sons from another wife.<sup>1110</sup> The commentary gives three varieties of *dasi*.<sup>1111</sup> Vide I. O. cat. p. 371 No. 1288 and Peterson's 2nd report pp. 49-53 for further details about this commentary.

In the *Ācāraprakāśa* he quotes besides some of the works mentioned above the following also, viz. *Kullūka*, *Prayogapārijāta*, *Prāyaścittaviveka*, *Madanapārijāta*, *Śrīdatta* (vide I. O. cat. p. 437 No. 1471).

In the introductions to the several sections of his digest and also in the colophons therein *Mitrāmīśra* furnishes considerable information about himself, his family and the family of his patron. *Mitrāmīśra* was the son of *Paraśurāmapaṇḍita* and grandson of *Hamsapaṇḍita*. *Hamsapaṇḍita* seems to have been a native of *Gopacala* (Gwalior) and was endowed with the rare combination of wealth and learning. One *Caṇḍeśvara* of *Kāśī* was the *guru* of *Paraśurāmapaṇḍita*. *Mitrāmīśra* indulges in hyperbolic<sup>1112</sup> descrip-

1110 इत्थं च विग्रहवाक्ये मातृशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपलात् पित्रपेक्षया वैमात्रेयाननकत्वेनासाधारण-प्रत्यासत्तिसत्त्वाच्चेति मिताक्षरालिखनं चिन्तयम् । folio 149 of the oem. on व्यवहार section of याज्ञ०; compare वरिमित्रोदय p. 666 (Jivananda) where *Mitrāmīśra* is apologetic about the same reasons of the Mit.

1111 दास्ती पुरुषविशेषेण विवाहापरिगृहीता । सा च त्रिविधा । एकेन पुरुषेण स्वभोगार्थं पुरुषान्तरभोगतो निरुद्धा भुजिष्य। वेश्या चेति । भुजिष्या च स्वामिन्नमित्यतपुरुषान्तरो-भोगविषया स्वपरिचर्याकारिणी । folio 247.

1112 मा कुर्वन्तु मुग्धा मुग्धाः परिचयं ग्रन्थेषु नानाविधे-  
ष्वन्यन्तं न हि तेषु सर्वविषयः कश्चित् कश्चिद्वर्तते ।  
परश्चन्तु प्रणयादल्पमनसो ग्रन्थं मदीयं त्विमं  
धर्मोपसंहारहस्तनिर्णयविधिर्धर्मिन्मन्द्रीदूषयते ॥ verse 39 of आह्निकप्रकाश.

tions of his own learning and naively tells his readers that they need study only his work and may neglect all other *nibandhas*. Mitramiśra was commanded by Virasimha to compose his great digest.<sup>1113</sup> The introduction to the Ahnikaprakāśa starts with king Medinimalla who was a scion of the Kāśirāja family. His son was Arjunadeva who became ruler of Bundelkhand. His son was Malakhāna, whose son was Pratāparudra (founder of the capital Orchha). His son was Madhukarasaḥa, whose son was Virasimha. Virasimha's son was<sup>1114</sup> Jujhāra who is described as 'young' (yuvā in verse 23). His son was Vikramārka whose son was Narasimhadeva. There is no such introduction to the printed Pujāprakāśa and Narasimhadeva is not mentioned in the introductions to the other prakāśas. From the article of Mr. Lala Sitaram in the Calcutta Review (May and July 1924) further information can be gathered about Birsinghdeo (i. e. Virasimhadeva). In the article it is shown how and under what circumstances Virasimha killed Abul Fazal, the friend of Emperor Akbar and a great literary genius. We are told there that there is a work called Virasimhadeva-carita composed in Vikrama year 1664 (1607-8 A. D.) by Keśavadāsa, author of Kavipriyā and Rasikapriyā. Virasimha was 7th out of the eight sons of Madhu-

1113 त्वस्ति श्रीयुनवीरसिंहनृपतेराज्ञापशादुत्सुकः

श्रीमित्राभिधपण्डितः प्रतिदिशे कौत्सानिश्चे मण्डितः ।

नानानिर्णयवर्णने व्यसनिनां संख्यावतां प्रीतिदं

संप्राप्त्यवधारसाधकमिमं कुर्वे प्रकाशं परम् ॥ 2nd Intro. verse to व्यवहारप्रकाश (Jivananda).

1114 राज्यं ग्रार जुझारसिंहनृपतिर्यस्यायतो भूपते-

स्तनुषोपि गुणार्णवः समजनि श्रीविक्रमार्को नृपः ।

तन्मुनुरंगसिंहदेवद्विपतिर्ले वीरसिंहं विना

लेभे राज्यवत्परतुत्तमिदं मन्ये महेन्द्रोपि किम् ॥ verse 27 of आह्निकप्रकाश.

The colophon at the end of the first part of व्यवहारप्रकाश is इति श्रीमत्स-  
कलसामन्तचक्रचूडामणिमञ्जरीधिमञ्जरीनाराजितचरणकमलश्रीमद्भारजाधिराजप्रतापहृ-  
तनूज-श्रीमन्महाराजमधुकरसाहस्रानु-श्रीमद्भारजाधिराजचतुर्दधिवल्लभसुन्धाराहृदयपुण्ड-  
रीकविकासदिनकरश्रीवीरसिंहदेवोयोजित-श्रीहंसपण्डितालज-श्रीपरशुराममिश्रसूनुसकल-  
विद्यापारदारपरिश्रमपुराणजगद्गिरिद्वयमहागजपारीन्द्रविद्वज्जनजीवातु-श्रीमन्मित्राभिधश्रुते  
वीरमित्रोद्याभिधनिचन्द्रे व्यवहारप्रकाशे &c.

Vide Pogson's 'History of the Bundelas' pp. 10-11 for Arjunadeva and his descendants.

karasāha. Not only was he a soldier, but he was a great builder. He built the palace forts of Orchha and Datia, the temple of Keśavadeva at Mathurā, several lakes called Birasāgara, Sīrhasāgara and Dcosāgara (after the three parts of his own name). He is said to have ruled at Orchha from 1605 to 1627 A. D. From the introduction to<sup>1115</sup> the commentary on Yājñavalkya it appears that Virasīrha commanded Mitramiśra to write it and that a learned man Sadānanda, the ornament of Tirabhukti (Tirhoot), was also connected with its composition. It will be seen that the title Viramitrodaya very cleverly suggests that Mitramiśra wrote it under the patronage of Virasīrhadēva. The title may mean 'the rise of Vira and Mitra' or 'the rise of the friend of Vira' or 'the rise of the sun, viz. Vira'.

The time when Mitramiśra flourished can be easily settled on account of his relations with Virasīrhadēva. In his *Āhnika* prakāśa he mentions the great-grand-son of Virasīrha. Therefore that section must have been written when Virasīrha was advanced in age. Virasīrha ruled at Orchha from 1605 to 1627. Hence the literary activity of Mitramiśra must be placed in the first quarter of the 17th century. This date agrees with the fact that he names Vācaspati and Raghunandana. We thus see that Mitramiśra was almost a contemporary of Kamalākaraḥṭṭa and Nīlakaṇṭha. The two latter do not refer to him nor does Mitramiśra name them.

In the *Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī* of Anantāśrama<sup>1116</sup> of Puṇyastambha (Puntāmbē) on the Godāvarī, a commentary on the *Rasamañjarī* of Bhānūdatta, the author gives a pedigree of his patron. He describes the Kāśīrāja family at Benares, in which was born Pratāparudra whose son was Madhukarasāha, whose son was Virasīrhadēva. Ananta wrote the commentary for Candrabhānu, a son of Virasīrhadēva, in 1635 A. D. This corroborates the dates above given by Mr. Lala Sitaram. Therefore it is almost beyond doubt that the literary activity of Miśra lies between 1610 and 1640 A. D.

1115 I. O. cat. p. 371 No. 1288 'चित्तं मत्वाप्यसारं वितरद्विरतं बाह्यवन्त्योकिमुक्त्वा वारं स्मृत्यर्थसारं रचयितुमथ स प्रादिष्टमिष्टमिष्टम् । उत्तंसस्तीरभुकेरसिलमुपगुहः श्री-सदानन्धीमात् श्रीनाजो मित्रमिश्राजगदुपलये विप्रदादेशदीपम् ॥ क्षामानां दैन्य-दोषावदमकलिमयं बाह्यवन्त्योकिकोशाद् वृष्ट्वा स्मृत्यर्थसारं समपिबुत यशो धर्मलक्ष्मी-विह्वलम् । verses 15 and 16.

1116 Vide I. O. cat. p. 356 No. 1224.



## 109. Anantadeva

Anantadeva compiled a vast digest called *Smṛtikaustubha* divided into several sections on *saṁskāra*, *ācāra*, *rājadharmā*, *dāna*, *ut-sarga*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *tithi* and *saṁvatsara*. The section on *saṁskāras* and that on *rājadharmā* are also called *Saṁskāra-kaustubha* and *Rājadharmā-kaustubha*. Each *Kaustubha* is subdivided into parts called *didhiti*. The *Saṁskāra-kaustubha* is the most popular and most well-known work of his. It has been printed several times, the best editions being that of the *Nirnayasāgara Press* (1913) and that issued at *Baroda* (1914) under the patronage of H. H. the *Maharaja Gaikwad* (with a Marathi translation by *Sastri Venkatakarya Upadhyaya*). I have used the latter. The *Saṁskāra-kaustubha* is recognised as an authoritative work by the highest court for India.<sup>1117</sup> The following is a very brief summary of the contents :-

The sixteen *saṁskāras*, the first being *garbhādhāna*, the astrological aspects of the first appearance of menses and the various propitiatory rites therefor; the proper times for *garbhādhāna* and the several rites connected therewith; *pūnyāhavācana*, *nāndīśrāddha*, *matrkāpūjana*; *nārīyanabali* and *nāgabali*; *pañcagavya*, *kṛcchra* and other *prāyaścittas*; *cāndrāyanavratā*; adoption, who is entitled to adopt, who can be adopted, rites of adoption, *gotra* and *sāpiṇḍya* of the adopted son, mourning to be observed by the adopted, succession of the adopted; *putrakāmeṣṭi*; *pūṁsavana*; *anavalobhana*; *simantonnayana*; rites on the birth of a child or son; impurity on birth; propitiatory rites for evil aspects at birth; *nāmakaraṇa*; *niṣkramaṇa*; *annaprāśana*; piercing the ear; celebration of birth day; *caula*; *upanayana*, proper times for it, the necessary materials for it, the *gayatrī*, the vows of a *brahmachārin*; *saṁāvartana*; marriage, *sāpiṇḍya* for it, *gotras* and *pravaras*, proper times for marriage, forms of marriage, *vāg-niścaya*, *simāntapūjana*, *madhuparka*, *kanyādāna*, *vivāhahoma*, *saptapadi*, *homa* on the entrance of the married couple etc.

The portion of the *Saṁskāra-kaustubha* on the subject of adoption is frequently cited separately as *Dattakadidhiti* and is so entered in the catalogues of mss. It is a treatise of great importance and deserves to be studied along with the *Dattakamimāṃsā*, the *Vyava-*

1117 *Vide Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramalinga* 12 Moo. I. A. 397 at p. 438; *Sakkaram v. Sitabai* I. L. R. 3 Bom. 353 at p. 361.



haramayūkha and other similar works. The more important of his views are set out below. Like the Dattakamimānsā he recommends that the nephew is the most suitable for adoption, then one may select any *sagotra*, *sapiṇḍa*, then an *asagotra sapiṇḍa*, then a *sagotra* but *asapiṇḍa*, then any one of the same caste though not *sagotra*, but a daughter's or sister's son cannot be adopted nor can a brother, a paternal or maternal uncle be adopted. A Śūdra may adopt a daughter's or sister's son. The person to be adopted must not be an only son or the eldest. A wife can adopt with the consent of her husband and a widow does not require the express permission of her husband. The boy to be adopted may be below five or above five and may be taken before or after the *caḍa* ceremony is performed in the natural family. Anantadeva refers to the<sup>1118</sup> view of some that the verses of the Kalikapurāṇa on this subject are not found in several mss. and so are unauthoritative and tells us that others hold that the whole passage refers to the adoption of an *asagotra* boy. Anantadeva himself holds, like the Vyavahāramayūkha, that even an *asagotra* boy may be adopted after his *upanayana* is performed in the natural family. When the ceremony of *caṇḍa* and the rest are performed in the family of the adopter, the adopted boy belongs to the *gotra* of the adopter, but where the *upanayana* alone is performed in the adoptive family or the adoption is made after *upanayana* the boy belongs to both *gotras*. But this holds good only as regards obeisance, śrāddha etc. while for marriage every adopted boy has to avoid the *gotra* and *pravara* of both families. If a natural son be born to the adopter after he takes a boy in adoption, the adopted boy becomes an equal sharer with the *aurasa*, if all the *sanskāras* up to *upanayana* are performed by the adoptive father for the adopted boy, or he takes only a

1118 एषां वचसां बहुषु कालिकापुराणपुस्तकेष्वदर्शनाभिर्नूलत्वादिति केचिन् । अन्ये तु समूलत्वेऽपि आद्यश्लोकत्रयस्यासौत्रदत्तकविषयत्वात्तन्नापठितत्वेनान्यश्लोकस्यापि तद्विषयत्वमेवेति चेत्तन् । अतः समौत्रस्य दत्तकस्य नापठितं नियम इति परिणीतिरिति दत्तको भवेदित्याहुः । इत्युक्तस्तु नासौत्रोपपन्नयनसंस्कारोत्तरं दत्तकत्वसामान्यनिषेधः कर्तुं शक्यः पुराणवचोभिर्वैदिकलिङ्गविरुद्धस्त्विति च सा प्राप्तायासंभवस्य बलाबलविकारेण वार्तिकराणकसिद्धत्वात् । संस्कारकोस्तु च pp. 169-170 ; compare व्यवहारमयूख p. 114 for remarks on the कालिकापुराण passage. The निर्णयसिंधु appears to regard the कालिकापुराण verses as genuine and holds on their strength that the adoption of a boy after *upanayana* is prohibited.

fourth share if only some of the *saṁskāras* ending with *upanayana* are performed by the adopter and he gets no inheritance but only provision for marriage if he was adopted after *upanayana* is performed in the natural family. Anantadeva, disagreeing with Nilakaṇṭha, holds that a girl may be adopted.<sup>1119</sup>

Like the *Nirṇayasindhu* and the *Mayūkhas* of Nilakaṇṭha, Anantadeva in the *Saṁskārakaustubha* and elsewhere names several hundred authors and works. It is not necessary to set out the whole lot. His authorities are practically the same as those of the former. He principally relies among *nibandhas* upon the *Mitākṣarā*, *Aparārka*, *Hemādri*, *Mādhava*, *Madanaratna*, *Madanaparijāta*. The *Smṛtikaustubha* was divided into several *śiḍhitis* (rays, parts). In the *Smṛtikaustubha* published by the *Nirṇayasāgara* Press it is expressly stated that the *tīthiśiḍhiti* has been already<sup>1120</sup> expounded. At the end also it is said that the work is only the complete *abadaśiḍhiti* (i. e. portion dealing with *sathvatsaras* of five kinds). The year is said to be of five kinds, *candra*, *saura*, *sāvana*, *bārhaspatya* and *nākṣatra*. The printed work treats of the several rites, observances, festivals and *vratas* on the important *tīthīs* of the twelve months of the *candra* year with the intercalary month and observances thereof, the rites proper to *saura* year and *saṁkrāntis* (the sun's passage from one sign into another), the rites of the *sāvana* year, the rules about rites when Jupiter is in the sign of Leo, the rites of the *nākṣatra* year, the actions forbidden and allowed in Kali age according to Anantadeva and discussion of the views of Hemādri, Mādhava and the *Madanaparijāta* thereon.

The *Rājadharmakaustubha*<sup>1121</sup> was divided into several parts (*śiḍhitis*). The first deals with the characteristics and defects of

1119 दत्तकपुत्र्या अपि स्वीकार उक्तविधिना कार्यः । वक्ष्यामि पुत्रसंज्ञहमित्यादिगतपुत्रस्य पुमान् पुत्र इत्यादिषु दिकप्रयोगमूलकेन वृत्तिरुक्तत्वाद्येन पुत्रीसाधारण्यात् । दानधन-प्रदविधिषु उद्देश्यविशेषपुंस्त्वविषयायाश्च । इतिहासपुराणेषु कुन्त्या दत्तकत्वोक्तेश्च । संस्कारकौस्तुभ p. 188 ; contrast व्यवहारमयूख p. 108 ' दत्तकश्च पुमानेव भवति न कुन्या &c. ' (my edition, Poona).

1120 तिथिर्दीधितिश्च प्राग्वक्ष्यामोद्धोषदीधितिम् । अद्धमेदाद्दाम्नेना माधवोक्त्यनुसारतः ॥ Intro. verso 20 of *स्मृतिश्रीकौस्तुभ*.

1121 Vide Mitra's *Bik. cat.* p. 444 : No. 935 at the end ' राज ( बाज ! ) बाह्यदूर-चन्द्रभूपतेः कौस्तुभेन नृपधर्मयोचरे । दीधितिः प्रथमभाग ईदृशस्तोषरुत्सुकर्तिना व्यजायत ' ; vide also Mitra's *Notices* vol. I p. 196 No. 346 for the same.  
H. D., 57.

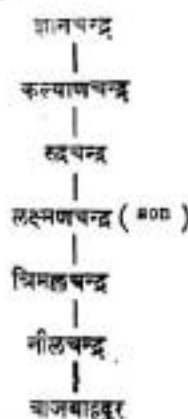
kings, the qualities and characteristics of queens, ministers, *pirohita*, astrologer, the rites to be performed at coronation, duties to be observed after coronation. Another portion of the same work deals with vyavahāra viz., the sabhā, the judge, the plaint, the reply, means of proof, ordeals etc.

It is unnecessary to go into details about the other treatises on *prāyaścitta*, *pratiṣṭhā*<sup>1122</sup> &c. Anantadeva also wrote several prayogas such as the *Agnihotraprayoga*, *Cāturmāsya* prayoga. In the Bhadkamkar collection there is a ms. of a drama called *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti-candrikā* composed by Anantadeva in which the characters are a Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Mīmāṃsaka, Tārkika &c.

In the *Smṛtikaustubha* (Nirṇayasagara edition of 1909) Anantadeva gives a pedigree<sup>1123</sup> of his patron's family. The family claimed descent from the moon. Whether the first three kings mentioned in the *Smṛtikaustubha* were related as father and son is doubtful. Lakṣmanacandra is said to have been the son of Rudracandra and it was he who conquered several chiefs wielding sway over the Himalayan territories.<sup>1124</sup> Trimallacandra, the successor

1122 Vide Aufrecht's Oxford cat. p. 272b where there is a reference to प्रतिष्ठादीधिति 'अथ राजधर्मा उच्यन्ते तत्र राज्याभिषेकदीधित्युक्तलक्षणलक्षितो राजा प्रासादप्रतिष्ठादीधित्युक्तप्रकरेण दुर्गगहननिर्माणं भद्रासनं च निर्माणं ... व्यवहारा निरुच्यन्ते ।', vide also Mitra's Notices, vol. II. p. 21 No. 556 for the same.

1123 The pedigree is as follows :—



1124 तेनानेकहिमाचलस्थनृपतीन् दुष्टान्निजित्य स्वके राज्ये वृद्धिरकारि तुष्टिरमिता चाप्यायि विद्वद्भूयि ॥ Verse 5.

(and probably the son) of Lakṣmanacandra, is praised for his continual liberality to the learned men of Benares.<sup>1125</sup> It was at the command of Baz Bahadurcandra and for pleasing him that Anantadeva compiled his *Smṛtikaustubha*.<sup>1126</sup> At the end Anantadeva tells us that Baz Bahadurcandra conquered several mountain forts in the Himālayas.<sup>1127</sup> After giving a pedigree of his patrons' family Anantadeva gives some information about himself. He was a descendant of the great Maratha saint Ekanātha whom he describes as endowed with Vedic sacrifices and as a devotee of Kṛṣṇa.<sup>1128</sup> That this Ekanātha is the same as the great Maratha saint is vouchsafed by Kāśinātha, author of *Dharma-sindhu*, in another work of his.<sup>1129</sup> Anantadeva was the great-great-grand-son of Ekanātha and he was the grandson of Ananta and son of Āpadeva, the author of the *Mīmāṃsīnyāyaprakāśa* *alias* Āpadevi.

1125 काशीस्थ विद्वद्भिष्यो धनराशीनदासदा ॥ verse 6.

1126 तस्यात्मजं वैदिकशास्त्रविज्ञं सन्तोसकृत्यादुरनन्तदेवम् ॥

बाजाह्वयः कचसा विधेयं निबन्धसारोद्धारणं स्वयेति ॥

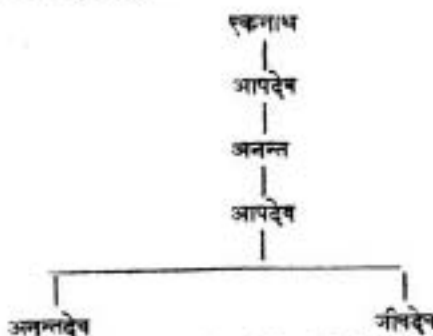
अनन्तदेवेन तद्विज्ञायाधो मुने हरेः पूर्वनिबन्धस्तम् ॥

क्षीराम्बुर्वि बुद्धिगुणैर्मथितः प्रकाशमेवं स्मृतिकौस्तुभः को ॥ verses 17-18.

1127 येमाजितानि युधि सर्वरिपून् विजित्य दुर्गाणि दुर्गहनराणि धनैर्युगानि । श्रीपादबाह-  
दुरचन्द्रनृपस्य तस्य बाचा हिमाचलगङ्गावनिदेवतुष्टये ॥ योनन्तदेवकृतमन्धनसन्निवन्ध-  
क्षीराब्धिजोय सततं हरिणा धृतो यः । नित्यं निजे हृदि सतां प्रमुदेस्तु तस्य सर्वाब्द-  
दीप्तिरिति स्मृतिमास्करस्य ॥ verses 2 and 3.

1128 आसीद्देवद्वारीतीरे वेदवेदिसमन्वितः । श्रीरुष्णभक्तिमानेक एकनाथाभिधो द्विजः ॥  
verse 13 of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ.

The pedigree of अनन्तदेव is



1129 Vide his *विद्वत्कौस्तुभसारभाष्य* folio 37 a ( D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70 ).

Mīmāṃsā lore seems to have been a hereditary endowment in the family as in the case of the Bhaṭṭas of Benares. In all his works, particularly in the *Saṃskārakaustubha*, Anantadeva applies at every step the maxims and doctrines of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* for the decision of doubtful points of *Dharmaśāstra*. Anantadeva had a younger brother Jivadeva whose *Gotrapravarānirṇaya* he draws upon in the *Saṃskārakaustubha* while dealing with *sāpīḍya* for marriage.<sup>1130</sup> Bhandarkar notices an *Āśaucanirṇaya* of Jivadeva in which the *Nirṇayasindhu* is cited as an authority.<sup>1131</sup>

West and Bühler in their digest<sup>1132</sup> thought that Anantadeva flourished about the same time as the author of the *Nirṇayasindhu*. But this requires some correction. Baz Bahadur, the patron of Anantadeva, seems to have been a scion of the Candra (or Chand) family and ruled over Almora and Nainital from 1638 to 1678 A. D. It is said in the *Imperial Gazetteer*<sup>1133</sup> that the first of the Chandra-rājas was Somachand who hailed from Jhūsi near Allahabad and came to the Himalayan regions in the 10th century and that in 1563 the capital was transferred to Almora by Kalyāncand, whose son Rudracandra was a contemporary of Akbar and made his obeisance to the latter in 1587 A. D. at Lahore. The *Smṛtikaustubha* does mention the ancestors Kalyānacandra and Rudracandra of Baz Bahadur. Between Baz Bahadur and Rudracandra there are three names. Supposing that they are the three direct ascendants of Baz Bahadur and allowing a period of 25 years for each after Rudracandra's known date of 1587 A. D., we get the year 1662 A. D. for Baz Bahadur. We are told in the *Gazetteer* that in 1672 Baz Bahadur introduced a poll tax, the proceeds of which he remitted to Delhi as tribute. Therefore Anantadeva must have been patronised by Baz Bahadur between 1645 and 1675 A. D. A greater approximation can be made in another way. The saint Ekanātha finished his Marathi *Bhāgavata* at Benares in śaka 1495 and 1630 of the Vikrama era on Kārtika full-moon day (i. e. 9th November

1130 अथ गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णयो मदनुजजीवदेवकृत एवारिमन्त्रपत्रे प्रदर्शते । संस्कारकौस्तुभ p. 687.

1131 Vide Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, p. 53 ( for जीवदेव ).

1132 Vide Digest p. 24 ( 3rd ed. ) and p. 25 ( 4th ed. ).

1133 Vide *Imperial Gazetteer of India* vol. XVIII. p. 324 and vol. V. p. 245.

1573) as he himself tells us.<sup>1134</sup> Anantadeva was the fourth in descent from him (exclusive of Ekanātha). Counting 25 years for each of the four generations, Anantadeva should have been a grown up man in 1673 A. D. There are controversies about the dates of the birth and death of Ekanātha, the commonly accepted dates being śāke 1450-1521 (b. 1528-d. 1600 A. D.).<sup>1135</sup> The date of his death is śāke 1521 Fālguna dark half 6th day (25th February 1600). Others give 1548-1599 A.D. as the dates. Whichever date is correct, the literary activity of Anantadeva must be assigned to the third quarter of the 17th century. This date is confirmed by the fact that in the Āśaucanirṇaya of Jivadeva, younger brother of Anantadeva, the Nirṇayasindhu composed in 1611-12 A. D. is cited as an authority.

#### 110. Nāgojibhaṭṭa

The learning of Nāgojibhaṭṭa was of an encyclopaedic character. Though his special *forte* was Vyākaraṇa (grammar) he wrote standard works also on poetics, dharmasāstra, yoga and other śāstras. The total number of his works is about thirty. On dharmasāstra he composed several works, viz. Acārendusekhara, Āśaucanirṇaya, Tithindusekhara, Tirthendusekhara, Prāyaścittendusekhara or Prāyaścittasārasaṅgraha, Śrāddhendusekhara, Sapindīmanjari and Sapindyaḍipikā or Sapindyanirṇaya. Of his far-famed works on the Pāṇinian system, such as the Mahābhāṣya-pradīpodyota, the Paribhāṣendusekhara, the Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntamañjūṣā (in large and small recensions), the Subhendusekhara (big and small) and of his

- 1434 वाराणसी महामुक्तिसेत्र । विष्णुशक वृषसंवत्सर ।  
 शके सौख्यार्थे तिस्रोत्तर । टीका एकाकार जनार्दनरुपा ॥  
 महामंगल कार्तिकमासी । शुक्लपक्ष पूर्णिमेसी ।  
 सोमवार शिवयोगिनी । टीका एकादशी समाप्त झाली ॥  
 स्वदेशीचा शक संवत्सर । दण्डकारण्य श्रीरामक्षेत्र ।  
 प्रतिष्ठान गोदावरीतीर । येथील उच्चार तो एका ।  
 शालिवाहनशक वैभव । संख्या चौदशो पंचाणव ।  
 श्रीगुरु संवत्सराचे नांव । टीका अपूर्व ते जाहली ॥

verses 552-555 of the last अष्टाव्य (Nirṇayasāgara edition).

- 1135 Vide Mr. Bhavo's महाराष्ट्रसारस्वत ed. of śāke 1846 part 1 p. 245 and Mr. L. R. Pangarkar's life of Ekanāth (Marathi) chap. II (ed. of 1911).

commentaries on the Kāvya-prakāśa-pradīpa, the Kuvalayananda, the Rasagāṅgādhara, the Rasatarāṅgiṇī, the Rasamañjarī, nothing can be said here for want of space.

For his Prāyaścittenduśekhara, *vide* Mitra's Notices vol. V, p. 23 No. 1735, where detailed contents are given ; for the Śrāddhendūśekhara, Ulwar cat. extract No. 360 p. 139, for the Tīrthenduśekhara, Ulwar cat. p. 120, extract No. 312.

Nāgojibhaṭṭa was the son of Śivabhaṭṭa and Satī and was a Mahārāṣṭra Brāhmaṇa surnamed Kāla (Kale). At the beginning and end of several works of his (such as the Rasagāṅgādhara-marmaprakāśa, the Mañjūṣā) he tells us that he was patronised by Rāma of the Bisenā family,<sup>1136</sup> the ruler of a city named Śrīgavera (which seems to be on the Ganges above Allahabad). He was the pupil of Haridikṣita,<sup>1137</sup> son of Vireśvara and pupil of Rāmaśrama and grandson of the great grammarian Bhaṭṭoji-dikṣita.<sup>1138</sup> Tradition says that he composed the grammatical work Śabdaratna and ascribed it to his teacher Haridikṣita in gratitude. In the<sup>1139</sup> commentary on the Prañḍhamanoramā Haridikṣita refers to the Śabdaratna as his own work and to the Śabdenduśekhara as that of his pupil.

Bhaṭṭojidikṣita was a pupil of the Mimāṃsaka Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa and of Śeṣa Śrīkṛṣṇa and almost a contemporary of Jagnnāthapaṇḍita. Bhaṭṭoji's pupil Nilakāṇṭha Śukla wrote a work in saṁvat 1663 (Dr. Belvalkar in 'Systems of Sanskrit Grammar', p. 47). Therefore he flourished in the first half of the 17th century. Nāgojibhaṭṭa was a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji's grandson. Therefore Nāgojibhaṭṭa must have flourished towards the end of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century. Nāgojibhaṭṭa's literary activities, looking

1136 वाचकानां कल्पतरोरिक्खहुताशनात् । नागेशः शृङ्गवेरेशरामतो लब्धनीयिकः ॥ रस-  
गङ्गाधरमर्मप्रकाश.

1137 अधीत्य कणिभाष्याधि सुधीन्द्रहरिदीक्षितात् । at the end of the मञ्जूषा.

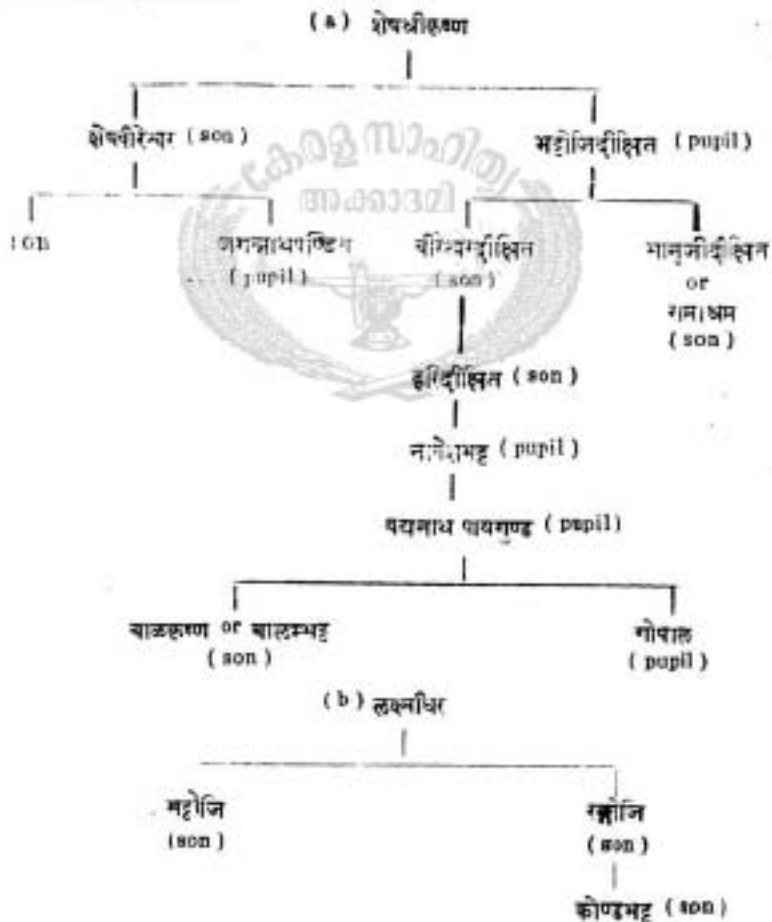
1138 गृहोक्तिप्रथितां पितामहकृतां विद्वत्प्रमोदप्रदां भक्त्याधीत्य मनोरमां निरुत्तमा-  
ब्रामाश्रमासद्गुरोः । तस्याज्ञानवशादपरेण कलितान्दोषान् समुन्मूलयन् न्याचष्टे हरि-  
रेष तां कणिमतान्वालोच्य वैरेभ्यरिः ॥ 2nd Intro. verse to the शब्दरत्न,  
I. O. cat. p. 174 Nos. 651-52.

1139 विस्तरस्तु अस्मत्कृते शब्दरत्ने मदनोपासिकतशब्देन्दुशेखरादा च द्रष्टव्यः । at end of  
D. O. ms. No. 520 of 1886-1892 and Tri. cat. Madras Govt. ms. for  
1819-22 p. 4913 (1st verso).



to his vast out-put, must have extended over a long period of more than 50 years. The pedigree<sup>1140</sup> from Bhaṭṭojidikṣita, through a succession of teacher and pupils or father and son, is given below. *Vide* introduction to the *Rasagaṅgādhara* (Nirn. ed.); Trivedi's introduction pp. 18-20 to the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa* of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa, a nephew of Bhaṭṭoji (B. S. series); Dr. Belvalkar's *Systems of Sanskrit grammar* pp. 46-50 and Kielhorn's preface to the *Paribhaṣenduṣekhara* p. xxv (where the succession of teacher and pupil is brought down to the days of Kielhorn himself) for further details. In the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 41 p. 247, Mr. S. P. V. Ranganātha

1140 The pedigrees are :—



Svāmi makes Bhaṭṭoji a pupil of Śeṣa Vireśvara and not of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. But the passage of the Manoramākucamardana, if properly interpreted, makes it clear that Bhaṭṭoji was the pupil of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa and not of Vireśvara.<sup>1141</sup> A ms. of Nāgojibhaṭṭa's commentary on the Rasamañjarī is dated *sankat* 1769, Māgha 7th bright half, Wednesday, i. e. 21st January 1713 A. D. ( vide I. O. cat. vol. III p. 365 ). It is not unlikely that Nāgojibhaṭṭa first composed his commentaries on the comparatively easy śāstra of poetics and that he then worked upon Dharmaśāstra and Vyākaraṇa. The edition of the Rasagaṅgādhara in the Kāvya-mālā series says that there is a tradition that Nāgoji was invited by king Savai Jaising of Jaipur to a horse-sacrifice in 1714 A. D., but that Nāgoji declined on the ground of *Kṣetra-saṅkhyāsa*. Therefore his literary activity must be placed between 1700 and 1750 A. D. Mahamahopādhyāya Haraprasad Śāstri says ( Ind. Ant. vol. 41 p. 12 ) that Nāgoji died about 1775. But this appears rather improbable. If one of his works was copied in 1713 A. D. he could hardly have lived up to 1775, unless he was about 100 years old at that time.

### 111. Balakṛṣṇa or Bālabhaṭṭa

The Lakṣmīvyākhyāna *alias* the Bālabhaṭṭa is a commentary on the Mitākṣara of Viṣṇuśeṣvara, ascribed to a lady named Lakṣmīdevī. The commentary is a voluminous one and displays uneven workmanship. The commentary on the ācāra section of the Mitākṣara is the most learned part of the whole book and is almost an

1141 इह केचित् ... शेषवंशवर्तमानां श्रीकृष्णपण्डितानां विराचार्यितयोः पादुकायोः प्रसादसादितशब्दानुशासनाः तेषु च पारमेस्वरं पदं प्रयातेषु ... तत्रभवद्विरहसितं प्रक्रियाप्रकाशमाशयानवबोधनिघण्ठनेर्दुर्लभैः स्वरं निर्मितायां मनोरमायामाकुल्यकार्षुः । सा च प्रक्रियाप्रकाशकतां पोषेत् ... अस्मद्गुरुपण्डितवीरेश्वराणां तनयैर्द्विजापि स्वमनि-परीक्षार्थं पुनरस्माभिर्निरिह्यते ॥ p. 3 of the Intro. to the रसगङ्गानधर. If पादुका means 'pupil' here as Mr. Ranganath Svami contends ( Ind. Ant. vol. 41 p. 251 ), why should the dual be necessary or be used and not the singular or plural? The प्रक्रियाप्रकाश is a com. on the प्रक्रियाकोमुदी of रामचन्द्राचार्य. Vide Journal of Oriental Research vol. III, part 2, p. 146 where it is said that Jagannātha was a pupil of श्रीश्वर, son of शेषकृष्ण, who lived under the patronage of Giridhārī, son of Tōḍarmal and that Bhaṭṭoji was a pupil of शेषकृष्ण and later of अण्णयर्दीक्षित.

independent work. The *ācāra* portion has been published by Mr. J. R. Gharpure. The *vyavahāra* portion of the *Bālabhāṭṭi* was published by Mr. S. S. Setlur, Advocate, Bombay in 1911 and by Mr. J. R. Gharpure (1914). This portion of the commentary explains the *Mitākṣarā* word by word and also engages in lengthy discussions on important topics. The portion of the commentary on the *prāyaścitta* section has not yet been published; but Mr. Govinda Das who examined it ( vide Mr. Gharpure's edition of the *ācāra* portion, p. 27 at end ) reports that it is meagre as compared with the preceding sections. In the following Mr. Gharpure's edition has been used.

In the *Bālabhāṭṭi* the author quotes by name a host of writers and works. As the *Bālabhāṭṭi* is almost the latest work on *Dharmaśāstra* worth special mention in this work, no useful chronological purpose will be served by giving the names of all such writers and works. It may however be stated that he names the *Nirṇayasindhu*, the *Viramitrodaya*, the *Mayūkha* of *Nilakantha*, the *Saṁskāra-kaustubha*, *Siddheśvarabhāṭṭa* the nephew of *Nilakantha*, *Khaṇḍadeva* the author of *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* on the *Mīmāṃsāsūtra*, the *Kāyastha-dharmapradīpa* of *Gaṅgabhāṭṭa* and the author's father's commentary thereon.

Of the *Bālabhāṭṭi* ascribed to *Lakṣmidevi*, West and Bühler say 'she generally advocates latitudinarian views and gives the widest interpretation possible to every term of *Yājñavalkya*. Her opinions are held in comparatively small esteem and are hardly ever brought forward by the *lastris*, if unsupported by other authorities'.<sup>1142</sup> For example, in the *Bālabhāṭṭi* the word '*bhrātaraḥ*', occurring in *Yājñavalkya*'s verses laying down the order of succession to a man dying without male issue, is interpreted as including sisters and the author says that sisters succeed immediately after brothers.<sup>1143</sup> This dictum of *Bālabhāṭṭa* taken along with the words of the *Vyavahāramayūkha* seems to have influenced their Lordships of the Privy Council in *Vinayak v. Lakshmibai* on the question of the rights of the sister as an

1142 Digest of Hindu Law, 3rd ed. p. 17.

1143 'भ्रातृपुत्रो ह्येकशेषेण प्रागुक्तसिद्धान्तरीत्या पूर्वं भ्राता तद्भावे स्वसा ।' बालम्भट्टि p. 309 ( Gharpure ) on यज्ञ. II. 135; 'तत्पुत्रा इति भ्रातुः पुत्राः कन्याश्च स्वसुः पुत्राः कन्याभेत्यर्थः' p. 210.

heir.<sup>1144</sup> In *Sakharani v. Sitabai*<sup>1145</sup> Sir Michael Westropp C. J. went so far as to say on the construction of the term 'brethren' in the Mitākṣarā as including sisters, which construction was adopted in that case (in *Vinayak v. Lakshminibai*) both by the Supreme Court and the Privy Council, "we must treat the Mitākṣarā also as preferring sisters to half brothers, whom it brings in after brothers." But this was a mere *obiter dictum*, since the case in which these observations were made was governed by the law of the Vyavahāramayūkha which expressly prefers full sisters to half brothers. It has been laid down in several cases in Bombay<sup>1146</sup> that Bālabhāṭṭi's doctrine that the word 'brothers' includes 'sisters' has not been accepted in that Presidency and that Sir Michael Westropp was under a misapprehension as to the exact drift of the Bālabhāṭṭi which nowhere says that the term 'brothers' excludes half brothers and which does not bring in the full sister before the half brother, but expressly says that the full brother inherits first, then the half brother and then comes the sister. The Bālabhāṭṭi not only brings in the sisters after full and half brothers, but places the sons and daughters of sisters after the sons and daughters of brother's, full or half. This is in direct conflict with the order of succession expressly mentioned by the Mitākṣarā and the Bombay High Court has refused to give the sister's son the place which the Bālabhāṭṭi assigns to him and treats him as a mere *bandhu*.<sup>1147</sup> The Bālabhāṭṭi is regarded as of little authority in the interpretation of the Mitākṣarā in the Bombay Presidency and its interpretations cannot be accepted without due caution and examination.<sup>1148</sup> Even in the Benares<sup>1149</sup> School where the Bālabhāṭṭi has been accepted as one of the leading authorities, the authority of Bālabhāṭṭi has been held to be inferior to that of Nandapaṇḍita in matters of adoption, it being held that a widow cannot adopt in the Benares School without express authority from her husband (while Bālabhāṭṭi holds that she can adopt without such authority). Similarly it has

1144 9 Moo. I. A. 516 = 1 Bom. H. C. R. 117 at pp. 122-123; vide also *Sakharani v. Sitabai* I. L. R. 3 Bom. 353 at pp. 360 and 363.

1145 I. L. R. 3 Bom. 353 at p. 363.

1146 Vide *Mulji v. Cursandas Natha* 24 Bom. 563 at p. 579 and *Bhagwan v. Warubai* I. L. R. 32 Bom. 300 at p. 305.

1147 Vide *Bhagwan v. Warubai* I. L. R. 32 Bom. 300 at p. 312.

1148 Vide *Dattatraya v. Gangubai* I. L. R. 46 Bom. 557 at p. 558.

1149 Vide *Tulshi Ram v. Behari Lal* I. L. R. 12 All. 328 at p. 363 (F. B.).

been held that the Bālabhāṭṭi cannot prevail over the views of the Viramitrodaya and that a daughter-in-law is not in the line of heirs at all though the Bālabhāṭṭi says that she is so.<sup>1150</sup>

The author of the Bālabhāṭṭi is somewhat of an enigma. Such women as Śīlā, Vijjā, Avanti-sundarī have been worshippers at the shrine of the Muse of Poetry. A lady has been associated with the composition of a work on Mathematics, viz. the Līlāvati. Inspiration for several works on Dharmaśāstra was, we know, derived from queens and princesses, as in the case of the Vivādacandra compiled by Queen Lakṣmidevī through Misarumiśra, the Dānavākyaśālī compiled by Mahādevī Dhīramatī of Mithilā through Vidyāpati, the Dvaitanirṇaya composed by Vacaspati at the bidding of queen Jayā, wife of king Bhairavendra. It gives one great pleasure to contemplate that at least one work on Dharmaśāstra, the Bālabhāṭṭi, is claimed by a lady as her own. But this pleasure receives a rude shock if the question of the authorship of the Bālabhāṭṭi is dispassionately considered. The introductory verses no doubt start by saying that Lakṣmī, the wife of Vaidyanātha Pāyagunḍa, and the daughter of Mahādeva of the Mudgala *gotra* and surnamed Kheraḍā, composed the work, her maiden name being Umā.<sup>1151</sup> The colophon at the end of the *śāstra* portion says that the work was composed by Lakṣmī, the daughter of Mahādeva and Umā, the wife of Vaidyanātha Pāyagunḍa and the mother of Bālākṛṣṇa.<sup>1152</sup> At the end of the vyavahāra section in the printed editions we have the words 'mother of Lālākṛṣṇa' but this is obviously a misreading of the mss. or a mistake of the copyists. The pretence that the work was composed by a lady is made extremely plausible by

1150 I. L. R. 9 Cal. 315 at p. 324 ; vide also I. L. R. 15 Cal. 367 at pp. 376-77 (about brother's widow).

1151 श्रीलक्ष्मीरमणं नत्वा लक्ष्मीर्लक्ष्मी शिशुप्रदः । खेरदामुद्रलापत्यगणेशपत्यरुष्णकः ।  
महादेवः सुतस्तस्य वेदमूर्तिर्जटान्तपितृ । श्रोतस्मार्तार्थनिपुणो दीक्षितो राजपुत्रितः ॥  
पत्नी तस्य ह्युमारूपा साय्यमुमा तस्य कन्यका । पायगुण्डोपास्यपैयनाथपत्नी पति-  
व्रता । मिताक्षराया विवृतिं तनुते सर्वसंविदे ॥ बालम्भट्टी, Intro. verses of  
आचारकाण्ड.

1152 इति श्रीमन्मिताक्षराभ्याख्यानं महादेवमहात्मजोभाङ्गजनेयनाथार्थाङ्गभूतबालकजननी-  
पायगुण्ड इत्युपास्यश्रीलक्ष्मीदेवीविरचिते लक्ष्म्याभिधे आचार्यकरणम् । Vide for an  
identical colophon at the end of the व्यवहार section, I. O. cat. p. 369-370  
No. 1282 and Aufrecht's Oxford cat. p. 262 b

the frantic efforts made in it for the rights of women in matters of inheritance. But this pretence is not kept up in the body of the work at all. In several places the author of the *Balambhaṭṭi* refers to the *Mañjūśā* and other works of his *guru* and to works of his father.<sup>1153</sup> We know that *Vaidyanātha Pāyagunḍa* was a pupil of *Nāgojibhaṭṭa*,<sup>1154</sup> who composed several *Mañjūśās* (on grammar) and a work on *prāyaścitta*. Therefore it follows either that the *Balambhaṭṭi* was composed by *Vaidyanātha* himself and ascribed to his wife or that the work was composed by *Balakṛṣṇa* alias *Balambhaṭṭa*, son of *Vaidyanātha*, and was ascribed to his mother. *Nāgojibhaṭṭa* who certainly attained a very advanced age was the *guru* of *Vaidyanātha* as well as of the latter's son *Balakṛṣṇa*. That *Balakṛṣṇa* or *Balambhaṭṭa Pāyagunḍa* was a learned man like his father *Vaidyanātha* follows from several circumstances. He wrote a work called *Upakṛitātva*.<sup>1155</sup> *Gopala* alias *Manudeva*, in his commentary called *Laghubhūṣanakānti* on the *Vaiyakaraṇabhūṣanaśāstra*, styles *Balambhaṭṭa Pāyagunḍa* his *guru*.<sup>1156</sup> Looking to the colophons where *Lakṣmī* is referred to as the mother of *Balakṛṣṇa* and to the fact that the work is known as *Balambhaṭṭi*, we must conclude that it was composed by *Balambhaṭṭa* and not by his father *Vaidyanātha*. What motive impelled *Balambhaṭṭa* to publish the work in the name of his mother it is difficult to say. Tradition

1153 a. d. आचार० p. 448 'अत्र मनुवाक्ये न त्रोट्यार्थकत्वेन शालीवर्हिषायामपि स्वल्प-  
दोषास्त्वयेवेति प्रतिपादितं गुरुवरणमिच्छन्नुपायम् । विशदीकृतं चेत् पाषण्डसण्डनेपि  
अष्टपशुमकरणेष्मानिरिति दिक्', p. 314 'तथा उपादिरूपक्षत्रियसत्त्वेपि तेषां न क्षत्रि-  
यत्वं किं तु शुद्रत्वमेवेति गुरुवरणकृतमत्यप्रायश्चित्तनिर्णये स्पष्टम् । तत एव बोधम् ।  
स्फुटीकृतं चैतद्विचरणेः कावस्थनिर्णये । ... तत्सर्वं शागाभट्टकृतकायस्थप्रदीपे  
विगृह्यणकृततत्प्रदीपे च स्पष्टमिति नेह प्रपञ्चयते ।'. The first passage is not  
properly arranged in Mr. Gharpure's edition; vide p. 415 for  
मातृप्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय.

1154 वेद्यनाथः पायगुण्डो नत्वा नागम्बरं गुरुम् । व्याख्यां प्रभाख्यां तनुते कोस्तुभस्य  
स्वमुद्भवे ॥ V. d. I. O. cat. p. 163 No. 610 for the प्रभा, a com. on *भट्टोनि*'s  
शब्दकोस्तुभ.

1155 Vide Stein's cat. p. 302 श्रीहलसावति नत्वा सण्डेति कथं नितम् । पायगुण्डो  
चाहलभ्यः साह तत्स्वमुपाकृतो ॥

1156 चाहलभ्यामिदं पायगुण्डोपाख्यं परं गुरुम् । गोपालदेवनामासी रण्डितो चालमुद्भवे ॥  
रुग्णदेवानुतो लोकं मनुदेवापरमिधः । I. O. cat p. 189 No. 717.

says that he did so to console Lakṣmidevī in her bereavement on the death of a child. Vaidyanātha composed several commentaries on grammatical works such as on the Mahābhāṣyapradīpodyota of Nāgojibhāṭṭa, on the Paribhāṣenduśekhara ( com. called Kāṣikā and Gadā ), on the Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhāntamañjūṣā ( com. called Kālā ), on the Laghuśābdenđuśekhara ( com. Cidasthimālā ), on the Laghuśābdaratna ( com. Bhāvaprakāśa ). Mr. Govinda Das ( p. 27 in Mr. Gharpure's edition of ācāra portion ) says that these works were really composed by Bālabhāṭṭa and ascribed to his father. In these grammatical works the names of Vaidyanātha's parents are given as Mahādeva and Venī.

The I. O. cat. ( pp. 458-59, No. 1507 ) notices an incomplete work called Dharmasāstrasamgraha compiled by Bālaśarma Pāyagunḍa, son of Vaidyanātha and Lakṣmī and patronised<sup>1157</sup> by Colebrooke. The work dealt with topics of civil law, viz. definition of vyavahāra, *sabha*, the judge, the *sabhyas*, the relative strength of *smṛtis* etc., return of debts etc. It breaks off at folio 79. On the ms. there is a note in Colebrooke's own hand ( which is not complimentary to the honesty of Bālaśarma ) dated 1st may 1800 " fresh sheets were received from Bālaśarma Pāyagunḍa on this date. This is little else but the Viramitrodaya revised. As it is a scarce book and very little known Bālaśarma and his pupil Manudeva did not suspect I could detect the plagiarism."

The foregoing shows that Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyagunḍa was a Deccani Brāhmaṇa, that his father and mother were Vaidyanātha and Lakṣmī, that his maternal grandfather was Mahādeva, also a Deccani Brāhmaṇa surnamed Kheradā, that he was the pupil of Nāgojibhāṭṭa and that he was a *pandit* of Colebrooke. Mr. Govinda Das is not right when he identifies ( p. 27 ) Vaidyanātha the commentator of several grammatical works of Nāgojibhāṭṭa with Vaidyanātha the author of several commentaries on Alankāra works ( such as the Udāharaṇacandrikā on the Kāvya-prakāśa and the Prabhā on the Kāvya-pradīpa ). The reasons are two. Vaidyanātha, author of the Udāharaṇacandrikā,

1157 श्रीकौण्ठी विजयते रणरङ्गधीरः ॥ ४ श्रीशे नन्वा श्रीनिवासी दाक्षिणात्यो निबन्धकः ।  
नागेशपादनिरतो वेचनायात्मजः सुधीः ॥ ५ सुमनःकुलपुत्रकसाहेबाह्वयधीरविकः ।  
लक्ष्मीसुतर्भवात्मको विमद्वयविलेखकः ॥ ६ धर्मशास्त्रिमहादेवमन्तु ( नु ! ) देवसहायकः ।  
बालशर्माबालबुद्धिः पायगुण्डोपनामकः ॥ ७.



was the son of Rāmabhaṭṭa, son of Viṭṭhala Tatsat, while Vaidyanātha the grammarian was a son of Mahādeva and Venī. Besides the Udāharanacandrikā was composed<sup>1158</sup> in *śaṅvat* 1740 Kārtika śuddha 8, Wednesday (i. e. 17th October 1683). We saw above that Vaidyanātha Piyaṅga was a pupil of Nāgoji, who flourished towards the end of 17th and the first half of the 18th century. If Vaidyanātha, the writer on poetics, were the same as the commentator of Nāgoji, he could not have composed a work on poetics so early as 1683 A. D. Dr. Belvalkar (Systems of Sanskrit Grammar p. 60) says 'Lakṣmidevī, the wife of king Candrasinha of Mithilā, was probably his patroness in whose honour he is reported to have composed a commentary on the Vyavahārakāṇḍa of the Mitākṣarā.' This throws to the winds all chronology. We saw above (pp. 399 and 404) that the Mithilā princess Lakṣmī or Lachimadevī flourished in the first half of the 15th century, while the Bālabhaṭṭi quoting as it does writers and works like Gagabhaṭṭa and the Kaustubha could not have been composed before 1700 A. D.

Mr. Govinda Das says that a ms. of the ācarakāṇḍa of the Bālabhaṭṭi in the Benares palace library is dated *śaṅvat* 1831 (i. e. 1774-75 A. D.). The I. O. cat. (pp. 458-459) notices that Bālabhaṭṭa was about 80 years old when Colebrooke entrusted the Dharmasāstrastotrāgraha to him about 1800 A. D. Besides both Bālabhaṭṭa and his father Vaidyanātha were the pupils of Nāgoji-bhaṭṭa. The ms. of the Upakṛtitattva (Stein's Jammu cat. p. 302) is dated *śaṅvat* 1848 i. e. 1791-92 A. D. and the ms. of the Laghubhūṣanakānti of Bālabhaṭṭa's pupil is dated *śaṅvat* 1856 (i. e. 1799-1800 A. D.). Hence it follows that Bālabhaṭṭa must have flourished between 1730 and 1820 A. D. Mr. Govinda Das says that Bālabhaṭṭa died at the age of 90 and gives his dates as 1740 to 1830 A. D. (p. 29 of Mr. Gharpure's ācāra section of Bālabhaṭṭi at the end).

1158 Vide I. O. cat. p. 329 No. 1151 for the उदाहरणचन्द्रिका and its date विष्णुदेवमुनिविरचिते कर्तव्ये मिते । शुभाष्टम्यामिमे ग्रन्थे वैद्यनाथोऽभ्युपगच्छत् ॥ ; vide Stein's cat. pp. 60, 61, 62, and 80 for commentaries on the काव्यप्रदीप, कुसुमवन्द, चन्द्रालोक and the काव्यचरी by वैद्यनाथ, son of रामचन्द्र.

## 112. Kāśinātha-Upādhyāya

Kāśinātha Upādhyāya or Bābā Pādhye composed an extensive work called Dharmasindhusāra or Dharmābhisāra, which is popularly known as Dharmasindhu. It is now the leading work in matters of religious observances in the Deccan and has been referred to even in judicial decisions.<sup>1159</sup> It has been published several times. In the following the Nirṇayasāgara edition of 1926 with Marathi translation has been used. He says that he consulted former *nibandhas* and, following the order of the subject matters in the Nirṇayasindhu, composed the work which sets forth only the established conclusions after eliminating the original *smṛti* texts.<sup>1160</sup> At the end he says that the work is not meant for learned men conversant with *mīmāṃsā* and Dharmasāstra, but for men whose intellect is not sharp and yet who want to know the established conclusions on matters of dharma. The work is divided into three *paricchedas*, the third being the longest and split into two parts. The first deals with *kāla* in general, viz. the kinds of year, month, the *saṁkrāntis*, intercalary months and *ksayamāsa*, what *tithis* are proper for what rites, conclusions about *tithis* from the first to the 15th and about *amāvāsyā*, eclipses; the second deals with the festivals, fasts and observances of particular months from Caitra to Phālguna; the third in the first part speaks in detail about the *saṁskāras* from *garbhādhāna* to marriage, *sapindya*, *gotras* and *pravaras*, duties of *brahmacārin*, the daily duties from rising to going to bed, the five daily *mahāyajñas*, consecration of sacred fires, idols and dedication of tanks and works of public utility, *kalivarjya*; the latter part of the third *pariccheda* dilates upon the details of *śrāddha*, impurity on birth and death, the rites after death, the duties of widows, *saṁnyāsa*.

Kāśinātha was a very learned man and a great devotee of God Viṭhoba at Pandharpur in the Sholapur District. He wrote several other works, such as the *Prāyaścittenduśekhara* (Bühler 3. 110), an exposition of the *Vedastuti* in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (X. 87)

1159 I. L. R. 49 Bom. 139 at p. 756.

1160 नवार्थान् वितनोमि माधवमुक्तान् धर्माब्धिसारं वितम् ॥ 3rd Intro verse ; तस्यानन्तमिधानस्योवाभ्यासस्य सुतः कृती । काशीमाधामिधो धर्मसिन्धुसारं समा-  
तनोन् ॥ last verse ; दृष्ट्वा पूर्वमिदम्भान् निर्णयसिन्धुक्रमेण सिद्धार्थान् । श्रवणेन मूल-  
वचनान्मुञ्चित्वा लिखामि चाटयोत्पाद्य ॥ 4th Intro. verse.

and a work called *Viṭṭhala-rīmantrasārabhāṣya*.<sup>1161</sup> In the latter he takes several Rk verses (such as Rgveda I. 95. 1-11 and I. 164. 31) and explains them as applying to God Viṭṭhala.

We know a good deal about the family of Kāśinātha Pādhye from his own works and from the biography of the great Marathi poet Moropant published by Mr. L. R. Pangarkar (ed. of 1908, chap. 16 pp. 107-119). His family hailed from Goḷavali, a village in the Ratnagiri District. They were Karhādā Brāhmaṇas and had the Joshi and Upadhye *ṛtti* of seventy-two villages in the Saṅgameśvara *taluka* of the Ratnagiri District. At the end of the *Dharmasindhu* he says that his grandfather was Kaśyupādhyāya who had two sons Yājñeśvara and Ananta. Ananta was a very pious man and a great devotee and left his native land Koṅkaṇa, and resided at Pandharpur on the banks of the Bātmā. The *Dharmasindhu* does not give the reason for Ananta's migration from Koṅkaṇa. But it is said that the Pādhyes had a dispute with another family about the *upadhye ṛtti*, took it for decision to the Peshwa's Court at Poona and were defeated, on which they cursed the Peshwa, vowed not to stay in the territories under the Peshwa's rule and migrated to Pandharpur. The *Dharmasindhu* was composed<sup>1162</sup> in *śake* 1712 i. e. 1790-1 A. D. Kāśinātha was related to the great Marathi poet Moropant, as his daughter Āvaḍī was married to Rama-kṛṣṇa, the second son of the poet. He had great veneration for Moropant and refers to the *Mantrabhāgavata* of the latter.<sup>1163</sup>

1161 Vide D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70 dated *śake* 1731. In this *viṭṭhal* is derived as 'विन् वेदने ज्ञानं तेन दाः श्रुत्याः तान् तानि स्वीकरोति.'

1162 'अयनांशः षोडशशतं प्रसिद्धः । ते चेदानीं द्वादशधिकसप्तदशशतसंख्याके शालि-वाहनशके एकविंशतिरयांशा इति &c.' धर्मसिन्धु p. 3.

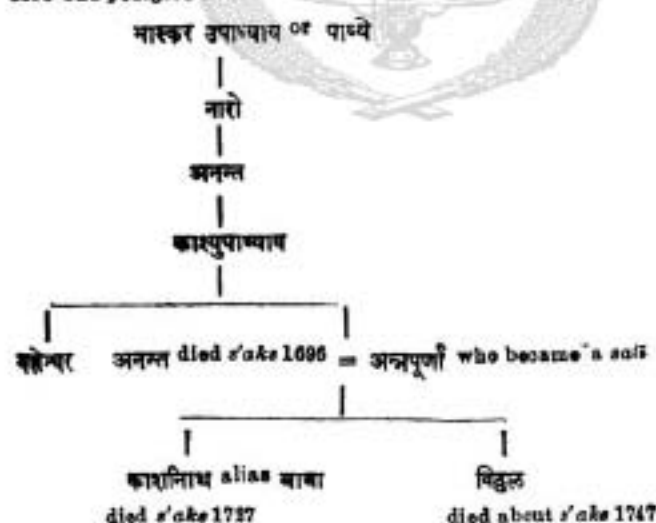
1163 एकैकेन प्रकारेणैकत्रेय पद्ये क्रमेण वर्णोद्गारे व्यवधानेन चमत्कारनिर्वाचनोपपत्तिश्चो नापलपितुं शक्यः । अग एव श्रीमयूरेत्परिण्डितकपित्थरेण मन्त्रमयभागवते मन्त्रमय-रामायणे च द्वादशाक्षरमन्त्रवर्णाः श्रीरामजयरामेत्यादित्रयोदशाक्षरवर्णाश्च क्रमेणोप-निबन्ध वर्णान्तरसंनिधनेन कथार्थ बोधयन्तो मन्त्रानुपूर्वमपि बोधयन्तीति चमत्कार-विशेषावावृशकाभ्युपगमोपपद्यते । विह्वलकृष्णभाष्य folio 56a of D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70.

Kaśinātha became a saṁnyāsin and died in śake 1727 i. e. 1805-6 A. D.<sup>1164</sup>

### 113. Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana

After the British took over the administration of Bengal from the Nabobs, attempts were made to compile easily accessible digests of the personal law of the Hindus. The *Vivādārṇavasetu*<sup>1165</sup> compiled in 1773 for Warren Hastings by several *pandits* was translated into English from a Persian rendering and was published in 1774 A. D. as Halhed's *Gentoo Code*. But this was a very unsatisfactory work. Another attempt was made at the instance of Sir William Jones by Trivedi Sarvorūsarman who compiled in 1789 A. D. a digest of civil law called *Vivādasārṇava*<sup>1166</sup> in nine *tarāṅgas*. But the most famous of such digests that owed their inspiration to the British is the *Vivādabhaṅgārṇava* compiled by Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana of Triveni on the Ganges, son of Rudra Tarkavāgīśa. This digest was suggested by Sir William Jones and two parts of it on contracts and succession were translated by Cole-

1164 The pedigree is :—



1165 The *विवादार्णवसेतु* is published by the Vēṅkaṭeśvara Press in Bombay (s'ake 1810); vide also I. O. cat. p. 458.

1166 Vide I. O. cat. p. 457 for *विवादसारणव*,  
H. D. 59.

brooke in 1796. The translation was first published in 1797 A. D. and is known to the legal profession as Colebrooke's Digest. This work exercised great influence over the courts in their administration of Hindu Law in the early days. The work is divided into *dvīpas*, each *dvīpa* being subdivided into *ratnas*. The principal topics dealt with are : recovery of debts, deposits, sale without ownership, partnership, rescission of gifts, non-payment of wages, rescission of sale and purchase, emancipation from slavery, disputes between master and servant, duties of man and wife, inheritance and partition. Jagannātha is said to have died at the venerable age of 111 in 1806.<sup>1167</sup> Though Jagannātha exercised great influence in moulding Hindu Law in Bengal, his work has been held from very early times not to have any binding authority in Western India.<sup>1168</sup>

#### 114. Conclusion

In the foregoing pages most of the classical works and the most prominent writers on Dharmasāstra during a period of about twenty five centuries have been passed in review. The number of authors and works on dharmasāstra is legion. All these numberless authors and works were actuated by the most laudable motives of regulating the Aryan society in all matters, civil, religious and moral, and of securing for the members of that society happiness in this world and the next. They laid the greatest emphasis on the duties of every man as a member of the whole Aryan society, as a member of the particular caste to which he belonged and very little emphasis on the prerogatives of men. They created great solidarity and cohesion among the several classes of the Aryan society in India in spite of their conflicting interests and inclinations and enabled Hindu society to hold its own against successive aggressions of foreign invaders. They preserved Hindu culture and literature in the midst of alien cultures and in spite of bigoted foreign domination. There is no doubt that the authors on dharmasāstra in their desire to evolve order out of chaos and to adjust and harmonise the varying practices of people with the dicta of ancient sages were guilty of the faults of raising hair-splitting arguments, divisions and

1167 Vide 'Dawn of new India' by Mr. Brajendranath Banerjee, 1927, Calcutta (pp. 81-91).

1168 Vide *Vinayak v. Lakshminai*, 1 Bom. H. C. R. 117 at p. 124.

sub-divisions and also of thinking that religious rites and formularies were the be-all and end-all of human existence. But living as most of the later writers did in the midst of aggressive and violently unsympathetic cultures and rulers and possessing no powerful central government that sympathised with their ideals, they were driven more and more to revolve within their own narrow grooves and could not see far in order to regulate society in a free and buoyant spirit. In spite of these defects, the work done by the writers on dharmaśāstra should excite our admiration and entitles them to the regard of all those that are interested in the study of the vicissitudes of Hindu society for thousands of years.



## GENERAL INDEX

N. B. In the case of several works and authors like the *Mitākṣarā*, *Aparāṅga*, *Smṛticandrikā*, which occur almost on every page, exhaustive references are not given. Where a work or author is described as the special subject of a section or as a special topic, thick type has been used to indicate such pages.

- Abdhi, relied on by *Smṛtyarthasāra*, p. 336.
- Abhidhānaratnamālā, p. 297.
- Abul Fazl, killed by Vīrasaṁha, p. 445.
- Ācāraṇḍrikā, p. 418n.
- Ācāraśāntāmaṇi of Vācaspati, pp. 363, 399, 418.
- Ācārīdarśa, pp. 278, 313, 363, 396, 418; com. on, pp. 363-364.
- Ācāramayūkha, p. 117.
- Ācārapradīpa, pp. 401n, 433.
- Ācārīka, of Divākaraḥṣaṭṭa, p. 440.
- Ācārasāgara, of Ballāṣena, pp. 340, 382n.
- Ācārendusekhara, of Nāgaḥ, p. 433.
- Ācāryas, meaning of, pp. 15-17, 99-100; views of, according to Kauṭilya, pp. 98-99.
- Astors, looked down upon, p. 73.
- Asyutakośkravartin, p. 339.
- Adbhutasāgara, pp. 248, 299-300, 341.
- Ādhi, four varieties of, p. 131.
- Ādīśūra, king, brought brāhmanas into Bengal, pp. 309-301, 334.
- Ādityaḥṣaṭṭa, p. 235.
- Adoption, whether a girl can be taken in, p. 449; rules of, in Vasiṣṭha, p. 59; Ātri on, p. 108; of a kṣatriya boy, allowed to a brāhmaṇa, by Medhātithi, p. 273; rules of, in Dattakadīdhiti, p. 443.
- Adultery, with pravrajitā, a mortal sin, according to Nārada, p. 203; fine for, p. 235; punishment for, in case of women, p. 225.
- Adverse possession, vide under possession.
- Agastya, pp. 103, 152; rising of star, in Ujjayini and Rōḍhā, p. 325.
- Agnipurāṇa, borrows from Yājñavalkya and Nārada, pp. 162, 170-173; date of, p. 172; dharmaśāstra material in, p. 162; extent of, p. 162; portion on vyavahāra of, pp. 170-173.
- Āhnikāśāntāmaṇi of Vācaspati, p. 399.
- Āhnikatattva, p. 276.
- Alla, p. 102.
- Alm-i-Akbari, p. 423.
- Āitareyaśrāhmaṇa, pp. 2, 6, 7n, 50, 136, 153.
- Ajgarta, who was ready to sacrifice his son, pp. 152, 153.
- Ājvaka, p. 102.
- Ājśakra, p. 131.
- Ākhyāna, named by Manu, p. 143.
- Akṣamā, of low birth, united to Vasiṣṭha, p. 153.
- Alaṁkāraśāstra, beginnings of, in Kauṭilya, p. 100.
- Ālekhaṇa, p. 126.
- Ambariṣa, p. 102.
- Āmbhīyas, pp. 99, 215n.



- Anadhyaīya**, p. 158; rules about, apply only to Vedic study and not to sacrifices, p. 43.
- Anāṅkulā**, commentary on Āpastamba-grhya, p. 347.
- Ānandasañjivana**, ascribed to Madanapala, p. 388.
- Ananta**, p. 252.
- Anantadeva**, pp. 447-453.
- Anantīśrama**, author of Vyāgyārīha-kaumudī, p. 446.
- Ananta Vāsudeva**, temple of, p. 304.
- Anāvilā**, commentary on Āśvalāyana-grhya, p. 347.
- Andhra**, p. 44.
- Andhuka**, an author, p. 325.
- Āngas**, of Veda, cannot be designated as Veda, p. 42; six, p. 54.
- Āngiras**, pp. 120, 147; smṛti of, pp. 221-223.
- Āngirasa**, story of, pp. 152, 153.
- Āngirasa-smṛti**, pp. 83, 147.
- Aniruddha**, pp. 305, 314, 317, 337-340; guru of Ballāṣena, 248.
- Antyaśas**, seven, pp. 108, 222.
- Antyeṣṭipaddhati**, of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa p. 420.
- Anuśāsanaparva**, pp. 3, 67.
- Anuvāda**, cannot be a vidhi, p. 42.
- Ānvikṣikī**, one of the vidyā, pp. 81-82, 179.
- Apadeśa**, meaning of, p. 90.
- Āpadeva**, author of a Śmṛticandrikā, p. 347.
- Āpadeva**, author of Mīmāṃsānyāya-prakāśa, p. 451.
- Āparārka** or **Āparāditya**, pp. 18, 43, 46, 58, 66, 72, 73, 115, 146, 181, 194, 210, 328-334; criticizes Mitākṣarā, pp. 330-332; and Śmṛticandrikā, p. 332; views of, coincide with Jñātavāṇana's, p. 330; wrote Nyāyamuktāvalī, p. 351.
- Āpastamba**, pp. 147, 283; his views opposed to those of others on several points, p. 45; home and personal history of, p. 44; his school earlier than Hiraṇyakeśin's, p. 44.
- Āpastamba**, school of, a subdivision of Khādṛikīyas, p. 31.
- Āpastamba-dharmasūtra**, pp. 4, 32ff, 147; age of, pp. 44-45; bhāṣyakāra of, p. 44; commentary Ujjvalā on, p. 347; conflict between views of, and of Baudhāyana, p. 40; contains many strange words, p. 37; contents of, pp. 34-37; has many sūtras and verses in common with Baudhāyana, p. 30; has special relation to Pūrvaśālikā, p. 41-42; language of, p. 37; lays down stricter views than Baudhāyana, p. 29; literature known to, pp. 38-39; presupposes grhya sūtra, p. 33; striking coincidences between, and Gautamadharmasūtra, p. 40; teachers of dharma named by, p. 39.
- Āpastamba-dhvanitārtha-kārikā**, p. 251.
- Āpastambagrhyasūtra**, pp. 33, 184, 265; commentary Anāvilā on, p. 347; commentary on, by Sudarśanakoṭṭya, p. 265; composed by author of dharmasūtra, p. 33; refers to teaching of dharmasūtra, p. 33.
- Āpastamba-kalpa**, divisions of, p. 32.
- Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra**, pp. 45, 91.
- Āpastambīya-mantrapāṭha**, commentary of Haradatta on, p. 347.
- Apakṣitārīhadhyotini**, of Nārāyaṇa, p. 390.
- Apipālā**, p. 418n.
- Āraṇyaka**, composed by Yājñ., p. 179.
- Āraṭṭa**, a country, p. 102.
- Arhas**, words of, delude people, p. 224.
- Arjuna**, p. 102.
- Arthakaumudī**, p. 415.
- Arthasūtra**, commentary Śrīmūla by Pāṇḍit Gaṇapatiśāstri, p. 86; com-

- mentary Naysandrikā, p. 86; is upaveda of Atharvaveda, pp. 41, 87; of Kautilya, pp. 85-104; modern works based on, p. 86; is a branch of Dharmasāstra, p. 87; purpose of, p. 87; rules in case of conflict with Dharmasāstra, pp. 87, 179.
- Arthasāstra of Bṛhaspati, p. 126.
- Āryāvarta, definition of, p. 65; definition of, according to Sāṅkha, p. 78.
- Asatvīda, use of, forbidden according to Haradatta, p. 349.
- Asahya, pp. 19, 247-251; composed bhāṣyas on Nārada, p. 248, and Gautama, p. 338; probably composed a commentary on Manu, pp. 248-249.
- Āśauca, none, in marriages, famines, fairs &c., p. 122; none for kings, royal officers, physicians &c., p. 229.
- Āśaucaśaka, p. 290; authorship of, pp. 290-291; commentaries on, p. 291.
- Āśauca-nirṇaya, of Jivadeva, p. 452.
- Āśauca-nirṇaya, of Nāgoji, p. 453.
- Āśauca-sāgara, of Kullūka, p. 361.
- Ascetics, yellow-robed, eight of, p. 67.
- Āsmarathya, p. 126.
- Āśuka, p. 185.
- Āśrama, division into four, ascribed to asura Kapila, according to Bauddhāyana p. 25; what varṇas entitled to which, p. 139.
- Aṣṭāṅgharḍaya, pp. 65, 358; com. Āyurvedarasaṅgīyana on, by Hemādri, p. 358.
- Astrology, p. 101.
- Āśvaghoṣa, refers to Bṛhaspati and Śukra, p. 124; refers to Mānavadharmas, p. 147.
- Āśvalāyana-grhya, p. 130; commentary on, by Nārāyaṇa, p. 279; commentary Anvīṣā on, p. 347.
- Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra, p. 91; commentary of Nārāyaṇa on, pp. 279, 281.
- Āśvalāyana, p. 130; killing on, pp. 130, 214, 302.
- Ātharvaṇḍbhūta, p. 341r.
- Atharvaveda, pp. 1, 5, 7n, 143; Arthasāstra is the Upaveda of, p. 41.
- Asheism, referred to by Manu, p. 143.
- Atri, work of, on dharmasāstra, pp. 107-110; named by Manusmṛti, pp. 132, 143.
- Aufrecht, Prof., pp. 292, 295, 297, 418, 450n.
- Aupajāṅghasi, named by Bauddhāyana as holding that avaras son only to be recognised, pp. 25, 132.
- Autanana-dharmasāstra, p. 115.
- Avānasa, pp. 98, 99.
- Avakṛaya, meaning of, p. 131.
- Āvasāthika, meaning of, p. 299.
- Avīśvāsa, sheet anchor of Bṛhaspati's policy, p. 124.
- Āyurveda, eight āngas of, p. 106.
- Āyurvedarasaṅgīyana, com. on Vāg'bhata's work, p. 358.
- Bādarāyaṇa, p. 341n.
- Bālilika, a country, p. 102.
- Bāhudantika, named by Mahābhārata, pp. 100, 137.
- Bāhudantiputra, pp. 99, 100.
- Bahvṛcāhnikā, p. 433.
- Baijāvāpa, p. 390.
- Baijāvāpa-grhya, on Vināyaka, p. 181.
- Bhākrīdā, a commentary on Yāj. p. 252.
- Bilambhaṭṭa, pp. 456-462.
- Bilambhaṭṭi, pp. 250, 257, 290.
- Bālaka, pp. 283-284, 323, 418n.
- Bālarūpa, pp. 284-286, 373.
- Bilavalabhībhujāṅga, meaning of, p. 305.
- Bālīlāsana, pp. 238, 248, 300, 359, 340-341, 418n.

- Bhāṣa, pp. 88, 161, 204.
- Banavase, country of, p. 366.
- Bandhus, p. 135; three kinds of, p. 285.
- Banerji-sastri, Dr., p. 104.
- Bārhaspatyas, pp. 98, 99.
- Bathing, in rivers, disallowed in the rains, p. 230; on touching certain people, p. 139.
- Baudhāyana, a teacher of Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, p. 20; his sūtras, how arranged according to Burnell, p. 20; styled Kṛṣṇayana, p. 21; styled pravacanaśāstra, p. 20.
- Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra, pp. 20-32, 189; age of, pp. 28-30; and Pārśana, p. 194; authors named in, p. 25; borrows one chapter from Gautama, p. 17; contents of, pp. 21-23; has many sūtras in common with Gautama, p. 18; has many sūtras in common with Vasiṣṭha, p. 31; has many sūtras in common with Āpastamba, p. 30; home of, pp. 27-28; language of, p. 24; literature known to, p. 24; names Gautama, p. 17; one chapter of, taken from Gautama, p. 23; one chapter of, agrees closely with Viṣṇudharmasūtra, p. 23; refers to Baudhāyanagṛhya, p. 20; text of, rather suspicious, p. 23.
- Baudhāyanagṛhya, pp. 20, 28, 186; quoted in the Mītākṣarā, p. 23.
- Buddhas, delude people, p. 224.
- Bas Bahadurcandra, king of Kumaon, p. 457.
- Belvalkar, Dr., pp. 357, 454, 455.
- Bergaigne, A., p. 156.
- Bhagavad-gītā, verses of, borrowed by Viṣṇudharmasūtra, p. 64.
- Bhagavantabhāṣa, a digest, p. 438.
- Bhagavantadeva, patron of Nīlakaṭṭha, p. 438.
- Bhagavata-purāṇa, 130, 161, 168, 340.
- Bhagavattattvamañjarī, p. 340.
- Bhāṣari, a commentator of Manu, pp. 157, 320a, 349a.
- Bhairavendra, king of Mithilā, pp. 402, 404.
- Bhāṭṭarins, gāthā of, quoted in Baudhāyana, about limits of Aryavarta, p. 25; gāthā of, quoted by Vasiṣṭha, p. 54.
- Bhāmatī, on Sāṅkarabhāṣya, pp. 184, 362.
- Bhandarkar, Dr. Śrī, pp. 409, 414, 452.
- Bhandarkar, D. R., pp. 19a, 206.
- Bhāradvāja, writer on dharma, pp. 126-127; who accepted many cows, p. 152.
- Bhāradvāja, writer on Arthasāstra, pp. 96, 99, 100, 127-128; views of, p. 127; Kaṇinka, p. 99.
- Bhāradvājagṛhyasūtra, pp. 11, 126.
- Bhāradvājārautasūtra, p. 126.
- Bharatacandra, Pandit, p. 322.
- Bhāratīśrītha, teacher of Mādhavācārya, p. 377.
- Bhārgava, mentioned in Karmapraśaṅga, p. 219.
- Bhāṣagaviya, p. 341a.
- Bhartṛyājña, pp. 251-252, 271.
- Bhārucci, pp. 264-266; and the Mītākṣarā p. 266; and the Viṣṇudharmasūtra, p. 265.
- Bhāṣa, p. 148.
- Bhāṣarvajña, author of Nyāyasāra, p. 334.
- Bhāṣkara, bhāṣyakāra on Vedāntasūtra, p. 361.
- Bhāṣkarācārya, pp. 388, 389.
- Bhāṣyārthasaṃgrahakāra, p. 344.
- Bhāṭṭadīpikā, of Khaṇḍadeva, p. 457.
- Bhāṭṭasvāmī, commentator of Arthasāstra, p. 104.
- Bhāṭṭoji, pp. 59, 157, 196, 206, 280, 454 &c.; author of com. on Āśaucadāśaka, p. 291; son of Lakṣmīdhara, p. 224; pedigree of, 435n.

- Bhau Dājī, Dr., p. 380.
- Bhāvabhūti, p. 263.
- Bhavadēva, pp. 284, 301-306, 373, 418a; styled Bālavālabhībhujāṅga pp. 303-4.
- Bhāvadāna, p. 320a.
- Bhavanātha, p. 344.
- Bhave, Mr., 453n.
- Bhavaśa, king of Mithilā, pp. 368, 372, 398, 402, 404.
- Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, on Manu, pp. 133, 146, 161; quotes Gautama, 18; quotes Vasiṣṭha, p. 58.
- Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa, quoted by Āpastamba, pp. 41, 160.
- Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa, p. 352.
- Bhikṣāṇa, p. 216.
- Bhikṣa, used by Gautama in the sense of parivṛjaka, p. 19; four kinds of, p. 105.
- Bhīmaparākrama, a work, pp. 401a, 418a, 421a.
- Bhoganātha, brother of Mādhavācārya, p. 379.
- Bhoja, author of Dharmapradīpa, p. 279.
- Bhojadeva, vide under Dhāreśvara, p. 418a; and Manusmṛti, pp. 157, 273, 323, 378; numerous works ascribed to, p. 276; wrote on grammar, medicine and yoga, p. 276; author of Rājamārtanḍa and Bhujabalabhīma, p. 278.
- Bhojaprabandha, p. 279.
- Bhojarājya, 277n.
- Bhr̥gu, named by Manu, pp. 132, 143; son of fire p. 149; quoted by Kātyāyana, pp. 214-215.
- Bhr̥ga, meaning of, p. 28.
- Bhujabalabhīma, a work of Bhoja, pp. 278, 397n, 418a, 421a.
- Bhūpāla, stands for Bhojadeva in works on dharma, pp. 278, 364, 369a.
- Bhūpāla-kṛtyasamuccaya, p. 369a.
- Bhūpālapaddhati, stands for Bhojadeva's work, 278, 369a.
- Bhuvaneśvara, temple of Ananta at, p. 304.
- Bloch, Th., p. 107.
- Blochmann, p. 423.
- Bodhīyana, wrote Kṛtakeṣi on Brahmaśūtra, pp. 264, 281.
- Brahmā, credited with a huge work on dharma, artha and kṛma in the Mahābhārata, pp. 123, 137; and also according to Kāmasūtra, p. 124; seven sons of, p. 223.
- Brāhma, form of marriage, distinguished from Prājāpatya, p. 349.
- Brahmacārin, duties of, p. 6; four kinds of, p. 105; duration of period of order of, p. 189.
- Brahmagupta, p. 320.
- Brāhmaṇa, succession to wealth of childless, p. 231; never to be awarded corporal punishment, p. 234.
- Brāhmaṇa, avocations allowed to a, p. 17; whether could marry a girl of any one of the four castes, pp. 69, 96, 114, 148, 180, 203; of certain localities not honoured, p. 109; virtues of, p. 108; privileges of, p. 111; prāyaścitta for killing, pp. 111, 130; not to dwell in kingdom of śūdra, p. 151; power of, p. 152.
- Brahmānanda-bhārati, p. 261.
- Brahmanandin, p. 264.
- Brāhmaṇasārvasva, a work of Hala-yudha, pp. 218-222, 408a.
- Brahmāṇḍaparāṇa, p. 340.
- Brahmapurāṇa, p. 69.
- Brahmasiddhānta, p. 341n.
- Brahmasūtra, p. 132; Śaṅkara's bhāṣya on, pp. 43, 184.
- Brahmayajña, p. 72a.
- Bṛhad-Aṅgīra, p. 223.
- Bṛhad-devatā, pp. 161, 153.

- bhad-Kṛṣṇakopaniṣad, pp. 43, 45, 82, 168, 177, 191.  
 Brhad-Gārgya, p. 119.  
 Brhad-Rājamañṭara, p. 278.  
 Brhad-Vasiṣṭha, p. 60.  
 Brhad-Viṣṇu, p. 69.  
 Brhad-Vyāsa, p. 238.  
 Brhad-Yājñavalkya, work of, p. 188.  
 Brhad-Yama, pp. 232, 235.  
 Brhad-Yogiyñjñavalkya, p. 190.  
 Brhan-Mama, pp. 150, 158.  
 Brhan-Nārada, p. 206.  
 Brhaspati, on Arthasāstra, pp. 123-126; on dharmaśāstra, views of, quoted by Kautilya, p. 124.  
 Brhaspati-smṛti, pp. 207-213; and Nārada-smṛti; p. 209; contents of, p. 208; date of, p. 210; differences of, with Manusmṛti, p. 209; explains and illustrates Mānu, pp. 207-8; first to distinguish between civil and criminal justice, p. 208; on Ācāra and Śrāddha, pp. 211-212.  
 Brhat-kathā, p. 88.  
 Brhat-Kātyāyana, p. 218.  
 Brhat-Parāśara, pp. 135, 195-196.  
 Brhat-Pracetas, p. 229.  
 Brhat-Saṁvarta, p. 244.  
 Brhat-Śāstāpa, p. 129.  
 Bride, tests for selecting, mentioned in sūtras, p. 139.  
 Brother, full, and half-brother reunited, p. 394.  
     others, include sisters for inheritance, according to Nandapaṇḍita, p. 427.  
 Brother's son, includes grandson for inheritance, according to Nandapaṇḍita, p. 427.  
 Buddhist, inviting of, at dinner in honour of gods or mānes, prohibited, p. 427; sight of, an evil omen, p. 187.  
 Bodha, dharmasūtra of, p. 123.  
 Buhler, Dr., pp. 17, 26, 34, 143, 151, 204, 269, 351, 392; criticized, pp. 8, 16, 19, 28, 29, 31, 51-53, 56, 80-83, 97-98, 152, 153, 155, 270-271, 272, 313-14.  
 Burma, governed by Manusmṛti, p. 155.  
 Bunnell, Dr., pp. 20, 349, 377, 412.  
 Buyer, rights of, to recover price paid, p. 251.  
 Cantanya, relations of, with Pratyā-rudradeva, p. 414; pupil of Vāsudeva Śārvalbhaṁsa, pp. 417-418.  
 Cakranārāyaṇī, p. 394a.  
 Caland, Dr., pp. 20, 68, 71, 106, 121, 139, 182.  
 Cāṇakya, of Kalyāṇa, p. 290.  
 Cambridge, History of India, p. 59.  
 Cāṇakya, vide under Kautilya, p. 87; sūtras attributed to, p. 104; mentioned as a writer on Daṇḍana, p. 270.  
 Cāṇḍāli, p. 45; prāyaścitta for touch-ing, p. 117.  
 Candana-dhenupramāṇa, a work of Vācaspati, p. 403.  
 Caṇḍeśvara, pp. 201, 294, 295, 306, 366-372; pedigree of, pp. 350-371; five predecessors of, p. 368.  
 Candraprakāśa, p. 434a.  
 Candrasiddha, great-grandson of Bha-vana of Mithilā, pp. 398-99.  
 Caraka, pp. 65, 103.  
 Caraka-vyāsa, pp. 32, 69, 85, 87, 105; commentary on, pp. 13, 41, 47.  
 Cārṣyana, Dirgha, named by Kau-ṭilya, p. 99.  
 Cārvāka, words of, delude people, p. 224.  
 Castes, mixed, homo of, p. 28; men-tion of, in ancient works, p. 45; seven lowest, p. 232a.

- Caturāṅga, game of, p. 417.
- Caturmūṣya-paddhati, p. 340.
- Caturvārgacintāmaṇi, pp. 180, 181, 188, 212, 218, 354-356, 383.
- Caturvedatātparyasāṅgraha, p. 333.
- Caturvidhiatimāna, pp. 133, 223-225 : commentary of Bhaṭṭoji on, pp. 59, 73a, 196, 205, 209, 224 : subjects treated of in, p. 224; authors quoted by p. 224.
- Caula, p. 238.
- Caṇḍappa, commentator of Āpastam-bhāṣya, p. 32.
- Chakravarti, Rai Bahadur M. M., pp. 258, 301, 302, 316, 319, 325, 362, 372, 393, 399, 402, 415, 416, 419.
- Chalas, are cases in which king took action without complaint, 216.
- Chand, dynasty of Almorā, p. 452.
- Chandab-sūtra, p. 297 : commentary of Haliyudha on, p. 297.
- Chandoga-grhya-bhāṣyakāra, p. 347.
- Chandogśūnika, of Śrīdatta, p. 364.
- Chandogśūnikakodhaka, by Śaṅkara-mīśra, p. 364.
- Chāndogyspariśiṣṭa, p. 328.
- Chāndogyopanishad, pp. 13, 28, 29, 160.
- Children, sale of, among Mlecchas, p. 102.
- Cinas, mentioned by Manu, p. 151 ; silks from, p. 101.
- Clothes, whether impartible, p. 147.
- Coercion, vitiated all transactions, p. 234.
- Colas, p. 348.
- Colebrooke, pp. 322, 461, 466.
- Compromise, period within which could be set aside, pp. 128, 131.
- Conflict, of smṛtis and purāṇas, p. 409.
- Coronation, rites of, p. 295.
- Corporations, of warriors, p. 101.
- Council, of ministers, to consist of 15, according to Brhaspati, p. 124 ; to consist of 7 or 8 according to Manusmṛti, p. 97 ; to consist of 12 according to Mānavas, p. 97.
- Courts, gradation of, for trial of suits, p. 227.
- Cow, prāyascitta for killing, pp. 117, 118, 125, 128, 147.
- Cunningham, General, p. 185.
- Cyavana, p. 112.
- Dahlmans, p. 152.
- Daivajñācintāmaṇi, p. 421a.
- Daivajñāmanohara, p. 421a.
- Dakṣa, and his daughters, p. 152.
- Dakṣa, smṛti of, pp. 225-226.
- Dakṣiṇpārtha, meaning of, pp. 28, 298 : home of mixed castes, p. 28.
- Dakṣiṇi, author of Nṛsiṅha-prasāda, p. 407.
- Dāna-Brhaspati, p. 126.
- Dānadharma-prakriyā, of Bhavadēva, p. 306.
- Dānakumalākara, p. 433.
- Dānakaumadi, p. 414.
- Dāmaratāṅkara, pp. 126, 278, 306, 341, 367, 371.
- Dānasāgara, pp. 238, 339, 368a ; contents of, p. 340 ; work of Anirudha, according to Raghunandana, p. 341.
- Dānavākyāvali, of Caṇḍaśvara, pp. 369, 418a.
- Dāna-Vyāsa, p. 238.
- Dandantī, pp. 81, 88, 111, 179.
- Dandaviveka, of Vardhamāna, p. 404.
- Dandin, pp. 87, 91.
- Darpanārīyaga, grandson of Bhavadēva, p. 398.
- Dāsa, what was bestowed on, by master, still under the master's control, p. 293 ; who could be made to work as, p. 214.
- Daśakarmapaddhati or - dīpikā pp. 302-303.

- Daśakumāracarita**, pp. 87-88.
- Daśādlokī**, same as *Āśaucadāśaka*, p. 291.
- Dāśī**, three varieties of, p. 444.
- Dattaka**, inferior position of, according to *Vasiṣṭha*, p. 58.
- Dattakacandrikā**, p. 428.
- Dattakadidhiti**, part of *Saṁskṛtanustubha*, p. 447.
- Dattakamīmāṁsā**, pp. 32, 47, 108, 195, 280n, 318, 426, 428-430.
- Dattakavidhi**, p. 403.
- Daughter**, excluded from inheritance by son, p. 6; succeeded, if putrikā, according to *Viśvarūpa* and *Śrīkṛṣṇa*, p. 267; unmarried, succeeds in preference to married, p. 285; according to *Dīkṣita* and *Dāyabhūga*, one having sons preferred to barren or widowed ones, p. 323.
- Daughter-in-law**, whether an heir, p. 459.
- Daughter's son**, rights of, pp. 283, 314; postponed to heirs expressly mentioned according to *Bṛhika*, p. 283.
- Dāya**, definition of, pp. 240, 259, 345; *sapratibandha* and *apratibandha*, pp. 266, 290.
- Dāyabhūga**, pp. 188, 218, 253, 282, 322-324; doctrines peculiar to, p. 323; commentary on, by *Raghunandana*, p. 417.
- Dāyatattva**, pp. 76, 283, 307, 322, 362, 417.
- Debt**, threefold, theory of, pp. 5, 6; of deceased man, to be paid by whom, p. 125; five modes of recovering, p. 207.
- Debtor**, refusing to pay though able, punished, p. 235.
- Decision**, rule of, when litigants of different countries, p. 227.
- Delhi**, p. 406.
- Deposits**, should not be appropriated by king, p. 122.
- Dēśa**, extent of, according to *Bṛhaspati*, p. 212.
- Devāditya**, grandfather of *Caṇḍaśvara*, p. 370.
- Devagiri** (modern *Daulatābād*), p. 405.
- Dernalā**, on *prāyaścitta* for contact with *mlecchas*, p. 121.
- Devala**, pp. 120-121.
- Devala**, as a jurist, p. 131.
- Devagṛahṇa**, pp. 290, 343; vide under *Smṛticandrikā*.
- Devārūta**, p. 344.
- Devasvāmīn**, author of digest on *dharma*, pp. 267, 279-281, 344; commented on *Pūrvaṁīmāṁsā*, p. 281.
- Devārājñika**, author of *Smṛtisāra*, p. 374.
- Devaśvara**, p. 369n.
- Devīputra**, approved of by heterodox systems according to *Dānasūgata*, p. 340.
- Dharmapāṭha**, p. 157.
- Dharmasāra**, inscription of, p. 145.
- Dharmasvara**, vide under *Bhojadava*, pp. 275-279; agrees with *Saṁgrahakāra* on many points, p. 241; age of, p. 279; on ownership, p. 240; on son's right, 240; on widow's right to succeed, pp. 241, 275; placed grandmother immediately after mother, pp. 241, 275; and *Dāyabhūga*, p. 276; and *Mitākṣarā*, points of conflict between, pp. 277-278.
- Dharma**, definition of, p. 3; five-fold division of, p. 3; meaning of, in *Rgveda*, p. 1; meaning of, in *Vājasaneyasamhitā*, p. 1; meaning of, in *Atharvaveda*, p. 2; meaning of, in *Āitareyabrāhmaṇa*, p. 2; meaning of, in *Chāndogya-Up.*, p. 2; meaning of, in *Taittirīya-Up.*, p. 2; meaning of, in *Bhagavadgītā*, p. 2; meaning of, according to *Viśvāmitra*, p. 236; sources of, p. 4; three branches of, p. 2; 100000 śloka on, composed by



- Supreme Being, pp. 136-137; word, used in the neuter also, p. 1.
- Dharmabhāṣya, p. 344.
- Dharmādhyakṣa, p. 298.
- Dharmadīpa or -pradīpa, p. 344.
- Dharmaprakāśa, of Saṅkarabhaṭṭa, p. 438.
- Dharmapravṛtti, of Nārāyaṇa, pp. 420-421.
- Dharaṇīdhara, a commentator of Manusmṛti, pp. 157, 361.
- Dharmapradīpa, of Bhoja, pp. 289, 424 n.
- Dharmaratna, a digest projected by Jimūtavāhana, p. 319.
- Dharmaśāstra, literature on, falls into three periods, p. 246; referred to by Gautama and Baudhāyana, p. 8; nineteen exponents of, named by Yājñ., p. 179; rule in case of conflict of, with arthasāstra, p. 179; rule in case of conflict of, with usages, p. 203; what is, according to Pitāmaha, p. 226; works on, when first composed, p. 8.
- Dharmaśāstrasaṅgraha, of Bṛhasparman Pāyagunda, p. 461.
- Dharmasindhusūtra or Dharmasindhu of Kāśīnātha, pp. 463-464.
- Dharmaśāstras, concerned with, instruction in dharmas of varṇas and āśramas, p. 3; existed in Patañjali's day, p. 9; some formed part of Kalpa p. 10; some presuppose grhya sūtras, p. 10; which, studied in particular śākhās, p. 11; closely connected with grhya sūtras, p. 11; points of difference between them and other smṛtis, p. 12; of Gautama, 12-20; some formed part of Kalpasūtras, p. 10.
- Dharmatattva, digest of Kamalākara, p. 433.
- Dharmavivṛti, p. 382 n.
- Dhātuvṛtti, of Mādhyama, p. 379.
- Dhavalas, p. 320 n.
- Dhigrahas, sales of hides was means of livelihood of, p. 115.
- Dhīrasimha, son of Darpanārāyaṇa, p. 399.
- Dhūṇḍhapaddhati, p. 418 n.
- Dhūrtasvāmin, p. 344.
- Dikṣita, a predecessor of Jimūta-vāhana, pp. 287, 321, 323.
- Dinakara, alias Dirākara, elder brother of Kamalākara, p. 432.
- Dīnāra, also called Savarṇa, pp. 205, 209; mentioned by Nārada, p. 203; meaning of, p. 205; defined by Bṛhaspati, p. 209.
- Dipakalikā, com. of Śālapāṇi on Yājñavalkya, pp. 393-94, 418 n.
- Dipikāvivaraṇa, of Nṛsiṃha, p. 409.
- Divorce, not permitted by Dharmaśāstra, p. 96, permitted by Kauṭilya in certain circumstances, n. 96.
- Divyānugbānapaddhati, of Nārāyaṇa, p. 420.
- Documents, p. 150; referred to by Vasistha and Gautama, p. 59; of various kinds, defined, p. 226; rule of superiority among, p. 227; varieties of, pp. 237, 239; importance of, in transactions, p. 245.
- Drāhyāyanaśrauta, p. 13.
- Draviḍa, an author, called on by Śrīdhara, p. 336.
- Draviḍas, practices of, p. 348.
- Drinking, preyaśeṣa for, p. 130.
- Drinks, twelve kinds of, p. 238.
- Durgābhaktitarāṅgiṇī, pp. 401 n, 418 n.
- Durghajivṛti, p. 352.
- Durgotsavaviveka, pp. 384, 390 n, 395, 394.
- Duryodhana, p. 102.
- Dvādaśavākyaivaraṇa, p. 261.
- Dvādaśyātrātattva, p. 417.

- Dvaitacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati, p. 400.
- Dvaitanirṇaya, pp. 350, 351, 438; of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, p. 247; of Vācaspati, 401-402, 418n.
- Edumīśra, author of Kulakṛikā, p. 324.
- Eka, a writer named by Āpastamba, pp. 39, 116, 132.
- Ekādāśī, 18 varieties of, p. 263.
- Ekāgnidhānapaddhati, p. 365.
- Ēkanātha, finished his Marathi Bhāgavata at Benares, pp. 407, 452-453; ancestor of Anantadeva, p. 451.
- Ekāvali, p. 278.
- Epics, the two Indian, and dharma-śāstra, 158-160
- Eran, inscription, mentions week-day p. 69.
- Evidence, oral, when in conflict with writing, to be discarded, p. 243.
- Father, could divide wealth among sons, p. 6; power of, over ancestral property, p. 259; preferred to mother as an heir by Aparāśka, p. 330.
- Fleet, Dr., pp. 58, 69, 380.
- Flesh, eating of, pp. 101, 148; of cows, eating of, not condemned by Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha, p. 45; offering of, to manes, effect of, p. 113; of certain birds, allowed, p. 232.
- Food, of astrologers and bellmakers, forbidden, p. 122; whose, allowed, p. 116.
- Forchhammer, Dr., p. 157.
- Foulkes, Rev. Thomas, p. 410.
- Führer, Dr., p. 307.
- Gadādhara, bhāṣya of, on Pāraśara, pp. 254, 274.
- Gādhi, story of son of, p. 152.
- Gadya-Viṣṇu, p. 70.
- Gadya-Vyāsa, p. 138.
- Gāgābhāṭṭa, pp. 437, 457.
- Gajapati, dynasty of Orissa, pp. 410, 413
- Gambling, condemned by Manu but allowed by others, pp. 147, 180, 202; evil effects of, known to Rgveda, p. 153.
- Gaṇapati Śāstri, Pandit, pp. 86, 252.
- Gaṇeśa, appellations of, mentioned by Bauddhāyana, p. 31; worship of, according to Hārta, p. 73.
- Gaṇeśamīśra, pp. 363, 365.
- Gaṇeśvaramīśra, author of Sugatīśopāna, pp. 365, 370, 374, 400.
- Gaṇgākṛtyaviveka, of Vardhamāna, p. 404.
- Gaṇḍavākyāvali, pp. 278, 478a.
- Gāṅgeya, p. 382.
- Garga, pp. 119, 361, 422; on astronomy, pp. 329, 341.
- Gārgya, p. 215.
- Gārgya, writer on dharma, p. 119; writer on astronomy, p. 119.
- Garuḍapurāṇa, p. 162; borrows from Yājñavalkyaśmṛti, pp. 173-75; borrows from Nāradaśmṛti, p. 173.
- Gāthās, Nāradaśāstī, p. 179.
- Gauḍapāda, pp. 256, 262.
- Gaurasīras, on politics, named by Mahābhārata, p. 100.
- Gauripati, author of com. on Ācārādarśa, p. 364.
- Gautama, a subdivision of the Rāṅgīya-nīya school of Sāmaveda, p. 13; a generic name, p. 13; referred to in Bauddhāyanadharmasūtra p. 17; referred to by Manu and Yājñavalkya p. 13; and Vasiṣṭha, pp. 55, 132.
- Gautamadharmasūtra, pp. 12-20, 132, 160, 208; studied by Sāmavedins, p. 11; probably oldest among extant dharmasūtras p. 13; closely connected with Sāmaveda, p. 13; commented upon by Haradatta, and Maskarin

- and probably by Asahāya, p. 13; commentary *Mitākṣarā* on, by Haradatta, p. 347; contents of, pp. 14-15; language of, p. 15; literature known to, p. 16; many sūtras of, correspond to Bauddhāyana's, p. 18; view of, quoted by Vasiṣṭha, p. 18; many sūtras of, identical with Vasiṣṭha's, p. 18; age of, between 600-400 B. C., pp. 18-19.
- Gayāśrāddhapaddhati, pp. 403, 417.
- Gharpure, Mr. J. R., pp. 268, 385, 438, 457.
- Ghose, author of *Hindu Law*, pp. 324, 349, 362, 393, 404.
- Ghosh, Mr., Panchanan, p. 325.
- Ghoṣakamukha, p. 99.
- Gifts, nine things that could not be subjects of, p. 225n; necessity of writing for completing, p. 231.
- Goa, capital of Kōṅkana, p. 380.
- Gobhiliṅgīya, p. 185; studied by Śāma-vedins, p. 11; names Gautama as an authority, p. 13; and *Karmapradīpa*, pp. 218-220.
- Gocarna, a measure of area, equal to ten *nivartana*s, p. 212.
- Goldstücker, pp. 10n, 168.
- Gopāla, pp. 294-295, 364, 369n; author of *Kāmadhenu*, p. 294.
- Gotrapravaradarpaṇa, p. 433.
- Gotrapravarānirṇaya of Jivadeva, p. 452.
- Govindabhājta, p. 418n.
- Govindacandra, king of Kanoj, pp. 316, 317.
- Govinda Das, Mr., pp. 385, 457, 461.
- Govindamānasollāsa, p. 418n.
- Govindānanda, pp. 303, 320, 339, 365, 414-415; quotes *Rājamārtanda* of Bhoja more frequently than any other work, p. 277n.
- Govindarāja, pp. 3, 130, 222, 276, 309-315; later than *Medhātithi*, p. 275; placed daughter's son before married daughter, p. 314; wrote *Smṛtimañjarī*, p. 310.
- Govindasvāmin, commentator of Bauddhāyana, pp. 17, 21, 23, 32, 60.
- Govindopādhyāya, p. 355n.
- Grahaśānti, in Yāj. p. 176.
- Graheśvaramiśra, p. 369n.
- Grāmakūṭas, p. 122.
- Grandmother, rights of succession of, p. 258.
- Grants, of land, verses in, p. 150; by kings, verses about, p. 237.
- Gṛhastha, duties of, p. 120n; two kinds of, p. 120.
- Gṛhastharatnākara, pp. 212n, 232, 259, 364-367, 418n.
- Gṛhyasūtras, subjects of, p. 11; some refer to *dharmaśāstras*, p. 12.
- Guest, cow or bull, offered to, p. 7.
- Guilds, wealth of, does not go to king, p. 122.
- Gurumata, p. 304.
- Guruvāṇī, kṛtya, pp. 262, 377.
- Haiḥaya, p. 102.
- Halayudha, pp. 307, 296-301, 369, 369n; author of *Abhidhātadaratnamālā*, pp. 297-298; author of *Brāhmayasasvasa*, pp. 298-300; author of commentary on *Śrāddha-kalpasūtra* of Kātyāyana, p. 301; the jurist, pp. 296-297.
- Halhed, compiler of *Gentoo Code*, p. 465.
- Haradatta, pp. 3, 6n, 14, 15, 16, 38, 42, 44, 59, 105, 114, 194, 208n, 347-353; commentator of Gautama, p. 19; commentator of *Āpastamba*, p. 44; commentator of *Dharmaśāstra*, whether identical with author of *Padamañjarī*, pp. 351-352; was a southerner, p. 348; whether identical with Rudradatta, p. 349.

- Haradattakośhya, cited in Sarvadarśanasamgraha, p. 353.
- Hāralatā, pp. 130, 248, 276, 277, 314; contents of, pp. 337-338; com. called Sandarbhasūtikā on, p. 329.
- Haraprasad Śāstri, M. M., pp. 277, 291, 317, 342, 393, 402, 419, 420, 437, 456.
- Hara(i)śimhadēva, king of Mithilā, pp. 370-371.
- Harasimhadēva, son of Bhavēsa, pp. 398, 402, 404.
- Haribhakti, p. 418a.
- Haridikṣita, guru of Nāgoji, p. 454.
- Harihara, pp. 290-291, 341-343; bhāṣya-kāra of Pāraskaragṛhya, pp. 291, 342.
- Harihara, king of Vijayanagara, p. 377.
- Hariharaḥṭṭācārya, father of Raṅgunādana, pp. 343, 417.
- Hariharaśācārya, author of Samayapradīpa, p. 343.
- Hariharaḥṭṭācārya, p. 401a.
- Hariharaśrīrāmāyana, p. 353.
- Hariṣiṅga, of Vopadeva, p. 358; com. on, called Viveka, p. 358.
- Hariśiṅga, 313, 372-374, 418a.
- Hārita. definition of dharma given by, p. 3; dharmasūtra of pp. 70-75, bhāṣyakāra of, p. 71; belonged to Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, p. 71; contents of, pp. 71-72; mentioned by Kumārila, p. 71; peculiar doctrines of, p. 73; named by Āpastamba, pp. 39, 132; named by Baudhāyana, pp. 25, 29, 132; named by Vasīṣṭha, pp. 39, 54, 132; the jurist, pp. 244-246.
- Harivaṁśa, reading of, as a penance for infanticide, p. 123.
- Harivaṁśa, an author on dharmasāstra, p. 320a.
- Harivaṁśavarman, prince of Māhendra family and patron of Nandapaṇḍita, p. 425.
- Harivaṁśavilāsa, of Nandapaṇḍita, p. 431.
- Harivaṁśadeva, a king, p. 304.
- Harṣacarita, p. 161.
- Hasinibhittā, a village in Bengal, p. 304.
- Heirless property, inheritance to, p. 122.
- Hella, twentyone, in Viṣṇu and Yājñavalkya, p. 67.
- Hemādri, pp. 71, 123, 129, 138, 196, 199, 212, 259, 280, 294, 354-359; and his relations with Yādava king, pp. 356-57; works of, p. 358.
- Heretics, guilds of, spoken of by Manusmṛti, p. 143.
- Hillebrandt, p. 89.
- Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra, pp. 46-50; borrowed from Āpastamba-dharmasūtra, p. 46; commentary of Mahādeva on, p. 47-48.
- Hiranyakeśigṛhyasūtra, p. 20a; commented on by Mātṛdatta, p. 46.
- Holidays (for schools), p. 158.
- Holtzmann, p. 159.
- Hopkins, pp. 143, 152, 153, 154.
- Horses, breeds of, p. 102.
- Householder, four varieties of, p. 105 two varieties of, p. 120.
- Hultsch, Dr., 20, 23.
- Illegitimate, son, of śūdra, p. 260.
- Images, of Śiva, Śaṅkara, Viṣṇu, p. 103.
- Impartible, what things are, pp. 147, 210; yogaśāstra is, p. 236; fields, in what way, 251.
- Impotent persons, 14 kinds of, p. 202.
- Impurity, on birth, period of, p. 112.
- India, in close touch with Egypt, Greece and Syria in 4th and 3rd centuries B. C., p. 185.
- Indra and pātis, p. 7.

- Inheritance, divergent views as to, p. 427; rights of uterine brother, p. 427.
- Interest, rates of, according to castes p. 125; rule about rate of, according to Vasiṣṭha, pp. 58, 200; four varieties of, p. 297; not allowed in some cases, if not stipulated, p. 243.
- Idāna, brother of Halāyudha, p. 298; author of *Dvijābhnikapaddhati*, p. 299.
- Itihāsa, mentioned by Manu, pp. 143 152; mentioned by Yāj. p. 179.
- Jacobi, Dr., pp. 86, 89, 104, 159; criticized, pp. 90, 185.
- Jagannāthapaddita, pp. 454, 455.
- Jagannātha Tarkapañcāna, pp. 465-466.
- Jaimini, pp. 3, 7, 9, 30, 41, 85; author of *Smṛtimsūtra*, p. 329; denies independent authority of *Kalpasūtras*, p. 85.
- Jalpa and vyavahāra, p. 295.
- Jāmadagnya, p. 103.
- Janamejaya, pp. 102, 110.
- Jātivaka, p. 407n.
- Jātūkarṣya, pp. 119-120; certain texts of, not authoritative according to Bhojadeva, Viśvarūpa and Govindarāja, p. 276.
- Jayā, queen of Bhairava, patroness of Vācaspati, pp. 404-405.
- Jayantasvāmīn, criticized by Haribara, p. 343.
- Jayapātra, defined by Kātyāyana, p. 217.
- Jayasārma, p. 400.
- Jayasinhha, successor of Bhoja, p. 279.
- Jayasinhha-kalpadruma, p. 277.
- Jayasval, Mr., 104, 151, 187, 203, 205, 363, 370, 372, 420.
- Jayasena, opponent of Nala, p. 133.
- Jayatunga, p. 421n.
- Jha, Dr. Gangamath, p. 268.
- Jikana, quoted by Kulluka, pp. 362, 369n; and Śūlapāni, p. 391n.
- Jīmūtavāhana, pp. 123, 129, 204, 258, 278, 281; and Aparārka, pp. 330.
- Jīmūtavāhana, of the Vidyādhara race and progenitor of Śāliśāras, pp. 328, 333.
- Jitendriya, pp. 188, 281-283, 323.
- Jivadeva, brother of Anantadeva, p. 452.
- Jivatpitṛkanirṇaya, p. 335.
- Jolly, Dr., pp. 23, 57, 60, 61, 71, 74, 86, 89, 94, 100, 121, 150, 196, 200, 204, 207, 247, 310, 317, 333, 418; criticized, pp. 100, 103, 182-4, 185, 187, 205, 206, 210, 250, 257, 269, 313-314, 325, 330, 353.
- Jones, Sir William, pp. 360, 465.
- Jonker, Dr., p. 157.
- Judicial, procedure, p. 150.
- Justice, civil and criminal, clearly distinguished by Bṛhaspati, p. 208; eight aṅgas of hall of, p. 227.
- Jyotiḥ-Parīkṣara, p. 146.
- Jyotiḥ-Bṛhaspati, p. 212.
- Jyotiḥ-Gārgya, p. 119.
- Jyotiḥ-Nārada, p. 206.
- Jyotistattva, p. 278.
- Kādambari, p. 204.
- Kaivalyadīpikā, a com. by Hemādri on *Muktīphala*, p. 358.
- Kāladarśa, p. 285, 375, 394, 418n.
- Kālakauṇḍī, 394n, 418n.
- Kālamādhava, same as Kālanirṇaya of Madhava; com. on, by Nārāyaṇa, p. 420.
- Kālanirṇaya of Mādāhvācārya, pp. 375-76, 418n.
- Kālanirṇaya-dīpikā, com. on Kālanirṇaya, p. 381.
- Kālanirṇaya-siddhānta-vyākhyā, p. 363.
- Kakvali, p. 341n.

- Kālavidhāna, p. 424n.
- Kālaviveka, pp. 123, 236, 277, 281, 319-320, 418n.
- Kali, no sin is, due to mere contact of sinners, p. 294; things forbidden in, p. 449.
- Kālikāpurāṇa, pp. 163, 363, 448.
- Kalpalatā, p. 336.
- Kalpasūtras and Jaimini, p. 85.
- Kalpataru, pp. 77, 123, 338, 389, 296, 315-318, 336, 369.
- Kalyāṇa, capital of Vikramārka Cāṇakya, pp. 288, 290.
- Kalyāṇabhāṣya, revised Asabhāya-bhāṣya, pp. 196, 247.
- Kāmadhenu, pp. 293-296, 369; composed by Bhoja according to Haraprasad Śāstri, p. 277 and according to Jayasval, p. 296; composed really by Gopala, pp. 296-298; composed by Sambhu, according to Aufrecht, p. 295.
- Kamalākara, pp. 91, 270, 276, 293, 325, 432-437.
- Kāmandaka, age of, p. 91; named by Mahābhārata, p. 100.
- Kāmandakiyanūtiśāra, pp. 81, 82, 87.
- Kāmarūpiyanibandha, p. 418n.
- Kāmasūtra, p. 100; and Kautīliya, pp. 100-101; mentions tradition about works on dharma and artha, pp. 124.
- Kāmbhoja, pp. 101-102.
- Kamboja, mentioned by Manu, p. 151.
- Kāpika-Bhāradvāja, p. 92.
- Kaṇva, author, named by Āpastamba, p. 39.
- Kāṇva, 116-117.
- Kāṇva-Bodhāyana, p. 21.
- Kāpālika, pp. 67, 115.
- Kapilendra, founder of Gaṇapati dynasty, p. 411.
- Karka, pp. 301, 342, 364, 401n.
- Karmānusthānapaddhati, pp. 302-303; com. on, p. 306.
- Karmapradīpa, attributed to Kātyāyana, pp. 218-220, 372, 401n; contents of, p. 219.
- Karmavipāka, meaning of, p. 383.
- Karmavipāka of Śāstapā, p. 129.
- Karmavipākaraṇa, p. 433.
- Karmopadeśini, of Aniruddha, pp. 305, 317, 337, 418n.
- Kāraṇa, dynasty of Mithilā, p. 370.
- Kāśikā, commentary on Pāṇini, p. 351.
- Kāśinātha, pp. 380, 451, 463-465.
- Kāśībā, capital of Tāka kings, p. 386.
- Kāyapa, pp. 25, 117-118, 422; quoted by Baudhāyana, pp. 117, 132.
- Kāṭkanagarī, capital of Orissa, p. 441.
- Kāthakagṛhya, pp. 57, 60, 68; and Viśvadharmasūtra, p. 68.
- Kāthopaniṣad, p. 13.
- Kāṭyakalpa, p. 364.
- Kātya, pp. 25, 132, 213.
- Kātyāyana, p. 213-221; quotes Brhaspati as authority, pp. 210, 214; mentioned as author of śrāddhakalpa and śrautasūtra, p. 213; expounds Nārada, p. 213; expounds in detail law of strīdhana, p. 213; and Bhṛgu, p. 214-215; and Manusmṛti, p. 215; date of, pp. 217-18; sūtra of, quoted by Medhātithi, pp. 217-18; author of Karmapradīpa, pp. 218-220; whether Kātyāyana the jurist is identical with author of Karmapradīpa, pp. 220-221.
- Kātyāyana, p. 117; named by Kautīliya, p. 99.
- Kātyāyana, author of vṛttikas, p. 169; śrāddhakalpa of, pp. 182, 301.
- Kātyāyanāśrautasūtra, commented on by Bhartṛyaṅga, p. 252.
- Kaṇvapadanta, named by Kautīliya, pp. 99, 100.

- Kaṇṭika, mentioned by Kātyāyana, p. 216.
- Kauṭilya, p. 293.
- Kauṭilya, pp. 16, 20; cited as authority in the work itself, pp. 89-90; derivation of, p. 90; proper form of name, pp. 90-91.
- Kauṭilya, age of, pp. 99, 104; agreement of, with Kāmasūtra, pp. 100-101; agreement of, with Manusmṛti, p. 140 and Yājñavalkya, pp. 94-95; and Mahābhārata, pp. 102-103; and Nārada, pp. 201-202; authenticity of, p. 89; authors named by, p. 99; commentaries on, p. 104; contents of, pp. 93-94; form of, p. 91; judicial administration in, pp. 95-96; knowledge of drugs in, p. 103; literature known to, p. 100; oldest extant work on arthaśāstra, p. 86; points of difference from Manu in, pp. 95-96; style of, pp. 92-93.
- Kautsa, named by Āpastamba, pp. 39, 116.
- Kavikāntasarasvatī, p. 418n.
- Kavirahasya, p. 297.
- Kāvya, vide under Uśanas; abridged work on dharma, artha and kama composed by Brahṃś, pp. 110-111.
- Kāvyamīmāṃsā, of Rājasekhara, p. 139.
- Kāya, means prajāpatya form of marriage, p. 176.
- Kāyasthadharmadīpa, of Gṛgābhaṭṭa, p. 457.
- Kedāra, p. 326.
- Keith, Prof., pp. 89, 101, 106, 205; criticized, pp. 90, 91, 100, 101.
- Kennedy, M. T., p. 418a.
- Kesavadāsa, author of Virasīhadeva-carita, p. 445.
- Kesavaśarma, author of Smṛtisūtra, p. 374.
- Kesava-vaiśyaṇṭi, of Nandapaṇḍita, com. on Viśvadharmasūtra, p. 425.
- Kesavanāyaka, patron of Nandapaṇḍita, p. 425.
- Khaṇḍadāya, p. 457.
- Khilaa, mentioned by Manusmṛti, p. 143.
- Kielhorn, Dr., p. 455.
- King, eight activities of, p. 111; had to restore stolen property from his treasury if the thief not found, p. 125; high prerogative of even a weak, p. 203; took action without a complaint, in cases of cāulas and of aparādhas, pp. 226, 243; to look into disputes of people, p. 234.
- Kiṣkalka, an author, p. 99.
- Knauer, Dr., p. 139.
- Konkan, king Aparāditya of, sent embassy to Kashmir, 333; capital of, p. 380.
- Kramapāṭha, p. 253.
- Kriyā, meaning of, p. 321.
- Kriyāśāstra, a work on astronomy p. 329.
- Kriyāśakti, teacher of Mādhava-maṇḍin, p. 381.
- Kṛṣṇa, Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, p. 298.
- Kṛṣṇa, author of Śrāddhakāśikā, p. 301.
- Kṛṣṇabhakticandrikā, a drama of Anantadeva, p. 450.
- Kṛtyacintāmaṇi, p. 263, 367, 400, 418n.
- Kṛtyakalpataru, vide Kalpataru, pp. 57, 315.
- Kṛtya-kaumudī, p. 418a.
- Kṛtya-mahārṇava of Vācaspati, p. 403.
- Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 365, 366.
- Kṛtya-samuccaya, p. 369n.
- Ṭṛtyatattvārṇava, p. 418n.
- Kṣatriyas, frenis of, in Kauṭilya, p. 101.
- Ksemendra, p. 88.
- Kṣirasāmin, pp. 197, 269.
- Kubera, p. 132.



- Kakura**, p. 101.
- Kalakārikā**, of *Edumāra*, p. 324.
- Kalāṅṇava**, p. 401 n.
- Kalluka**, pp. 3, 18, 72, 111n, 115, 146, 189, 212, 214, 273, 313, 359-363; criticizes *Govindarāja*, 311; *Śāṅkhaśāstra* is a work of, pp. 361-362; mentioned in *Rājanītiratnākara*, 369.
- Kamāra**, p. 372.
- Kumārila**, pp. 26, 82, 85, 145, 161, 303; called *Tautātita*, 303.
- Kuṇḍabhaṅkara**, of *Śāṅkara*, p. 440.
- Kuṇḍika**, pp. 39, 116, 132.
- Kūrma-purāṇa**, extent of, p. 162.
- Kuru-Pañcāla**, p. 101.
- Kushana**, gold coins of, 187; chronology of, p. 187.
- Kuṭala**, a gotra, p. 91.
- Kutsa**, p. 39.
- Laohimādevī**, queen of *Candrasūriha*, p. 398.
- Laghu-Hārīta**, p. 74.
- Laghu-Nārada**, p. 206.
- Laghu-Śāṅkha**, p. 76.
- Laghu-Viṣṇu**, p. 69.
- Laghu-Vyāsa**, p. 238.
- Laghu-Yama**, p. 235.
- Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa**, younger brother of *Kamalākarabhaṭṭa*, p. 432.
- Lakṣmaṇasena**, king of Bengal pp. 298-300; finished the *Adbhutaśāstra*, p. 300; date of, p. 300; era of, p. 300.
- Lakṣmaṇopādhyāya**, p. 301.
- Lakṣaṇa-prakāśa**, of *Mitrāmīśra*, p. 441.
- Lakṣmī**, com. on *Kālanirṇaya*, p. 381.
- Lakṣmīdevī**, reputed authoress of com. on *Mitākṣarā*, p. 459.
- Lakṣmīdhara**, vide under *Kaṭpatara*, pp. 77, 289, 295, 296, 315-318.
- Lala Sitarām, Mr.**, p. 445.
- Lalita**, p. 424a.
- Lane-poole Mr.**, p. 410n.
- Laṅkāvatārasūtra**, p. 184.
- Lāṭyāyanaśrauta**, p. 13.
- Laugākṣi**, pp. 235-286.
- Licchivika**, p. 101.
- Likhita**, mentioned by *Kātyāyana*, p. 216.
- Likhitasūpti**, p. 76.
- Liṅgapurāṇa**, p. 163.
- Liquors**, twelve kinds of, p. 228.
- Lokāyata**, school of, known to *Kauṭilya*, p. 100.
- Lollaṭa**, pp. 336, 424n; quotes *Madhātithi*, p. 274.
- Madana**, son of *Sahāraṇa*, p. 269.
- Madanapāla**, pp. 331-389.
- Madanapārijāta**, pp. 73a, 76, 135, 221, 308, 340, 381-382.
- Madanaratna**, pp. 389-393.
- Madanavinodanigrahaṇa**, p. 387.
- Mādhavācārya**, pp. 43, 135, 150, 188, 191, 261, 280, 374-381; personal history of, pp. 376-378; distinct from *Mādhavamantrin* connected with Goa, p. 380-381.
- Mādhava-mantrin**, who conquered Goa, pp. 380-381.
- Mādhavasvāmin**, p. 369a.
- Mādhavayajvan**, commentator of *Kauṭilya*, p. 104.
- Mādhaviya Dhātuvṛtti**, pp. 351, 379.
- Madhusūdana-Sarasvatī**, p. 358.
- Madhyama-Aṅgīras**, p. 223.
- Madraka**, p. 101.
- Magadha**, p. 162.
- Magadha**, caste of, p. 163.

- Mahābhārata**, pp. 26, 100, 109, 110, 323 &c.; authors of Daṇḍanīti, named by, pp. 106, 123; dharmasāstra topics in, p. 159; names Brhaspati, pp. 123-124; names Bhāradvāja, p. 127; relation of, to Kauṭīlya, pp. 102-103; relation of, to Manusmṛti, p. 151ff; relation of, to Nārada, p. 201, 206; says Supreme Being promulgated dharma, p. 137; says Brahmā composed work on dharma, artha, kṛmā, p. 137; styled dharmasāstra, p. 158.
- Mahābhāṣya**, pp. 103, 148, 160, 168.
- Mahādānaniroḥa** of Vāsepati, pp. 402, 418a.
- Mahādeva**, Yādava king of Devagiri, p. 356.
- Mahādeva**, commentary of, on Hiranyakeśin, pp. 49-50; relation of, to Haradatta, pp. 49-50.
- Mahāpātakas**, pp. 130, 235.
- Mahārṇava**, of Mādhvācārya, pp. 382-383.
- Mahārṇava**, pp. 44, 47, 308, 343.
- Mahārṇavaprakāśa**, p. 308; same as Mahārṇava, p. 308.
- Mahāsāntapana**, penance, p. 68.
- Mahā-Vyāsa**, p. 238.
- Māheśvara**, p. 421a.
- Maidens**, brotherless, found marriage difficult in Vedic times, p. 5.
- Mailgi-karmavipākā**, p. 407a.
- Maitrāyaṇīyasamhitā**, pp. 5, 51.
- Makkhalī Gostā**, p. 162.
- Mallaka**, p. 101.
- Man**, master in his own house, p. 203.
- Mānasollāsa-vṛttānta-vilāsa**, p. 261.
- Mānavadharmasūtra**, pp. 55-56, 79-85; and Vasīṣṭha, pp. 55-56.
- Mānavagṛhya**, pp. 73a, 82, 139, 180; doctrines of, opposed to Manusmṛti, p. 139; borrowed by Yājñ. smṛti on Vināyaka, pp. 180-181.
- Mānavam**, meaning of, p. 55.
- Mānavas**, meaning of, pp. 81-82; views of, about vidyā, pp. 81, 97; and Kauṭīlya, p. 97; and Kātyāyana pp. 215-216.
- Mānava School**, subdivision of Maitrāyaṇīyas, p. 85; not found in Viśvarūpa's day, p. 85.
- Mānavasrauta-sūtra**, p. 82.
- Maṇḍala**, constitution of, p. 412.
- Maṇḍanamītra**, p. 263.
- Maṇḍapāla**, and Śāraṅgi, p. 152.
- Māṇḍavya**, story of, pp. 162-163, 208a.
- Māndhātā**, son of Madanapāla, p. 382.
- Mandlik**, Rao Sahib V. N., pp. 268, 309.
- Mañjarikāra**, p. 314.
- Mañka**, p. 333.
- Manoramākucamardana**, p. 456.
- Mann**, as author of floating mass of verses, p. 152; as the founder of the institution of śrāddha, p. 41; Vedic references to, p. 136; divided his wealth among his sons, p. 156; and the deluge, p. 136; Svāyambhuva promulgated dharma, p. 137; and Nārada-smṛti, p. 137; Svāyambhuva and Prācetasā distinguished, p. 139.
- Manusmṛti**, pp. 2, 4, 135-158 &c.; abridged several times, according to Nārada, p. 149; age of, p. 141ff; agreement of, with Kauṭīlya, p. 140; and introduction to Nārada, p. 137; and Brhaspati, pp. 146-147; and Rāmāyana, p. 148; and Viśvarūpa, pp. 144-145; and Yājñavalkya, pp. 150-151; commentators of, p. 157; contents of, pp. 140-143; difference of view between, and Yājñavalkya, p. 180; extent of literature known to, 143ff; four versions of, according to Bhavīyaparaśara, p. 138; influence of, beyond India, pp. 156-157; on number of king's councillors, p. 97; on vidyā, p. 97; opposed to several

- views of Mānavagṛhya, p. 139; relation of, to Mahābhārata, p. 151ff; relation of, to Nārada, pp. 200-203; relation of, to Parāśara, p. 193; relation of, to Vṛddhamana, p. 150; whether a recast of Mānavadharmasūtra, p. 80; whether the first smṛti, p. 144; whether contains earlier and later strata, pp. 148-149; whether underwent several recasts, pp. 149-150.
- Manvarshamuktāvali, by Kullūka, p. 359.
- Marici, smṛti of, p. 230-231.
- Mārkaṇḍeya, pp. 137, 323.
- Marriage, Brāhma form of, pp. 5, 68; Brāhma form of, as distinguished from Prājāpatya, p. 349; Āsura form of, pp. 5, 68; Gāndharva form of, p. 5; forms of, generally eight, pp. 29, 48, 148; forms of, only six, according to Āpastamba, p. 29; forms of only six, according to Vasistha, p. 59; inter-caste, pp. 59, 79; prohibited degrees in, p. 122; with maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter, condemned, pp. 130, 349-350 and allowed, pp. 315, 409; guardians for, p. 170; auspicious nakṣatras for, p. 186; proper age for, in case of girls, p. 233a, 244; with maternal uncle's daughter, p. 244; of person of one Vedic Śākhā, with a girl belonging to another Vedic Śākhā, p. 356.
- Mātrā, duration of, p. 189.
- Māṇḍātaka, commentator of Hiraṇyakeśikā, p. 46.
- Matsyaśāstra, pp. 160, 161, 163, 282, 338; contains much dharmaśāstra material, p. 161.
- Maudgalya, named by Baudhāyana, pp. 25, 135.
- Mauṛya, pp. 88, 103, 151.
- Max Müller, p. 168; criticised, pp. 10, 80.
- Mayūṛvīra, pp. 341a, 422.
- Māyana, the father of Mādhuśāstra, p. 376.
- Medhātithi, pp. 27, 42, 43, 53, 90, 111, 170, 198-199, 278-279, 369a; gives fivefold division of dharma, p. 3; quotes Gautama more frequently than any other smṛtikāra, p. 18; and Nāradaśmṛti, p. 158; quotes Yājñ. on writers of Dharmaśāstra, p. 170a; summarises first section of Nārada, p. 199; quotes the views of Asahāya, p. 249; bhāṣya of, and Madana, p. 269; a southerner according to Jolly, p. 269; and the text of the Manusmṛti, p. 273; and his Smṛti-viveka, pp. 274-275; and Govindarāja, pp. 313-314.
- Megasthenes, p. 84.
- Mekala, p. 102.
- Mīmāṃsāśāstra, p. 438.
- Mīmāṃsāśāstrāyama, p. 451.
- Minor, wealth of, should not be appropriated by king, p. 122.
- Minority, period of, up to sixteenth year, p. 203.
- Misra, pp. 284, 302, 305, 373, 398-399.
- Mitākṣarā, pp. 27, 43, 53, 59, 69, 120, 169, 287-290; place of, in Dharmaśāstra, p. 287; and Viśvarūpa, pp. 169-170, 259-260; and Bhārucci, p. 466; and Smṛticandrikā, pp. 389, 345-346; commentaries on, pp. 290, 456; and Jīmūtavāhana, p. 325; and Aparārka, pp. 330-332; and Nandapāṇḍita, p. 427; and Vyavahāramayūkha, p. 439; and Viramitrodaya, p. 442.
- Mitākṣarā, commentary on Gautama-dharmaśāstra, p. 347.
- Mithilā, valuable contribution of, to dharmaśāstra, p. 363; Kārṇāṭa dynasty of, p. 404; Kāmeśvara dynasty of, p. 404a.
- Mitra, Dr. Rajendralal, p. 411a.
- Mitramiśra, pp. 238, 440-446.

Mixed castes, pp. 45, 111, 115.

Mixed marriages, offspring of, pp. 79, 112.

Mlecchaa, p. 67; language of, not to be learnt, according to Vasistha, p. 54 and according to Bhāradvāja, p. 136; sale of children among, p. 102; mean pulindas and śijikas, p. 256; countries of, not fit for performing sacrifices, p. 311.

Mokṣa, results from combination of jñāna and karma, according to Yoga-Yājñavalkya, p. 189 and according to Govindarāja, p. 256; from correct knowledge alone, pp. 256, 329.

Monasteries of Brāhmanas, p. 187.

Monopolies, of kings, p. 269.

Moropant, Marathi poet, p. 464.

Mortgage, by conditional sale, p. 131; necessity of writing for, p. 231.

Mother, as heir, whether preferred to father, pp. 345, 435, 444.

Mourning, on death of unmarried daughter, p. 281.

Mṛcchakaṭika, pp. 88, 203; refers to Manusmṛti, p. 145.

Mṛtasāñjivani, pp. 297-298.

Mudrārākṣasa, pp. 86, 111.

Muhūrtas, fifteen, of the day, p. 382.

Muhūrtavidhānasūtra, p. 378.

Mukerji, Sir Asutosh, pp. 318, 321.

Muktāphala, a work of Vopadeva, p. 358.

Muñja, pp. 279, 298; also called Vāk-patirāja, p. 298.

Murārirāja, p. 369a.

Nagānanda, a drama, p. 333.

Nāgojibhaṭṭa, pp. 453-456.

Nabha, p. 152.

Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, p. 261.

Nakṣatras, arranged from Kṛttikā in Yaj., p. 186; divided into auspicious and inauspicious from days of Tai. Br., p. 186; auspicious for marriage, p. 186.

Nakṣatras, consulting of, p. 101.

Nala, pp. 102-103.

Nāraka, p. 187; mentioned by Yaj., p. 187; mentioned by Mṛcchakaṭika, p. 203; mentioned by Bṛhaspati, p. 209; punishment for counterfeiting, p. 187.

Nandana, a commentator of Manu, p. 157.

Nandapaṇḍita, pp. 194, 281, 296, 302, 423-432; author of Vaijayanī, p. 70; author of Dattakamīnīśā, p. 196; author of eom. on Śaśāṭi, p. 335; authority of, superior to Bālabhaṭṭa in Benares school, p. 458.

Nārada, on politics, p. 204; his rôle in purāṇas, p. 206.

Nārada, pp. 69, 87, 137, 196-207; abridged work of Manu, pp. 137, 149; and Agnipurāṇa, p. 199; and Manusmṛti, pp. 198, 200-202; and Kautilya, pp. 201-202; and Mahābhārata, pp. 201, 205; authenticity of text of, pp. 198-199; commentary of Asabhya on p. 196; contents of smṛti of, p. 197; date of, pp. 202-205; home of, p. 206; literature known to, pp. 200-201; peculiar views of, p. 203; quotations from, on ācāra and śrāddha, pp. 199-200; relation of, to Bāṇa, p. 204; relation of, to Bṛhaspati, p. 209; smṛti of, based on Manu, p. 149; two versions of smṛti of, p. 196.

Nāradyaparāṇa, p. 340.

Nārāśāmi gūthās, p. 179.

Nārāyaṇa, author of Prayogaratna, pp. 350, 419-421.

Nārāyaṇa, of the Naidhravagotra, commented on Z'valāyanagrhya, p. 279; Gārgya, commented on Āvalāyana śrauta, pp. 279, 281.

- Nārāyaṇa, commentator of Manusmṛti, p. 157.
- Nārāyaṇa, worship of, p. 199.
- Nārāyaṇa, author of Vyavahārasiromani, p. 292; differences of, from Viśvāśvara, p. 293.
- Nārāyaṇa, ancestor of Halāyudha and and of the Tagore family, p. 301; one of the five brāhmaṇas brought by Ādiśūra, p. 324.
- Narsimhachar, Rao Bahadur R., p. 378.
- Nāthamuni, p. 364.
- Navadvīpa, p. 418.
- Navakaṇḍikā, of Kātyāyana, p. 391.
- Navarātrapradīpa of Nandapaṇḍita p. 431.
- Navasāhasāṅka, p. 279.
- Navya-Vardhamānopādhyāya, p. 418a.
- Nepal, blankets from, p. 191.
- Nibandhas, pp. 246-247.
- Nibandhanakāra, mentioned by Sarasativāsa, is probably Asahāya, p. 249.
- Nidāna, a kind of work, p. 25.
- Nighaṭṭa, p. 280.
- Nijāmeśha, king of Deccan, p. 407.
- Nīlakaṇṭhabhaṭṭa, pp. 438-440.
- Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla, pupil of Bhaṭṭoji, p. 454.
- Nimantraṇa, meaning of, p. 308a.
- Nimi, p. 152.
- Niravadyavidyodyota, an author mentioned in Dāyabhāga, pp. 323-324.
- Nirgranthas, outside pale of Vedic orthodoxy, p. 271.
- Nirṇayāṁṛta, pp. 277, 418a.
- Nirṇayasindhu, pp. 265, 211, 221, 264, 301, 337, 433, 436-437.
- Nirukta, pp. 5, 8, 16, 17, 23, 38, 63, 100, 136, 191.
- Niśāda, mention of, in ancient works, p. 45; who is a, p. 112.
- Niśka, value of, p. 237.
- Nīticintāmaṇi of Vācaspati, p. 400.
- Nītiprakāśikā of Janamejaya, p. 110.
- Nītivākyāṁṛta, pp. 124, 107; com. on, p. 207.
- Nityācārapradīpa, pp. 115, 252.
- Niyama, p. 253.
- Niyoga, approved of by sūtrakāras except Āpastamba, pp. 29, 45, 58, 69; allowed and condemned by Manu, pp. 30, 95, 148, 150; allowed by Kauṭilya, p. 95; allowed only to śūdras by Vṛddha-manu, p. 150; allowed by Yājñ., p. 180; allowed by Nārada, p. 202; not allowed in Kali age, p. 249; views of Viśvarūpa and Mitākṣarā on, p. 260; views of Bhāruci on, p. 266.
- Nivartana, a measure of area, p. 212.
- Non-Aryan tribes, mentioned by Atri, pp. 107-108.
- Nṛsiṅha, author of Prayogapārijāta; p. 350.
- Nṛsiṅha, son of Rāmacandraśastrya; wrote vivaraṇa on Kṣānirṇaya-dīpikā, p. 381, 409.
- Nṛsiṅhaprasāda, pp. 406-410; divided into śāstras, p. 406.
- Nyāya, means mīmāṃsā doctrines pp. 42, 255.
- Nyāyamuktāvali, commentary on Nyāyasāstra, p. 334.
- Nyāyasāstra, of Bhāṣararāja, p. 334.
- Nyāyasūcisandha, pp. 188, 262.
- Oldenberg, Prof. pp. 33, 159.
- Omens, p. 67.
- Oppert, Dr., p. 116.
- Ordeals, pp. 78, 151; not treated of by Manu, pp. 151, 176, 202; five, treated by Yājñ., p. 176; nine, according to Brhaspati, p. 207; nine, according to Pitāmaha, p. 226; seven, described

- by Nārada, p. 202; what, appropriate to which wrongs, pp. 239-240; what ordeals in vogue, in what countries, p. 412.
- Ownership, whether laukika, pp. 240, 277; whether son has by birth, p. 240; sources of, p. 335; none over wife and children, p. 440.
- Padamañjarī, of Haradatta, commentary on Kāśikā, pp. 351-352.
- Padapāṭha, p. 253.
- Padmaparīkṣā, pp. 69, 163.
- Padya-Viṣṇu, p. 70.
- Pahlavās, mentioned in Manu, p. 151.
- Pañjavana, p. 153.
- Pañcīnāsī, pp. 121-122; names 36 smṛtis pp. 133.
- Pāṇyājñapaddhati of Paṇupati, p. 298.
- Pīlakāpya, p. 341n.
- Pāliava, a work mentioned by Rājānīratnākara, p. 369.
- Pañcanada, southern, p. 65.
- Pāñcarātras, pp. 115, 329; outside Vedic orthodoxy, p. 271.
- Pañcatantra, pp. 83, 124.
- Pandharpur, shrine of Vithoba at, pp. 463-464.
- Paṇḍitaparitosa, a work quoted by Hemādri, pp. 268, 314, 355n; criticized Govindarāja, p. 314.
- Paṇḍitassarvasva, of Halādyudha, p. 299, 418n.
- Pāṇkerkar, Mr. L. R., 453n, 464.
- Pāṇini, pp. 44, 54, 172, 191.
- Pañjikātkāramiśra, p. 320n.
- Pāpeya, p. 102.
- Paramānanda, patron of Nandapaṇḍita, p. 424.
- Parāśara, named by Kauṭīliya, p. 99.
- Parāśara-mādhaviya, pp. 70, 128, 191n, 204, 210n, 211, 214n, 261, 375, &c.
- Parāśaras, school of, mentioned by Kauṭīliya, pp. 99, 191.
- Parāśarasmṛti, pp. 75, 92, 118, 190-196; and Manusmṛti, 193-194; and Bauddhāyanadharmasūtra, p. 194; authors and works cited in, pp. 193-194; contains no treatment of vyavahāra, p. 375; contents of, pp. 192-193; date of, p. 195; drawn upon by Garuḍa-purāṇa, p. 191; enumerates 19 smṛtikāras, pp. 131, 191; peculiar views of, pp. 193-194; Vidyamanoharā, com. on, p. 423.
- Parāśava, meaning of, p. 112.
- Parāśikas, touch of, regarded as similar to that of mlecchas, p. 188.
- Parāskaragrhya, pp. 232, 291, 299; and Yājñavalkyasmṛti, p. 182; bhāṣya of Haribara on, p. 291; com. of Gaṇadhara on, p. 274n.
- Parasnis, Rao Bahadur, D. B., p. 433n.
- Parasūramapaṇḍita, father of Mitrāmīśra, p. 444.
- Parents, rights of, according to Śulapāṇi, pp. 393-394; succeed together to their deceased son, according to Śrīkara and Śambhu, pp. 267, 295; succeed before brothers, according to Halādyudha, p. 296.
- Pargiter, p. 88.
- Pārābhadrīya, brāhmaṇas, p. 324.
- Parihal or Pārī Gai, p. 324.
- Pārijāta, a work, pp. 308-309; frequently coupled with Prakāśa, pp. 396, 369, 418n.
- Parīṣad, constitution of, according to Abhiras, p. 222; may comprise 121 brāhmaṇas, p. 231.
- Parisankhyā, p. 253.
- Parīśiṣṭa-dīpakalikā of Śulapāṇi, p. 396.
- Parivṛśjakas, four kinds of, p. 230.
- Partition, allowed to son in ancestral property, even against father's wish p. 237; between brothers, unmarried

- sister's rights in, p. 273; larger share to eldest son on, p. 29; period within which could be set aside, pp. 123, 131; necessity of writing for completing, p. 231; son's right to, according to *Dāyabhāga*, p. 323.
- Paścādikāra**, defined by *Kātyāyana*, p. 217.
- Paśūpataś**, pp. 115, 329; outside Vedic orthodoxy, p. 271.
- Paśupati**, brother of *Halāyudha*, pp. 298, 301, 418n.
- Paṭaliputra**, p. 350.
- Patañjali**, pp. 9, 160.
- Patni**, who is, p. 117.
- Paulkasa**, a mixed caste, p. 45.
- Peterson, Dr.**, p. 315.
- Pīṅgala**, p. 297.
- Pīṣuna**, named by *Kauṭīlyā*, pp. 99, 100; identified with *Nārada*, p. 206.
- Pīṣunaputra**, named by *Kauṭīlyā*, p. 99.
- Pitāmaha**, smṛti of, pp. 225-227; speaks of nine ordeals, p. 228.
- Pitṛbhakti**, a work of *Śrīdatta*, pp. 277, 295, 364, 401n, 418n.
- Pitṛbhaktitarāṅgiṇī** or *Śrāddhakalpa* of *Vācaspati*, pp. 399, 418n.
- Pitṛdayitā** alias *Karmopadeśinīpad-dhati*, pp. 337, 418n; contents of, p. 338.
- Pitṛhitākarapīkṣā**, p. 364.
- Plaint**, characteristics of, pp. 239, 245.
- Planets**, seven, mentioned by *Baudhāyana*, p. 31; arrangement of, whether borrowed and from whom, pp. 185, 186.
- Pledge**, divided into four varieties, p. 128.
- Pogson**, author of *History of the Boon-delas*, p. 445n.
- Politics**, teachers of, p. 110-111.
- Poor**, the, entitled to a share of state wealth, pp. 258, 295.
- Possession**, as opposed to title, p. 245; adverse, for twenty years, conferred ownership according to *Bhavadēva*, p. 305; five characteristics of juridical, p. 237; entitled to protection, pp. 237, 237; how many years', constituting title, pp. 237, 284, 286, 305, 306; when protected, pp. 243, 245.
- Prabhākara**, p. 304.
- Prācetasā**, *Manu*, pp. 97, 139, 154; on *rājadharmā*, p. 154; smṛti of, p. 229.
- Pradīpa**, pp. 334-335, 401n; criticized *Bhavadēva*, p. 305.
- Prajapati**, named by *Baudhāyana*, pp. 25, 132, 229; named by *Vasiṣṭha*, pp. 55, 132, 229; smṛti of, pp. 229-230.
- Prakāśa**, pp. 251, 274, 306-308, 369.
- Prakāśa**, commentary on *śrāddhakalpa* of *Kātyāyana*, p. 301.
- Prakṛti**, eighteen, according to *Pitāmaha*, p. 227.
- Pramitākṣarā**, com. on *Mitākṣarā*, p. 423.
- Prapavakalpa**, of *Śaunaka*, p. 358.
- Prapañcāhṛdaya**, pp. 264, 231.
- Prapañcasāra**, mentioned by *Mādhavācārya*, p. 375.
- Pratāpamārtāṇḍa**, a work of *Pratāparudradeva*, p. 414.
- Pratāparudradeva**, king of *Orissa*, pp. 410-414.
- Pratijñā**, a drama, p. 92.
- Pratiloma**, p. 120.
- Pratimānāṣṭaka**, p. 148.
- Pratipadapañcīkṣā**, p. 104.
- Pratiṣṭhāmayatṛkha**, p. 439.
- Pratiṣṭhāna**, on the *Godāvarī*, p. 419.
- Pratiṣṭhāsāgara**, p. 340.
- Pratitākṣarā**, same as *Pramitākṣarā*, p. 423.



- Pravacanakāra, pp. 20, 27.  
 Pravacanasaṁhita, pp. 27-28.  
 Pravaraḍarpaya, p. 91.  
 Pravaramaṁjarī, p. 91.  
 Prāyaścitta, pp. 221, 222; for Indra, p. 7; for minors and women, less than for men, p. 83a; for killing cow, p. 117; for various acts, p. 118; for cessation of gṛhya fires, p. 127; for mahāpātaka, p. 130; for Brāhmaṇa guilty of mahāpātaka, p. 221; for dvijātī having children from a śūdra wife, p. 224.  
 Prāyaścittamayūkha, pp. 184, 238, 439.  
 Prāyaścittanirūpaṇa of Bhavadēva, pp. 284, 303.  
 Prāyaścitta-ratna, p. 433.  
 Prāyaścitta-sudhānidhi of Śāyana, p. 376.  
 Prāyaścitta-viveka of Śūlapāṇi, pp. 394, 396, 418a.  
 Prāyaścittenduśekhara of Nāgoji, p. 453.  
 Prayogapārijāta, pp. 368, 337, 350; enumerates upasamptis, p. 133.  
 Prayogaratna of Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa, pp. 300, 350, 420.  
 Prayogakāra, p. 418n.  
 Pre-emption, p. 131.  
 Proof, means of, p. 321.  
 Pṛthu, p. 153.  
 Pṛthivīdharmakāra, p. 418n.  
 Pūjāratnākara, p. 367.  
 Palastya, smṛti of, p. 328.  
 Panarbhū, seven kinds of, p. 118; three kinds of, according to Nārada, p. 202.  
 Puṇḍarīka, a tīrtha, is modern Pandharpur, p. 409.  
 Punishment, of death, prescribed for whom, p. 234.  
 Pupīl, as heir to teacher, p. 251.  
 Purāṇa, p. 88; mentioned by Āpastam-badharmasūtra, pp. 37, 160; known to Kauṣṭhīya, p. 103; mentioned by Manusmṛti, p. 143; mentioned by Nārada-smṛti, p. 200.  
 Purāṇa, antiquity of, p. 160; divergence as to extent of, p. 162; divided into three groups, sāvika, rājasa, and tāmasa, p. 163; table of dharmasāstra material in, pp. 164-167; mentioned by Yājñ., p. 179; valuable information about, in Dāna-sūtra, p. 340.  
 Purāṇasamuccaya, p. 424a.  
 Purāṇasāra, mentioned by Mādhavācārya, pp. 375, 468.  
 Puri, Caitanya lived at, p. 414.  
 Purification of things, p. 126; of food touched by insects, sinners &c., p. 134.  
 Pustakamalākara, pp. 433, 434.  
 Puruṣakāra, a work, p. 353.  
 Puruṣārtha and kratvartha, p. 256.  
 Puruṣārthaprabodha, p. 251.  
 Puruṣottama, as 26th tattva of Raghunandana, p. 234.  
 Pūrvamūlādhikā, pp. 3a, 5a, 9a, 132; Āpastamba's relation to, pp. 41-42; and Viśvarūpa, p. 255; commentators of, p. 231.  
 Puṣkara, opponent of Nala, p. 103.  
 Puṣkarasādi, author named by Āpastamba, pp. 39, 116, 132.  
 Puṣyamitra, p. 151.  
 Putrikā, custom of, is ancient, p. 5; inheritance to, p. 123.  
 Rāḍhā, part of Bengal, pp. 304, 324.  
 Rāḍhīya, brāhmaṇas in Bengal, p. 395.  
 Rāghavānanda, a commentator of Manu, p. 157.  
 Raghunandana, pp. 204, 254, 278, 297, 300, 316, 416-419.  
 Raghunātha, commentator of Āśauka-dāśaka, p. 231.  
 Rājim, copperplate, p. 58.

- Rājā**, stands for Bhojadeva in dharmaśāstra works, p. 277.
- Rājadharmakaustubha** of Anantadeva, pp. 449-50.
- Rājamārtanḍa**, Bhoja's commentary on Yogasūtra, p. 276; **Rājamārtanḍa**, Bhoja's work on dharmaśāstra, pp. 276, 369n, 401a.
- Rājamrgśūka**, a work of Bhoja on astronomy, pp. 276-277.
- Rājanītiratnākara**, pp. 204, 268, 294, 362, 368, 370.
- Rājaputra**, p. 341a.
- Rājāśāstra**, teachers of, according to Nītiprakāśikā, pp. 110-111.
- Rājāśekhara**, p. 139.
- Rājatarāṅgiṇī**, p. 269.
- Rājya**, seven constituents of, p. 130n.
- Rāma**, of Bisena family, patron of Nāgoji, p. 454.
- Rāmabhadra**, king of Mithilā, pp. 402, 404.
- Rāmacandra**, Yādava king of Devagiri, p. 337.
- Rāmacandraśastrya**, author of Kālanirṇayadīpikā, p. 381.
- Rāmaka**, meaning of, p. 59.
- Rāmakṛṣṇa**, author of Jivatpitṛkanirṇaya, p. 335; and father of Kamalākara, p. 432.
- Rāmānujāśastrya**, p. 264.
- Rāmārcanacandrikā**, pp. 401n, 418n.
- Rāmāyana**, p. 103; and Manusmṛti, p. 148; dharmaśāstra topics in, p. 160.
- Rāmeśvarabhaṭṭa**, father of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, p. 419.
- Rasagāṅadhara**, of Jagannātha, pp. 435, 436.
- Rasayātrāpaddhati**, p. 417.
- Rāśi**, not mentioned by Yājñ., p. 186.
- Rāstrakūṭas**, p. 298.
- Rathakṛa**, upanayana allowed to, p. 29.
- Ratnākara**, of Caṇḍeśvara, p. 366.
- Ratnakaraṇḍikā**, quoted in Pīṭhakti, p. 364.
- Ratnakosa**, p. 421.
- Rāyamukuta**, p. 418n.
- Remarriage**, of women, allowed by Nārada, p. 202.
- Reṇudīkṣita**, p. 342.
- Res judicata**, rule of, in Kātyāyana, p. 217.
- Re-union**, rights of full brother superior to half-brother after, p. 394.
- Reviling**, examples of, p. 349.
- R̥gveda**, word dharma in, p. 1-2; quoted, pp. 5, 153, 186; Jupiter in, p. 186; speaks of auspicious days, p. 186.
- R̥ju**, a commentator of Manu, p. 271.
- R̥yasāstra**, p. 223; texts attributed to, not accepted as authoritative by Dharmakṛṣṇa and others, p. 275.
- Rudradatta**, commentator of Āpastambasūtra, p. 342.
- Rudradhara**, pp. 279, 339, 364, 371, 395, 396-398, 418n.
- Rudradhara**, author of Kṛtyacandrikā, p. 398.
- Rūpanārāyaṇa**, title of king Rāmabhadra of Mithilā, pp. 402, 404.
- Sabara**, pp. 7, 26, 85, 304; and Manu, pp. 145-146; quotes Āpastamba Dh. S., p. 42; commented on sūtra of Satyāṅśha, p. 47; criticizes Dharmasūtras, p. 85.
- Saṁśānti**, p. 335; com. Buddhacandrikā on, p. 424.
- Sādhakṛa**, father of Madanapāla, p. 386; a city, p. 424.
- Saduktikarāṇḍita**, p. 300.
- Sāgara**, p. 369n.
- Sahagila**, family of Saharanpur, p. 424.
- Sāhana**, meaning of, p. 241.

- Sahkṛaya, same as Sādhkṛaya, p. 387.
- Sāhujyāla, section of brāhmaṇas in Bengal, p. 395.
- Śakas, mentioned by Manu, p. 151.
- Sākuntala, p. 27.
- Sale, necessity of writing for completing, p. 231; without consent of members of family, p. 131; for arrears of revenue, p. 131.
- Sālihotra, p. 341a.
- Samānodaka, p. 156.
- Sāmaśravas, addressed by Yājñ., p. 177.
- Sāmavidhāna, Brāhmaṇa, p. 13.
- Sāmavit, king of Delhi, p. 406.
- Samayasradipa, of Sridatta, pp. 218, 364, 369n, 397.
- Samayasradipa, astrological work of Harihara, p. 343.
- Sambhramabhaṭṭa, pp. 285, 320n.
- Samkhu, author of Kāmādhenū according to Aufrecht, p. 295; writer of digest, pp. 267, 295, 336, 344.
- Saṁgama, king of Vijayanagara, p. 379.
- Saṁgraha, vide Smṛtiśaṁgraha.
- Sāṁhitāpradīpa, p. 421n.
- Sāṁhika, of nine kinds, p. 212.
- Sāṁkhya, pp. 121, 234, 329.
- Sāṁkhyakārikā, p. 271.
- Sāṁnyāsa, meaning of, p. 273.
- Sāṁnyāsin, p. 117; four kinds of, p. 230.
- Sāṁskāra-paddhatirahasya, p. 306.
- Sāṁskāra-kaustubha, pp. 206, 211, 447, 537.
- Sāṁskāramayūkha, pp. 133n, 138, 321, 439.
- Sāṁvarta, pp. 242-244.
- Sāṁvatsarapradīpa, not a work of Śāṁtapīṇi, p. 395.
- Sāṁdarbhyaśūcikā, com. on Hāratalā, p. 339.
- Sāṁgīya, p. 219.
- Sāṁgīyāna, p. 219.
- Sāṁgha, of Vṛṇis in Kauṭīliya, p. 101.
- Sāṁghāntānta, p. 422.
- Sāṁkarabhaṭṭa, pp. 247, 438, 351, 419.
- Sāṁkarācārya, pp. 82, 184; calls Manusmṛti Mānavam, p. 145; pupils of, pp. 261-262; quotes Āpastambadharmasūtra, p. 43; quotes Gautama-dharmasūtra, p. 18; quotes Vasiṣṭha, p. 53; quotes Manusmṛti frequently, p. 145.
- Sāṁkaramīra, author of Chandogāhnikoddhāra, p. 364.
- Sāṁkarākṣepa, p. 281.
- Sāṁkha-Likhita, dharmasūtra of, pp. 75-79; bhāṣyakāra of, pp. 77, 317; date of, pp. 78-79; doctrines of, p. 78; story of, in the Mahābhārata, p. 75; studied by Vājasaneyins, pp. 11, 73.
- Sāṁkha, smṛti of, p. 57.
- Sāṁkhadhara, pp. 301, 320n, 338.
- Sāṁkṣepa-Sāṁkarajaya, p. 261.
- Sāṁvatsārāddhanirṇaya, p. 268.
- Sanskrit, official language, according to Kauṭīliya, p. 100.
- Sāntapana, p. 68.
- Sāntirātra, of Kamalākara, pp. 433, 434.
- Sāpīṇḍa, relationship, p. 150; meaning of, according to Mitākṣarā, p. 290.
- Sāpīṇḍimañjari, of Nāgoji, p. 453.
- Sāpīṇḍyadīpaka, of Nāgoji, p. 453.
- Sāptārṇya, a sacred place, p. 68.
- Sāptasārasaśāstrīyāpaddhati, p. 262.
- Sārabhaṅga, p. 128.
- Sārapadeva, author of Durghaṭavṛtti, p. 352.
- Sāraṅgī, united to Mandapāla, p. 152.
- Sārasvatīkāṭhābharaṇa, of Bhoja, p. 276.
- Sārasvatīvilāsa, pp. 6n, 70, 128, 130, 161, 218, 249, 265, 266, 280, 302, 419-414.

- Sarāvatī, river, location of, 351n.
- Sārāvali, a work on astrology, pp. 329, 429n.
- Sārirakamimāṣeṣ, p. 329.
- Sarkar, Benoy Kumar, p. 116.
- Sarker, Golapchandra, p. 440.
- Sarkar, Prof. Jadunath, p. 418.
- Sarvadarśanasamgraha, p. 353.
- Sarvabhikari, pp. 310, 389, 418.
- Sarvatīrthavidhi of Kamalākara, p. 433.
- Sarvorudharman, p. 465.
- Sāstradīpikā, of Parthasarathimishra, pp. 420, 433; com. on, by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, p. 420; com. on by Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭa, p. 438.
- Sāstratattvakautūhala, of Kamalākara, p. 434.
- Setapathabrāhmaṇa, pp. 6n, 7, 51, 101, 126, 168.
- Sātātapa, pp. 128-129.
- Sati, practice of, p. 222; eulogised by Hārta, p. 74; eulogised by Parāśara, p. 193; not allowed to brāhmaṇa wife, p. 221; recommended by Viṣṇudharmasūtra, p. 67; recommended to all women, except brāhmaṇis, p. 122.
- Śatruñjaya, king of Sauvira, p. 127.
- Śaṭ-triśaṇmata, pp. 133, 238.
- Satyācārya, p. 421n.
- Saudāyika, a kind of strīdhana, p. 238.
- Saunaka, p. 390; author of Caranavyūha, pp. 87, 105; named by Manusmṛti, pp. 132, 143; author of Praṇavakalpa, p. 358.
- Saurapurāṇa, p. 168.
- Sauvira, country of, pp. 102, 137.
- Śāyana, brother of Mādhavācārya, pp. 376-378; author of Prāyāścittasūdhānidhi, p. 376; guru of Harīhara, son of Saṅgama, p. 377; was a Bauddhānīya, p. 27.
- Sea-faring, peculiar to the south, p. 28.
- Self-acquisitions, what are, pp. 259-269; according to Jitendriya, pp. 282-283; according to Bālaka, p. 283.
- Setur, Mr. S. S., pp. 253, 385, 457.
- Sewall, p. 413.
- Shamaśāstri, Dr., pp. 86, 104, 410.
- Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, pp. 376, 421.
- Siddheśvarabhaṭṭa, p. 437.
- Śiṣhāras, dynasty of, said to have sprung from Vidyādharma Jimūta-rāhana, p. 328; three branches of pp. 332-333.
- Sindhu, p. 102.
- Sindhula or Sindhurāja, p. 279.
- Sister, unmarried, entitled to one-fourth share as provision for marriage, pp. 249, 264, 273; not placed high as an heir by Kamalākara, p. 435.
- Śiśupāla, p. 108.
- Sitarām Sastri, Mr., p. 253.
- Śivabhaṭṭa, p. 263.
- Śivarahasyapurāṇa, pp. 340, 352.
- Śivarāma, pp. 263, 274n.
- Śivasvāmin, pp. 269, 344, 375, 382n.
- Śivavākyāvali, p. 369.
- Slaves, kinds of, according to Manusmṛti, p. 202; who could be, according to varṇas, p. 214.
- Śloka-Gautama, p. 19.
- Śloka-Kāṭyāyana, p. 218.
- Smṛtis, pp. 131-135; age of, pp. 134-135 divided by Padmapurāṇa into three groups of sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa, p. 163; discarded, when in conflict with śruti, p. 41; meaning of the word, pp. 131-132; number of, pp. 132-134; option, when in conflict with purāṇas, p. 409.
- Smṛtibhāskara, p. 344.

- Smṛticandrikā*, pp. 45, 46, 59, 66, 114, 115, 198, 199, 303, 211, 395, 343-347; and *Mitākṣarā*, pp. 345-346; several works named in, p. 347; quotes 600 verses of *Kātyāyana*, p. 214.
- Smṛticandrikā*, of Bhavadeva, p. 306.
- Smṛtidarpaṇa*, pp. 401n, 424n.
- Smṛtikāmadhenu*, p. 294.
- Smṛtikaumudī* of Madanapāla, pp. 383-384.
- Smṛtikaustubha*, of Anantadeva, p. 447.
- Smṛtimahārṇava*, pp. 123, 308, 382n.
- Smṛtimahārṇava-prakāśa*, p. 369n.
- Smṛtimsājarī*, of Govindarāja, pp. 136n, 311-313, 364, 382n.
- Smṛtimanjari*, pp. 364, 372.
- Smṛtimīmāṃsā*, pp. 329n, 329.
- Smṛtiparibhāṣā*, p. 401n.
- Smṛtipradīpa*, p. 335.
- Smṛtiratnākara*, of Vedācārya, 303, 340; of Caṇḍeśvara, p. 366.
- Smṛtiratnāvalī*, pp. 223, 424n.
- Smṛtiratnaviveka*, p. 369n.
- Smṛtisāgara*, a digest by Kullūka-bhaṭṭa, pp. 361, 401n.
- Smṛtisamgraha*, p. 239-241, 280; its view about widow's right of succession, p. 257.
- Smṛtisamuccaya*, p. 326n.
- Smṛtisāra*, pp. 266, 267, 284, 294, 296, 318, 372-74, 397n.
- Smṛtisiddhu*, of Nandapaṇḍita, p. 425.
- Smṛtitattva*, digest of Raghunandana, p. 416.
- Smṛtiviveka*, a work of Medhātithi, p. 274; digest of Śulapāṇi, p. 394.
- Smṛtyarthaśāra*, pp. 267, 294, 295, 314, 334, 335-317, 344.
- Somadeva*, p. 88.
- Someśvara, commentator of *Tantravārtika*, p. 408.
- Son, adopted, p. 5; adoption of only, or eldest, p. 448; *asraṣa*, importance of, p. 5; called *kānina*, p. 442; eleven varieties of subsidiary, pp. 29, 45, 212, that are condemned by Āpastamba, p. 45; equal rights of, with father in ancestral property, pp. 257, 290, 347; has no ownership by birth in ancestral property, according to *Dāyabhāga*, p. 323; illegitimate, of *śūdra*, p. 260; *kṣetrāja*, p. 6; of *brāhmaṇa* from *śūdra* wife's share of, p. 260; only four kinds of mentioned by *Parāśara*, p. 193; ownership of father over, p. 440; special share of eldest, p. 240, 289; thirteen kinds of, mentioned by *Manu*, p. 146; what debts of father not bound to repay, p. 116; whether has ownership by birth, p. 240.
- Śrāddha*, foods forbidden in, p. 127; foods proper to be used by the different castes, p. 229; performance of, on 13th tithi, by one having a son, p. 314; should be performed in accordance with directions in all *kalpa* works and *smṛtis*, p. 355.
- Śrāddhacandrikā*, p. 418n.
- Śrāddhacintāmaṇi*, pp. 320, 395, 401.
- Śrāddhadīpikā* of Govinda-panḍita, p. 424.
- Śrāddhahakalikā*, p. 263n; *vivaraṇa* of, p. 263n.
- Śrāddhakaḷpa*, p. 397n.
- Śrāddhakaḷpa* of Śrīdatta, p. 364.
- Śrāddhakaḷpa* of Vācaspati, p. 403.
- Śrāddhakaḷpacintāmaṇi*, p. 401n.
- Śrāddhakaḷpalatā*, p. 424.
- Śrāddhakaḷpasūtra*, of *Kātyāyana*, p. 301.
- Śrāddhakamala*, p. 424n.
- Śrāddhakāśikā*, pp. 301, 424n.

- Śrāddhakaumudī, pp. 320, 414.  
 Śrāddhakriyākaumudī, pp. 277, 294, 339, 364, 395.  
 Śrāddhakṛtiyapaddhati, of Paśupati, p. 198.  
 Śrāddhamayūkha, pp. 117, 301.  
 Śrāddhanirṇaya, p. 424n.  
 Śrāddhapallava, p. 397n, 401n, 422n.  
 Śrāddhapāṇḍī, p. 401n.  
 Śrāddhapradīpa, p. 424n.  
 Śrāddhasāgara, of Kullūka, pp. 361-362.  
 Śrāddhasaṅkhyā, pp. 306, 422.  
 Śrāddhatattva, p. 278.  
 Śrāddhaviśeṣa of Rudradhara, pp. 279, 294, 364, 371, 397; of Śulapaṇi, pp. 394, 397n.  
 Śrāddhendusekṣara, of Nāgojī, p. 433.  
 Śrāmagāka, meaning of, pp. 16, 25, 57; fire, pp. 105-106.  
 Śreṇis or corporations, p. 101.  
 Śrīdatta, pp. 177, 273, 294, 295, 318, 363-365, 369n, 418n.  
 Śrīdattamiśra, author of Ekāgnidāna-paddhati, p. 365.  
 Śrīdharācārya, pp. 294, 314, 334; author of Śaṣṭyarthasāra, pp. 335-337.  
 Śrīdharadāsa, p. 300.  
 Śrīdhariya, p. 337.  
 Śrīkaṇṭha, author of digest on dharma, pp. 267, 336.  
 Śrīkaṇṭha, guru of Mādhavācārya, p. 377.  
 Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, of Maṅkha, p. 333.  
 Śrīkara, pp. 266-268, 295, 322, 323, 336, 363.  
 Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, p. 417.  
 Śrīnivāsa, p. 344.  
 Śrīnivāsudāsa, p. 254.  
 Śrīparvata, pp. 65, 68.  
 Śrīṅāraprakāśa, of Bhoja, p. 276.  
 Śrotṛiya, property of heirless, does not go to king, p. 122.  
 State, ruined, if supreme authority wielded by many, p. 295.  
 Stoherbatsky, Dr., p. 3n.  
 Stein Dr., p. 89.  
 Stein, Sir Ansel, p. 460n.  
 Stenzler, Dr., p. 182.  
 Subhāṅkara, p. 364.  
 Subodhīal, com. on Mitākṣarā, p. 46, 257, 350, 382, 385, 427.  
 Succession, order of, according to Saṅgrahakāra, p. 241; propinquity, the guiding principle in, according to the Mitākṣarā, p. 290; superior spiritual benefit gave right to, according to Śrīkara and Dāyabhāṅga, p. 267, 323.  
 Sudarśanācārya, commentator of Āpastambagrhya, 265.  
 Sudāsa Pāijavana, p. 152.  
 Suddhikāmbha, p. 396.  
 Suddhicandrikā, of Nandapaṇḍita, p. 424n.  
 Suddhicintāmaṇi, p. 401.  
 Suddhidīpikā, p. 344.  
 Suddhikaumudī, pp. 277, 414.  
 Suddhimayūkha, p. 222.  
 Suddhinirṇaya, of Vācaspati, p. 402.  
 Suddhipradīpa, p. 396.  
 Suddhiratnākara, p. 367.  
 Suddhitattva, p. 307.  
 Suddhitattvārṇava, of Śrīnātha, p. 403.  
 Suddhiviveka, of Rudradhara, pp. 339, 396.  
 Śūdra, dharma of, set forth in Śmṛti-kaumudī, p. 384; duties of, p. 120n; illegitimate son of, gets share in father's property, pp. 125, 360; inviting of ascetic, at dinner for

- gods and manes, fined, p. 101; not fit for sacrifice, p. 7; was not to be appointed judge, p. 151; woman, marriage of, with a *dvijāti*, p. 107, 148.
- Sūdrācintāmaṣi*, p. 401.
- Sūdrakemalīkara*, p. 435.
- Sugatisopāna*, of Gaṇeśvaramisra, pp. 365, 371, 397n, 401n, 418n.
- Sukadevamisra*, author of a *Smṛti-candrikā*, p. 347.
- Sukla-Yajurveda*, quoted, p. 1.
- Sukra*, author on politics, p. 100; abridged *rāja-sāstra*, p. 111.
- Sukranitīkāra*, p. 116.
- Sukriya*, *Āraṇyaka*, mentioned by Yāj. *smṛti*, p. 179.
- Sulka*, succession to, p. 251.
- Sulapāṇi*, pp. 279, 284, 294, 320, 373, 393-396.
- Sumantu*, pp. 129-131; *śūtra*-writer on dharma, pp. 129-130; a pupil of Jaimini, p. 130.
- Sumati Bhārgava*, p. 137.
- Sunaḥśeṣa*, story of, pp. 6, 50.
- Sureśvara*, pp. 43, 261; identified with *Viśvarūpa* by Mādhava, pp. 43, 261.
- Surety*, kinds of, pp. 217, 246, 125; liability of sons of, when he goes abroad or dies, pp. 214, 334-335.
- Sūryapaṇḍita*, guru of Dalapati, p. 407; father of Ekanātha, p. 407.
- Sūryasiddhānta*, pp. 69, 341n.
- Sūryasiddhāntavivēka*, of Maṇana-pāla, p. 387.
- Sūruta*, pp. 65, 103, 241n.
- Śūta*, caste of, p. 103.
- Sutherland*, translated *Dattakamīmāṃsā*, pp. 428, 429.
- Suvarṇa*, same as *dīnāra*, p. 205; value of, p. 237.
- Suyātra*, same as *Nala*, p. 102.
- Svairiṇa*, four kinds of, p. 202.
- Svalpa-Saṁharta*, p. 244.
- Svalpa-Yama*, p. 235.
- Svapāka*, p. 45.
- Svāyambhuva*, Manu, p. 97.
- Svataketu*, named by Āpastamba, pp. 39, 45.
- Tagore, Prasannakumar, translated *Viśvācintāmaṣi*, pp. 400, 404.
- Tailapa, p. 279.
- Taitala, p. 102.
- Taittiriya-*Āraṇyaka*, pp. 13n, 132, 160, 191.
- Taittiriya-*Brāhmaṇa*, p. 186.
- Taittiriya-*Saṁhitā*, pp. 5, 40, 51, 136.
- Taittiriya-Upaniṣad, p. 2.
- Tājika-*Nilakaṇṭhī*, p. 422.
- Tāka, king, pedigree of, p. 386.
- Tāpdyamāhābrāhmaṇa, pp. 7n, 111, 136, 153.
- Tantrākhyāyikā, p. 87.
- Tantravārtika, pp. 3, 11, 26, 27, 42, 43, 59, 82, 145, 224n, 304; refers to 18 *dharma-saṁhitā*, p. 133; refers to *Purāṇa*, p. 161.
- Tattvamuktīvall, of Nandapaṇḍita, p. 425.
- Tattvaś, of Raghunandana, pp. 278, 297, 300, 316.
- Tattvapraśāsa, of Bhoja, on Saiva śgama, p. 276.
- Tattvārthakaumudī, com. on *Prāyāścittavivēka*, p. 415.
- Tattvasamāsa, p. 121.
- Tattvātītamata-tīlaka, of Bhavadēva, p. 303.
- Teacher, as heir to pupil, p. 231.
- Temples, of various deities, p. 103; wealth of does not go to king, p. 122.
- Theft, p. 252; of joint property, whether possible, pp. 284, 297.



- Thomas, Dr., p. 126.
- Tirthacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati, pp. 400, 418n.
- Tirthatattva, p. 417.
- Tirthenduśekhara of Nāgoji, p. 453.
- Tirthenduśekhara of Nāgoji, p. 453.
- Tithinirṇaya, of Vācaspati, p. 401.
- Tithinirṇayasāra, of Madanapāla, p. 383.
- Tithi-nirṇaya-sarva-samuccaya, pp. 263, 274.
- Tithitattva, pp. 278, 417.
- Title, and possession, p. 245.
- Titles, of law, 18, p. 96; treatment of, in Kauṣīlya, p. 96; 22, of which king took cognisance *suo motu*, p. 227.
- Toḍaramalla, Raja, pp. 421, 423.
- Toḍarānanda, pp. 215n, 306, 318, 421-423.
- Toḍarānanda-saṁhitā-saṁkhyā, pp. 300, 341.
- Trikaṇḍamaṇḍana, pp. 251, 281; quoted by Hemādri and quotes Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, p. 281.
- Trimśat-śloki, p. 292; commentary on, p. 292.
- Tripuṣkaraśānti-tattva, p. 417.
- Triśaḥśatetu, p. 420.
- Trivedi, Mr., p. 455.
- Trivikrama, p. 421n.
- Tulasī, use of, to be avoided in śraddha, p. 337.
- Turuṣka, p. 380.
- Udayakara, a commentator of Manu, pp. 157, 369n, 401n.
- Udgṛāhamalla, mentioned in Dīnyabhāṣa, p. 323.
- Udīya, meaning of, pp. 44, 351.
- Udvāhatattva, pp. 264, 278.
- Ujvalākr̥ṣṭi, of Haradatta, on Āpastambadharmasūtra, pp. 45, 78, 347.
- Uktalābhakṛaya, p. 131.
- Umbaka, p. 263.
- Untouchability, none, on certain occasions, p. 109.
- Upādhyāya, a writer named by Mādhatīhi, p. 271.
- Upakṛtyāyana, p. 218.
- Upakṛtitattva of Bālabhāṭṭa, p. 460.
- Upaṇyāna, proper year for, p. 48.
- Upaniṣads, p. 179.
- Upapastakas, pp. 128, 129.
- Upapurāṇas, eighteen, p. 163.
- Upasṁptik, eighteen, pp. 118, 120, 131.
- Upavāsa, commented on Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, p. 281.
- Usages, authoritative of, p. 17; when in conflict with dharmasūtra, p. 203; of various peoples, mentioned by Ithaspati, p. 211; peculiar to the South, according to Baudhāyana, p. 270.
- Usānas, pp. 110-115; and Manu, pp. 81, 113; work of, on politics, p. 110; parolita of Asuras, p. 111; composed Sāstra based on dharmas of Manu Svayambhuva, p. 137.
- Usury, condemned by Āpastamba and Baudhāyana, pp. 45, 78; not condemned by Gautama, p. 45.
- Utathya, on politics, named by Mahābhārata, p. 100.
- Utathya, son of, mentioned by Manusmṛti, p. 143.
- Utpala, p. 421n.
- Uttara (defendant's reply), of six kinds, p. 129; uttara of four kinds according to Prajāpati, p. 230, of four kinds according to Vyāsa, p. 237.
- Uttara-Garga, p. 390.
- Uvāta, author of bhāṣya on Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, p. 299.
- Vacasmāṇa, commentary on Bālabhāṭṭa, p. 262.

- Vācaspatimiśra, p. 285; date of pp. 262, 275, 405; commentary of, on Yoga-sūtrabhāṣya, p. 188; his Bhāmatī, p. 562.
- Vācaspatimiśra, the jurist, pp. 399-405, 418n; to be distinguished from Vācaspati, the philosopher, p. 405.
- Vāḍbhūta, Śrauta sūtra of, p. 105.
- Vāgbhaṭa, p. 65.
- Vāgbhaṭa-smṛti-saṅgraha, p. 329.
- Vaidya, Mr. C. V., p. 159.
- Vaidyanātha Tatvat, composed several commentaries on Alaiśkāra works, pp. 461-462.
- Vaidyanātha, Pāyaguṇḍa, pp. 381, 459-461; composed several commentaries on grammatical works, p. 461.
- Vaijavāpa, p. 341n.
- Vaijayanti, of Nandapaṇḍita, vide Keśava-Vaijayanti, pp. 381, 302, 425.
- Vaijayanti, commentary by Mahideva on Satyāśāṣṭha-śrauta, p. 103.
- Vaijayanti, a lexicon, p. 344.
- Vaikhāṇasa-dharmaprāśna, pp. 105-107.
- Vaikhāṇasa-śāstra, pp. 16, 57, 105; mentioned by Manusmṛti, pp. 131, 143; mentioned by Baudhāyana, pp. 25, 105; mentioned by Gautama, p. 105.
- Vaiśampāyana and Yājñavalkya, p. 168.
- Vaiśeṣika-sūtra, its definition of dharma, p. 3.
- Vājasaneyins, p. 363.
- Vaijña, tribe of, p. 101.
- Vajra, name of a prāyaścitta, p. 221.
- Vajrasūci, of Āśvaghoṣa, p. 147.
- Vakovākya, p. 179.
- Vākya-pradīpa, p. 271.
- Valabhi, kings of, inscriptions of, p. 145.
- Vāmadeva, on politics, named by Mahābhārata, p. 100; sage, hankered for dog's flesh, p. 132.
- Vāmadevabhāṭṭaśāstra, author of a Smṛticandrikā, p. 343.
- Vāmana, author of Kṛṣṇikā, p. 361.
- Vaṁśabrāhmaṇa, p. 377.
- Vānaprastha, varieties of, p. 105.
- Vanāyū, p. 102.
- Varāhamihira, pp. 69, 186, 320, 341n, 422.
- Varāhapurāṇa, p. 338.
- Vardhamāna, author of Daṇḍavivēka and other works, pp. 362, 401n; Vācaspati was his guru, p. 404.
- Varṇadīpikā, p. 369n.
- Varṇa-kīyā-kāumodī or Varṇakāumodī, pp. 563, 278, 303, 320, 414.
- Varṇa-kṛtya of Rudradhara, p. 397.
- Vārṇāyanī, author named by Āpantamba, p. 39.
- Vārtā, p. 81.
- Vārtika, p. 9.
- Vasantarāja, pp. 341n, 369n.
- Vasiṣṭha, oath of, pp. 151, 153; united to Akṣamāṇa, p. 152.
- Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra, pp. 4, 5, 7n, 50, 60, 194; commented on, by Yājñakṣamin, p. 60; contents of, pp. 51-52; date of, p. 59; has many sūtras in common with Baudhāyana, p. 31; home of, pp. 57-58; many sūtras of, identical with Gautama's, p. 18; tolerates views of Gautama, p. 18; relation of, to Manusmṛti, pp. 55-57, 58, 82; relation of, to Viṣṇudharmasūtra, p. 37; some views of, ancient, pp. 38-59; studied by Ṛgvedins, pp. 11, 50; style of, p. 52; whether refers to Romans, p. 59.
- Vasiṣṭha-smṛti, different from the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra, p. 60.
- Vasiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa, p. 376.
- Vāsudeva, named by Harihara, p. 343.

- Vāsudeva, worship of, pp. 67-68.
- Vāsudeva Śārvabhauma, teacher of Caitanya, p. 417.
- Vasubandhu, on politics, named by Mahābhārata, p. 100.
- Vātsīpi, p. 102.
- Vātsyādhī, named by Kauṭilya, p. 99.
- Vātsīyārasiddhānta, p. 376.
- Vātsa, a smṛtikāra, p. 133; undergoing ordeal, p. 152.
- Vātsyāyana, author of Kāmasūtra, p. 100.
- Vāvarasa, son of Keśavanāyaka, patron of Nandapaṇḍita, p. 423.
- Vāyupurāṇa, mentioned by Mahābhārata, and Bṛhā, p. 161, 311.
- Vedācārya, pp. 223, 303, 340.
- Vedāṅgas, pp. 67, 143, 179.
- Vedāṅgajyotiṣa, p. 101.
- Vedāntakalpataru, p. 384.
- Vedāntasūtra, vide Brāhmaṇasūtra.
- Vedārthasaṁgraha, p. 264.
- Vedas, as sources of dharma, pp. 4-7; contain no vidhis on dharma but incidental references, pp. 4, 7; calumny of, p. 143.
- Vena, p. 152.
- Veṅkaṭābhāra, pp. 300-301.
- Vidhānapārijāta, p. 308.
- Vidhipuṣpamālā, p. 364.
- Vidhirasāyaṇaśāstra, of Śāṅkara-bhaṭṭa, p. 438.
- Vidvanmanoharī of Nandapaṇḍita, p. 423.
- Vidyādhana, meaning of, p. 210; not liable to partition, p. 210.
- Vidyā, number of, for kings, p. 81; fourteen, what are, pp. 112, 179; only two, for kings, according to Bṛhaspati, p. 124; only three according to Mānavas, p. 139.
- Vidyāpati, p. 418a.
- Vidyāraṇya, p. 377; founded Vijayanagara, p. 377.
- Vidyāśūra, teacher of Mādhavācārya, p. 377.
- Vijayanagara, date of foundation of, p. 377; dynasty of kings of, pp. 377-78.
- Vijñāneśvara, pp. 287-293; author of Āśaukāśāstra, p. 291.
- Vikhanas, sūtra of, pp. 57, 106.
- Vikramārka or Vikramādityadeva of Kalyāṇa, pp. 388, 290.
- Vikramorvaśīya, p. 204.
- Vināyaka, worship of, found in Mānavagṛhya and Bauddhāyana, pp. 31, 181; and Manusmṛti, p. 139; found in Yāj., pp. 176, 180-181.
- Vindhyavāsa, pp. 271, 341a.
- Vīramitrodaya, pp. 46, 77a, 78, 211a, 290, 295, 318, 325, 440-445.
- Vīrasūtra, patron of Mitrāmīśra, pp. 445.
- Vīrasūtrabhāṣya, p. 445.
- Vīreśvara, father of Caṇḍeśvara, p. 370.
- Vīśākṣa, abridged work of Brahmi on dharma, artha and kṛma, p. 137; mentioned by Kauṭilya and others, pp. 99, 100, 412; mentioned by Viśvarūpa, p. 254.
- Vīśārada, p. 415a.
- Vīśiṣṭādvaita teachers before Rāmānuja, pp. 264-265.
- Viṣṇu, twelve names of, p. 31; one hundred names of, p. 68.
- Viṣṇucitta, commentator of Viṣṇupurāṇa, p. 162.
- Viṣṇudharmasūtra, pp. 60-70; and Bhāruḥ, p. 70; borrows from Yājñavalkya, p. 65; character pp. 64-65; commentary of, Vaijayanṭi, pp. 60, 70, 425; contents of, pp. 61-62; date of, pp. 63-69; later than Yājñavalkya, p. 65; relation to Kṣhikagrhyā,

- pp. 60, 68; relation to Manuśmṛti pp. 60, 63-64; relation to Vasistha p. 57; style of, p. 63; verses in, later additions, pp. 66-67; views of, differ from those of Kāthakagṛhya, p. 68.
- Viṣṇudharmottara**, pp. 161, 195.
- Viṣṇugupta**, vide under Kauṭilya, pp. 87, 88, 341a.
- Viṣṇupurāṇa**, pp. 88, 161, 168; contains much dharmasāstra matter, p. 161; extent of, p. 162.
- Viṣṇurahasapaurāṇa**, p. 340.
- Viṣṇuvāmin**, p. 271.
- Vīśvādarśa**, pp. 291, 344.
- Viṣvakṣema**, king of Bengal, p. 321.
- Vīśvāmitra**, smṛti of, pp. 133, 236; sage, took dog's leg from Cāṇḍāli, p. 152.
- Vīśvarūpa**, a lexicographer, p. 361.
- Vīśvarūpa**, pp. 7, 18, 27, 42, 43, 53, 57, 58, 73, 82, 85, 109, 117, 195, 197-98, 210&c., 252-264; and text of Yajñavalkya pp. 160-170; identified with Sureśvara, pp. 43, 261-262; points of difference between, and Mitākṣarā, pp. 259-260.
- Vīśvarūpanibandha**, pp. 263-264.
- Vīśvarūpasamuccaya**, p. 244.
- Vīśveśvara**, temple of, at Benares, p. 419.
- Vīśveśvara**, commentator of Mitākṣarā, pp. 290, 350, 381-389; personal history of, p. 385.
- Vīśveśvara-Sarasvatī**, p. 274.
- Viṣṇobhā**, shrine of, at Pandharpur, pp. 463-464.
- Viṭṭhala-rhmantraśāstrabhāṣya**, pp. 380, 451a.
- Vivādhabhāṅgārṇava**, pp. 465-466.
- Vivādhacandra**, pp. 284, 302, 305, 373.
- Vivādhacintāmaṇi**, pp. 77, 285, 297, 307, 399, 400, 418a.
- Vivādanirṇaya**, p. 402.
- Vivādhārataṅkara**, pp. 72, 77, 157, 309, 310, 314a, 349, 294, 296, 341, 362.
- Vivādhārṇavasota**, p. 465.
- Vivādasāgara**, of Kuṇḍika, p. 361.
- Vivādasārṇava**, p. 465.
- Vivāda-tārṇava**, pp. 276, 325, 433, 435.
- Vivāhapātala**, p. 421.
- Vivāhavyavahāra**, p. 421a.
- Vopadeva**, a friend and protegee of Hemādri, p. 358.
- Vratakamalāṅkara**, p. 433.
- Vratapaddhati** of Rudradhara, p. 397.
- Vratasāgara**, p. 369a.
- Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati**, p. 212.
- Vṛddha-Garga**, p. 341a.
- Vṛddha-Gārgya**, pp. 119, 134.
- Vṛddha-Gautama**, p. 19; names 57 dharmasāstras, p. 133.
- Vṛddha-Kātyāyana**, p. 218.
- Vṛddha-Manu**, pp. 134, 150, 158.
- Vṛddha-Parāśara**, p. 196.
- Vṛddha-Pracetas**, p. 229.
- Vṛddha-Sāstana**, p. 129; bhāṣyakāra of, p. 129.
- Vṛddha-Vasistha**, pp. 59, 134.
- Vṛddha-Viṣṇu**, pp. 69, 135.
- Vṛddha-Vyāsa**, p. 238.
- Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya**, pp. 119, 133, 134, 188; work of, p. 188.
- Vṛjika**, p. 101.
- Vṛjika**, saṅgha of, p. 101.
- Vyāhṛtis**, p. 13.
- Vyāhṛtisāman**, p. 13.
- Vyāgyārthākaumudī**, of Anantā-śrama, p. 446.
- Vyāsa**, smṛti of, pp. 236-238.
- Vyavahāra**, compared to Yājña, p. 211; has four pādas, pp. 213, 245; defined, p. 244.
- Vyavahāracintāmaṇi** of Vācaspati, pp. 400, 418a.
- Vyavahāramāṭṛkā**, pp. 179, 204, 301a, 210a, 218, 258, 282; 321-322.

- Vyavahāramayūkha, pp. 135, 211a, 235, 339; relation of, to *Mitākṣarā*, p. 439.
- Vyavahāropadas, p. 96.
- Vyavahāratatāṅkara, pp. 294, 367, 371.
- Vyavahāraśiromani, p. 292.
- Vyavahāratattva, pp. 12, 284, 301, 323, 394, 438, 442a.
- Vyavahāratilaka, of Bhavadēva, pp. 301-302, 442a.
- Vyavahāroccaya, p. 421a.
- Wealth, three kinds of, according to Nārada, p. 198; ancestral, concealment of, p. 214; lost and regained by one co-sharer, p. 223.
- Weber, Prof. p. 80.
- Week-days, names of, pp. 67, 69; whether first established by Cītreka, p. 185; earliest mention of, in Indian inscriptions, p. 185.
- Weights, to be made of iron or stones from Mugadha, p. 102; units of, given by Manu, p. 146.
- West and Bühler, digest of, pp. 428, 452, 457.
- Westropp, Sir Michael, p. 458.
- Widow, of sonless man, according to Pūrīṣṭa, was to submit to Niyoga, and give wealth to son so born, p. 309; erring, allowed bare maintenance by Hārīta, p. 246; even in undivided family, succeeded to husband's property, according to Jitendriya and Dīvyabhāṣa, pp. 282, 323; of separated coparcener allowed to inherit, p. 337, if she submitted to niyoga, pp. 241, 296; of predeceased son preferred to daughter as heir, by Nandapaṇḍita, p. 428; adoption by, p. 448; of predeceased son or grandson, right of, p. 259; succeeded to husband's estate, if small, according to Śrīkara, p. 266; remarriage of, allowed by Vasiṣṭha, p. 58; remarriage of, allowed by Kauṭilya, p. 96; remarriage of allowed by Nārada, p. 202; remarriage of condemned by Manu, pp. 96, 202; right to inherit to husband, pp. 150-151, 180, 209, according to Āpastamba and Gautama, p. 349; not recognised by Nārada, p. 303; recognised by Yājñ. and Brhaspati, p. 209; right of, to succeed, view of Saṅgraha, as to, p. 257; right of, to succeed, view of Viśvarūpa, p. 238; right of, to succeed, view of Haradatta, p. 349 succeeded to her sonless husband and was bound to offer śrāddhas, p. 239; to get 2000 kārṣāṇas from husband's estate, p. 237.
- Wife, adoption by, p. 448; even adulterous, not to be cast adrift by husband, p. 246; duties of, p. 121; when desertion of husband by, condoned, p. 96, 130a.
- Winternitz, Dr., pp. 32, 86, 89, 205, 347.
- Witnesses, even minors and defective men could be, in certain cases, p. 116; of two kinds, kṛta and akṛta, p. 230.
- Women, two kinds of, brāhmayāśina and śadyavadhū, according to Hārīta, p. 73; claims of, to succession not favoured by Āpastamba and Śaṅkha, p. 78; bought, are not patnis, p. 117; duties of, p. 122; wealth of, should not be appropriated by king, p. 122; pass on marriage into husband's gotra, p. 232; not allowed to resort to saṅghyā, p. 235; tutelage of, as to their husband's wealth, p. 246.
- Writing, importance of, in transactions, p. 215.
- Yādavabhūṣaṇa-bhaṭṭaśrīya, p. 374.
- Yādavas, genealogy of, p. 357.
- Yājñas, five, p. 7.

- Yājñasañmīa, commentator of Vasiṣṭha, p. 60.
- Yājñatantra-sudhānidhi, of Śaṅkara, p. 377.
- Yājñavalkya, p. 168; dialogues of, with Janaka, p. 168; works ascribed to, p. 138; rupture of, with Vaiśampāyana, p. 168.
- Yājñavalkyasūtra, pp. 4, 168-190; and Agniparāṇa, pp. 170-173; and Garuda-purāṇa, pp. 173-175; and Greek astrology, pp. 185-187; and white Yajurveda, pp. 168, 181-82; and Mānavagrhya, pp. 180-81; and Manu, pp. 176-177, 180; and Parāśara, p. 182; borrows passages of Bṛhadāraṇyakaopaniṣad, pp. 181-182; com of Mitrāmīśra on, pp. 443-444; contents of, pp. 177-179; date of, pp. 183-187; earlier and later strata in, pp. 175-176; enumerates 19 smṛti-kāras, p. 132; editions of, pp. 169-170; literature known to, p. 179; philosophy of, p. 187; various readings in, pp. 163-170; verses of, borrowed by Viṣṇudharmasūtra, p. 64.
- Yājñavalkya Brāhmaṇa, reviling of, if called modern, p. 349.
- Yajurveda, Black, śrautasūtras of p. 105; White, promulgated by Yājñavalkya, p. 168.
- Yajvan, an author named by Medhātithi, p. 271.
- Yama, referred to by Vasiṣṭha, pp. 55, 132, 231; smṛti of, pp. 231-235.
- Yāmunamuni, p. 264.
- Yāskatilaka, p. 124, 127, 224n.
- Yāska, p. 8.
- Yati, p. 121; six duties of, p. 274.
- Yatidharmasaṅgraha, p. 274.
- Yatindramatadīpikā, p. 264.
- Yastaka, meaning of, p. 280.
- Yavana, a mixed caste, mentioned by Gautama, p. 19, 45; mentioned by Manusmṛti, p. 151.
- Yavaneśvara, p. 341n.
- Year, of five kinds, p. 443.
- Yoga, pp. 121, 329; eight āngas of, p. 106.
- Yoga-kṣema, defined, p. 236.
- Yogasūtra, Bhoja's commentary on, called Rājamārtanḍa, p. 276.
- Yogasūtrārābhāṣya, p. 188.
- Yoga-Yājñavalkya, p. 188; earlier than 600 A. D., p. 188.
- Yogiśvara, means Yāj. and is different from Yoga-Yāj., p. 138; Yogiśvara is different from Yāj. and is a nibandhakāra, pp. 278, 320.
- Yogloka, pp. 286-287, 320a, 322, 418a.
- Yuddhajayīravana, p. 413a.
- Yuga, which smṛtis authoritative in which, p. 132.
- Zodiacal signs, not known to Yāj. smṛti, p. 186.

## APPENDIX A.

### List of Works on Dharmasastra

It is necessary to say a few words about the methods followed in preparing this list of the works on dharmasastra. Purely śrauta works have generally been excluded, except where they have been profusely quoted or relied upon by dharmasastra writers. Works of the Tantra class and the Purāṇas have been passed over, inasmuch as they form in themselves independent and extensive branches of Sanskrit literature requiring an exhaustive and detailed treatment, which from considerations of space had to be abandoned here. All individual prayogas, mahātmyas, vidhis, vratas, śāntis, stotras have been omitted, except where the names of the authors are well-known or there is some importance or peculiarity attaching to them. Purely astrological works on jātaka, and tājika have not been included, but works of the muhurta class that are closely connected with everyday religious practices have been included. Though the grhyasūtras and their commentaries were not dwelt upon in the body of the present work, they have been included in this list as their subject-matter is closely allied to dharmasastra. Only works up to about 1820 A. D. have been entered here. Works on politics (arthaśāstra) have also been included. I am afraid that all the restrictions set out above have not been rigorously observed in the following and crave the indulgence of scholars in this respect. I must gratefully acknowledge, as everyone engaged in preparing a similar list on any branch of post-Vedic literature must do, my indebtedness to the monumental *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Dr. Aufrecht. But even that catalogue leaves many things doubtful and necessarily gives meagre information. For removing such doubts I was compelled to read and compare the original catalogues of Sanskrit mss. such as that of the India Office, the *Notices of Sanskrit mss.* by Dr. Mitra and and M. M. Haraprasāda. Besides the third part of Aufrecht's Catalogue was published in 1903. Since then several other catalogues, such as the *Descriptive Catalogues and Triennial Catalogues of the Madras Govt. mss. Library*, *Notices of mss.* ( new



series, part III) by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstri, Catalogue of Palmleaf and Paper mss. of Nepal Durbar Library by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstri, Hultzsch's Report (part III), Catalogue of Central Provinces Sanskrit mss. by Rai Bahadur Hiralal and Catalogue of the mss. collected by the Bihar and Orissa Govt. (vol. I), have been published. Moreover I have consulted hundreds of mss. from collections like those at the Deccan College (now in the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute at Poona), at the Ānandaśrama Institution (Poona), the Bhadkamkar memorial collection started by Prof. H. D. Velankar in Bombay at the Wilson College and the vast collection of the Baroda Oriental Institute. In preparing this list I give wherever possible and desirable the names of the authors and of their ancestors, the names of the works quoted by them or of the works that quote them, the age of the work (or of the mss.) their contents &c. In most cases the very name of the work indicates its subject-matter. In spite of all this many doubtful points are still left. Various circumstances tend to create confusion in preparing such lists as are offered here. The same work appears under two, three or even more names in the mss. and the catalogues. Sometimes the names of the authors and even their fathers' names are the same as in the case of Divākara, son of Mahādeva and Śaṅkara, son of Nīlakaṇṭha. Very often portions of a large work appear separately as distinct works in the Catalogues. The same author appears under several forms, as Narasiṃha and Nṛsiṃha, Nageśa and Nāgoji. I have made great efforts to remove such doubts as far as I could and hope that I have been able to make my own humble contributions to the work so ably done by Aufrecht and others. I do not give references to catalogues in the case of each work, nor do I give all possible references to catalogues against each entry. Only in important cases have I given references to catalogues. It has been my endeavour to give earlier references to works and authors wherever I could than those given by Aufrecht and to find out the age of a work or author by resort to various devices. Only a detailed comparison with Aufrecht can show this, which task I must in all humility leave to the readers who will use this list. One more feature of this list to which I wish to draw the attention of the reader is that I have pointed out what works have been printed. In doing this I generally refer only to well-known series and editions like the Bombay Sanskrit series,

the Benares Sanskrit series and have not set out editions to which very few can have access. For those who want exhaustive information on this point, the catalogues of printed works in the British Museum Library which have now been brought up to 1928 will be found helpful.

Besides the abbreviations given at the beginning of this work, the following abbreviations have been employed in this list and the next.

a = author of.

Anan. sm. = The collection of smṛtis published by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona.

Anan. P. = Ānandāśrama Press (Series of books).

Ano. = Anonymous.

Aufrecht's Oxf. Cat. = Catalogue of Sanskrit mss. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford by Dr. Aufrecht (1864).

Baroda O. I. = Collection of Mss. at the Baroda Oriental Institute.

Ben. S. Series = Benares Sanskrit Series.

Bhad. col. = Bhadkamkar Memorial Collection made by Prof. H. D. Velankar of Wilson College, Bombay.

Bik. Cat. = Catalogue of Sanskrit mss. in the Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner by Rajendralal Mitra (1880).

B. O. cat. = Cat. of mss. collected for the Bihar and Orissa Government, vol. I.

Burnell's Tanj. Cat. = Classified Index to the Sanskrit mss. in the palace at Tanjore by Dr. A. C. Burnell (1880).

C = commentary (of a work under which this letter occurs).

CC = commentary on a commentary.

Ch. S. Series. = Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.

com. = commentary or commentator, according to context.

C. P. cat. = Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit mss. in the Central Provinces and Berar, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal (1926, Nagpur).

G. O. Series = Gaikwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.

Govt. O. Series. = Government Oriental Series, Poona.

Hultzsch's R. = Reports on Sanskrit mss. in Southern India by Dr. Hultzsch, parts I-III.

Jivananda sm. = collection of smrtis edited by Jivananda in two parts.

m. = mentioned ( by or in ).

Mysore G. O. L. = Mysore Government Oriental Library Series.

N. = Notices of Sanskrit mss. in Bengal vol. I-XI ( vol. I-IX by Dr. R. Mitra and X-XI by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstri ).

N. ( new series ) = Notices of Sanskrit mss., new series, vol. I-III by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstri.

Nir. P. = Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay.

pr. = printed.

q. = quotes.

Stein's cat. or Stein = Catalogue of the Sanskrit mss. in the Raghunath temple Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, by Dr. M. A. Stein ( 1894 ).

Ulwar cat. = Catalogue of mss. in the Library of the Maharaja of Ulwar, by Dr. Peterson.

Venk. P. = Venkateśvara Press, Bombay.

W. and K. = Catalogue of Sanskrit mss. in the Bodleian Library, vol. II (1905) by Dr. Winternitz and Prof. A. B. Keith.

## List of Works on Dharmasāstra

अंशबलि gives propitiatory rites (Śanti) for any particular arsha of a man's rāṣi.

अकालभास्कर by शम्भुनाथ सिद्धान्त-  
बागीहा; composed in Śake 1636  
(अङ्गनिरसलोणी) on intercalary  
months, how to calculate them  
and on the special duties per-  
formed in them.

अक्षमालाप्रतिष्ठा.

अखण्डादर्श by अखण्ड (?) m. in स्मृति-  
रत्नाकर of वेङ्कटनाथ. Divided into  
kāṇḍas on dharma and vyava-  
hāra.

अगस्त्य or अगस्तिसंहिता-m. in कालविवेक  
of जीवन्तबाहून, in अपराक.

अग्निकार्य.

अग्निकार्यपद्धति.

अग्निनिर्णय by कमलाकर.

अग्निसंधानवचन on ceremonies per-  
formed to make up for omission  
in the daily performance of  
aupāsana.

अग्निस्थापन.

अग्निहोत्रकर्मव.

अग्निहोत्रमन्त्रार्थचन्द्रिका by वैपनाथ,  
son of रामचन्द्र, son of विद्वल.  
About 1683 A. D.

अग्निहोत्रविदाहविधि.

अथदीपिका.

अपनिर्णय by वेङ्कटेश, son of रङ्गनाथ  
and grandson of सरस्वतीवल्लभ;  
names विज्ञानेश्वर, अखण्ड, स्मृत्यर्थ-  
सार, वरद्वार.

C. by author.

C. called दीपिका<sup>1</sup> by रामाजुनयन्त्र.

C. by वैदिक सार्वभौम (this is  
probably the same as the author's  
own com.).

अचर्निर्णय by वीरराघव of वसिष्ठगोत्र.

अघपञ्चविचन by मधुरानाथ.

अघपञ्चविष्टि by मधुरानाथ (in 65 verses).

अघपञ्चविष्टि by वीथि (-वि- or -जि-नाथ  
of the कौशिकगोत्र).

C. स्मृतिसिद्धान्तसुधा by रामचन्द्र बुध.

अघप्रकाशिका (in 11 khaṇḍas).

अघप्रदीप.

अघप्रदीपिका ascribed to याज्ञवल्क्य.

अघवादव or दानसार by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट  
(Baroda O. I. No. 7129 C.).

अघविमोचन.

अघविवेक by मीलकण्ठदीक्षित, son of  
अण्णदीक्षित अद्वैताचार्य of भारद्वाज-  
गोत्र (in 6 प्रकरण).

अघविवेचन by रामचन्द्र, son of अनन्त  
of भारद्वाजकुल, in two परिच्छेद.

C. refers to मुक्ताफल.

C. by रुचिदत्त.

अघवृत्तक.

अघवृत्त.

अघसंशयतिमिरादित्यसूत्र.

अघसंग्रह.

अघसंग्रहदीपिका (Hultzsch R. I.  
No. 270).

अङ्कनार्पणप्रयोग (from प्रयोगरत्न of नारा-  
यणभट्ट).

अङ्कनार्पणविधि (from वाध्वरात्रागम).

.. (from शास्त्रातिलक).

अङ्गिपस्. Vide sec. 39.

C. by कुलमणि गुरु.

अचलनिबन्ध.

अमुदलारीय by क्षेपाचार्य.

अण्णादीक्षितीय by अण्णादीक्षित.

अतिक्रान्तप्रापश्चित्त.

अतिरुद्रशान्ति.

अतीचारनिर्णय by महेश (B. O. cat. vol. I, p. 2, No. 3).

अतीचारनिर्णय by भुजवलभीम (B. O. cat. vol. I, p. 3, No. 4).

अत्रि Vide sec. 19.

C. by कृष्णनाथ.

C. by तकनलाल. Later than 1686 A. D.

C. by हरिराम.

अद्भुतदर्पण or अद्भुतसंग्रह by माधव-  
शर्मन् of the सुपदाण family, son of  
रघुनाथ and elder brother of गोविन्द.  
Based on the अद्भुतसागर of बल्लाल-  
सेन. On दिव्य, नाभस and भीम  
phenomena. Quotes मधुराचिन्. N  
(new series) vol. I, pp. 2-4.

अद्भुतविवेक by महीधर.

अद्भुतसागर by बल्लालसेन son of बिजय-  
सेन (printed in 1905 by Prabha-  
kari and co, Calcutta); m. by रघु-  
नन्दन, कमलाकर, नीलकण्ठ, अनन्तदेव,  
begun in 1090 šake (1068 A.D.)  
and finished by लक्ष्मणसेन.

अद्भुतसागरसार by चतुर्धन.

.. by श्रीपति.

अद्भुतसिन्धु; quoted by नारायण in  
शान्तिप्रवाह.

अद्भुतामृत on उपास of three kinds,  
दिव्य, आन्तरिक्ष, भीम.

अद्भुतोपासशान्ति of शौनक.

अधिकमासप्रकरण

अधिकमासनिर्णय—vide मलमासनिर्णय.

अधिकमासफल.

अधोमुखजननशान्ति attributed to  
शौनक.

अध्यायोपाकर्मप्रयोग.

अनन्तभाष्य—m. in समग्रमण्डप.

अनन्तव्रतपूजापद्धति (from the व्रतांक  
of शङ्कर).

अनन्तव्रतोदापन.

अनन्तभट्टी or स्मार्तानुष्ठानपद्धति of अन-  
न्तभट्टदीक्षित son of विश्वनाथ, sur-  
named यज्ञोपवीत. Vide under  
प्रयोगरत्न.

अनन्ताष्टिक.

अनाकुला, com. of हरदत्त on आपस्तम्ब-  
श्रद्धासूत्र. Vide sec. 86.

अनाचारनिर्णय.

अनारुष्टशान्ति of शौनक.

अनुभागकल्पतरु by जगन्नाथ.

अनुमरणप्रदीप by गौरीशम्भु.

अनुमरणविवेक (quoted by रघुनन्दन  
in सुश्रुतप्रव).

अनुयागपद्धति by आनन्दतीर्थ, son of  
जनाद्वय.

अनुयागपद्धति by कृष्णानन्दसरस्वती.

C. by भार्वाधरीन्द्र (Baroda O. I.  
No. 12537).

अनुष्ठानपद्धति.

C. by रघुनाथ.

अनुपबिलास or धर्माभ्योधि written  
under Anupasiṃha Rāthor by  
मणिराम दीक्षित, son of गङ्गाराम, son  
of शिवदत्त, divided into six parts,  
आचाररत्न, समयरत्न, संस्काररत्न, वस्त्र-

- रत्न, दामरत्न, शुद्धिरत्न. Refers to Alamgir, emperor of Delhi. अनुपसिंह was contemporary of Shah Jehan. About 1660 A. D.
- अनुपसिंहक attributed to अनुपसिंहदेव of Bikaner. Treats of the शाल-ग्रामपरीक्षण in five ullāsas. अनुपदेव ruled in 1673, son of कर्णसिंह (1634). Vide D. C. ms. 22 of 1902-1907 copied in śaka 1691. Vide under दामरत्नाकर.
- अन्तरिक्षवासुचीवर्षकाश.
- अन्यकर्मदीपिका by हरिभट्ट दीक्षित.
- अन्यकर्मपद्धति.
- अन्यक्रियाविधि by मणिगाम. Quoted by शुद्धिमय्य. Later than 1630 A. D.
- अन्योष्टि.
- अन्योष्टिक्रियापद्धति.
- अन्योष्टिपद्धति.
- अन्योष्टिपद्धति by अजन्तदेव, son of आपदेव. Vide sec. 109.
- अन्योष्टिपद्धति by केशव, son of अजन्त-भट्ट of पुण्यसम्भ (Puntāmbē on the Godāvari). Later than 1450 A. D.
- अन्योष्टिपद्धति by महेश्वरभट्ट.
- अन्योष्टिपद्धति by रामाचार्य.
- अन्योष्टिपद्धति by हरिहर son of भास्कर alias भानुभट्ट, following भारद्वाजसूत्र and the भाष्य thereon; says there are a hundred पद्धतिस following भारद्वाज, but his is quite different.
- अन्योष्टिपद्धति or और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति by भट्टनागयण, son of रामेश्वर; vide sec. 103.
- अन्योष्टिपद्धति or और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति by विश्वनाथ, son of गोपाल.
- अन्योष्टिप्रकाश by विशाकर, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र. N (new series) vol. III. p. 3.
- अन्योष्टिप्रयोग (आपस्तम्बीय).
- अन्योष्टिप्रयोग (हिरण्यकेशी) by केशवभट्ट from his प्रयोगमार्ग.
- अन्योष्टिप्रयोग by नारायणभट्ट. Vide sec. 103.
- अन्योष्टिप्रयोग by विश्वनाथ, based on आपस्तम्बायन.
- अन्योष्टिविधि by जिकन, quoted by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितन्त्र.
- अन्योष्टिप्रायश्चित्त.
- अन्योष्टिसामग्री.
- अन्योष्ट्यष्टक printed in Bombay in 1890 A. D.
- अन्नदान.
- अन्नप्राशन.
- अन्नप्राशनप्रयोग.
- अन्वष्टका.
- अन्वष्टकानवमीश्राद्धपद्धति.
- अपमृन्नुपपत्तिसिद्धि ascribed to शौनक.
- अपिपालपद्धति (or शुद्धपद्धति) of अपिपाल m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन, आदिक्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द. Earlier than 1500 A. D.
- अपिपालकारिका m. in मलमासतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.
- अपेक्षितार्थशोचिनी, com. by नारायण; m. in मदनमन (शान्मुखशोच).
- अष्टपुर्तिप्रयोग or वर्षसिद्धि.
- अष्टपुर्तिपूजा.
- अग्नि by केदार (?); quoted by श्रीधर in स्मृत्यर्थसार.
- अभयभक्ष्यप्रकरण.

अभिनवप्रार्थना.

अभिनवमाधरीय by माधवाचार्य.

अभिनववदशीति (on अशौच) by सुज-  
हृष्य, son of वेङ्कटेश of पोंड्रिचंश  
(printed in Telugu script, Madras  
1874). Vide Hultzsch's R. vol. II  
p. 113 and preface p. VI.

C. धर्मदीपिका by the author  
himself; refers to चन्द्रिका, माधरीय  
and वदशीति of कौशिकादिन्य. Later  
than 1400 A. D.

अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि, alias मानसोल्लास  
by चातुर्व्य king सेमेश्वर (vol. I in  
G. O. S. and also in Mysore  
G. O. L.); composed in 1051  
śaka (i. e. 1129 A. D.); has 100  
chapters divided into five विंशति  
on 'means of acquiring rājya,'  
'means of the stability of the  
kingdom,' 'royal enjoyments,'  
'vinoda or recreations' and 'kridā  
(games and sports).

अभ्युदयभाट्ट.

अष्टतन्त्राख्या m. in शुद्धिचन्द्रिका of  
नन्दपरिहित. Earlier than 1575 A.D.

अष्टिचार्चनचन्द्रिका m. in अष्टतन्त्राका-  
मधेय.

अपननिर्णय by नारायणभट्ट.

अपाचितकालनिर्णय.

अयुतहोमलक्षहोमकोटिहोमः by राम, a  
protégé of अनूपसिंह of Bikaner.  
About 1650 A. D.

अयुतहोमविधि by नारायणभट्ट. Vide  
sec. 103.

अरुणभूति m. in दानचन्द्रिका, निर्णय-  
सिन्धु. Vide Ulwar cat. No. 1253  
and extract 285, which show that

there are 149 verses on accep-  
tance of gifts and प्रायश्चित्तसं-  
connected therewith.

अर्कविवाहपद्धति by शौनक.

अर्कविवाह (on marriage with the  
Arka plant before marrying a  
third wife on the death of the  
first two). BBRAS. cat. p. 240.

अर्घ्यदान.

अर्घ्यप्रदानकारिका.

अर्घ्यानुष्ठान.

अर्जुनार्चनकल्पलता by रामचन्द्र (on wor-  
ship of कर्तवीर्य).

अर्जुनार्चनपारिजात by रामचन्द्र.

अर्थकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द, a com. on  
शुद्धिदीपिका. Vide sec. 101.

अर्थशास्त्र of कौटिल्य; vide sec. 14.

C. प्रतिषद्विधा of भट्टस्वामिन् (ms.  
on chap. 8-36 of 2nd अधिकरण).

C. तदर्थचन्द्रिका of माधवपञ्चमिश्र.

C. श्रीमद् by गणपतिशास्त्रिन् (Tri.  
S. S.).

अर्थदीप m. in राजनीतिग्लाकर of  
चण्डेश्वर.

अर्घोदयपर्ययजन (Baroda O. I. No.  
3742).

अहंसीति of हेमाचार्य; 1088-1172 A.D.  
(printed at Ahmedabad, 1906).

अलङ्कारदान.

अलसकाजीर्णप्रकाश.

अल्पम m. in स्मृतिस्तार of हरिनाथ.

अवधूताश्रम—Ano. Gives denomi-  
nations of ten classes of sannyā-  
sins and their duties. N (new



- series) vol III preface p. IX and p. 8.
- अवसानकालप्रायश्चित्त.
- अशुद्धिचान्द्रिका (or rather शुद्धिचान्द्रिका) by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.
- अशौचनिर्णय by उमानाथ ( B. O. cat. No. 10 p. 7 ).
- अशौचप्रकाश-vide under आशौचप्रकाश. Many works on अशौच indiscriminately use the words अशौच and आशौच.
- अशौचसार by सत्यण्णितभीरुलभट्ट; mentions कुबेरपण्डित, भीमोपाध्याय, भवदेवभट्ट and स्मृतिसमुच्चय.
- अश्वत्थपूजा.
- अश्वत्थप्रतिष्ठा.
- अश्वत्थोद्यापन ( from शौनकरस्मृति ) BBRAS cat. vol. II. p. 240.
- अश्वत्थोपनयनपद्धति-(acc. to शौनक) BBRAS cat. vol. II. p. 240.
- अश्वदान.
- अष्टकाकर्मन.
- अष्टकाकर्मपद्धति.
- अष्टकाशौचभाव्य-vide मृतकनिर्णय.
- अष्टमहाद्वादशीनिर्णय by रघुनाथ, son of माधव (Baroda O. I. No. 12586 A). About 1550-1625 A. D.
- अष्टमहामन्त्रपद्धति quoted in स्मृत्यर्थसागर.
- अष्टविंशतिमुनिमत (Baroda O. I. No. 12743).
- अष्टश्राद्धविधानविधि.
- अष्टादशगोत्र (Baroda O. I. No. 3854).
- अष्टादशजातिनिर्णय (Stein p. 82).
- अष्टादशविषादसंज्ञेय (Stein p. 82).
- अष्टादशसंस्काराः by चतुर्भुज.
- अष्टादशस्मृतिसार.
- अष्टादशस्मृतिसारसंग्रहः (Baroda O. I. No. 10214).
- असमोत्रपुत्रपरिग्रहपरीक्षा by अहोबल. N (new series) vol. III. p. 11.
- असविण्हासगोत्रपरीक्षा- probably the same as असमो...परीक्षा above.
- असविण्हासगोत्रपुत्रपरिग्रहविधि by अहोबलशास्त्रिण.
- आश्विप्रक्षेप ( from चन्द्रप्रकाश Baroda O. I. No. 5478 ).
- अरिचक्रादि.
- अरिचक्रादिप्रयोग.
- अरुध्युद्धरण.
- अर्हर्षिधि.
- अहल्याकामेधनु ( Ms. in Benares S. college ) by केशवदास, called after अहल्या, wife of सण्डेराव, son of महारिराव ; seems to refer to Ahilyabai, the famous ruler of Indore in the latter half of the 18th century).
- अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिता ( Pr. at Adyar by Schrader ).
- अर्हन्तीति by हेमाचार्य, रायभाग portion, pr. at Lucknow in 1891.
- आग्रयणपद्धति by विठ्ठल दीक्षित- Part of यजुर्वेदभा ( q. v. ).
- आङ्गिरसस्मृति on प्रायश्चित्त in 12 chapters. ( I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 380 No. 1304 ).
- आचारकाण्ड.
- आचारकौमुदी by गोपाल ( Baroda O. I. No. 11133 ).

आचारकौमुदी by राजाराम son of सोमेश्वर (Vaiṣṇavite treatise on good conduct and devotion to Viṣṇu) ms. (N. vol. viii. 191) dated संपत् 1782 (1725-26 A. D.).

आचारखण्ड (Baroda O. I. No. 12796).

आचारचन्द्रिका by त्रिविक्रमसूरी.

आचारचन्द्रिका by दशनाभदत्त. In 1367 A.D. he composed his सुपद्म grammar and his वृषोदरादिकृति in 1375 A.D.

आचारचन्द्रिका by रत्नेश्वरमिश्र.

आचारचन्द्रिका by रामपति.

आचारचन्द्रिका by श्रीनाथचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकराचार्य (on duties of शूद्रs and द्विजs), ms. copied in Śāke 1410 (1488-89 A.D.); m. by रघुनन्दन; flourished about 1475 A.D.; vide I. O. cat. p. 524 for date Śāke 1410 of the ms.

आचारचन्द्रोदय alias माववप्रकाश by महेश, son of सारस्वतदुर्ग and pupil of विठ्ठल पुरुषोत्तम कविवर of मिथिला; divided into 8 परिच्छेदs in relation to the duties of the eight parts of the day for Vajasaneyas; composed under माधव, youngest of the three sons of a chief named नाद, king of लावपुर on the banks of इरावती on the Western coast of India. Later than 1500 A. D. Vide Mitra's Notices V. p. 97 and I. O. cat. p. 506.

आचारचन्द्रोदय by सदाराम.

आचारचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र; m. by रघुनन्दन, श्रीदत्त. Vide sec. 98.

आचारतरङ्गिणी by रविनाथमिश्र.

आचारतत्त्व by हरिप्रसाद son of मकरन्द (Stein's cat. pp. 83 and 301).

आचारतिलक quoted in ग्रन्थसुखिदीपिका and निर्णयदीपक: earlier than 1500 A. D.

आचारतिलक by गङ्गाधर in 108 verses. Vide D. C. Ms. No. 135 of 1886-92 for a fragment.

आचारदर्पण by श्रीदत्त-same as आचारादर्श; vide sec. 89.

आचारदर्पण of बोधदेव, m. in पुस्तंदिनक-रोदुषीत.

आचारदर्शन.

आचारदीपिति part of the स्मृतिकौलुभ of अनन्तदेव.

आचारदीप-or प्रदीप by कमलाकर resident of कुपूरग्राम (Kopargaoon) on the Godāvari.

आचारदीप by नागदेव on āhnika in 8 अध्यायs; quoted by नीलकण्ठ in his आचारमयूख and by अग्निहोत्रि-हरिहर on कृष्णायन's स्नानविधिम्ब; ms. (B. O. cat. No. 22) dated 1436 A. D.

आचारदीपक of गंगाविष्णु, patronised by त्रिविक्रम; ms. copied 1752 A.D.

आचारदीपिका.

आचारदीपिका by कमलाकर.

आचारदीपिका, a com. by हरिलाल on the आचारादर्श of श्रीदत्त.

आचारदीपिका-from सारसमुख्य (Baroda O. I. No. 10910).

आचारद्वैतविवेक by विभाकर, composed under king रामभद्र of मिथिला; solves doubts on आद. About 1500 A. D.

आचारनवनीत by अण्णा दीक्षित, a native of गौरीमाधुर; composed in the time of Shahaji (1684-1711 A.D.); divided into four kandas on आचार, आश्रम, श्रम्यशुद्धि and कालनिर्णय.

आचारनिर्णय by गोपाल.

आचारनिर्णय— in 66 verses on duties of ब्राह्मण, origin of कायस्थ &c.

आचारपञ्चाशिका by महाशर्मन्.

आचारपद्धति by बाह्यदेवेन्द्र.

„ by विद्याकर.

„ by श्रीधरहरि.

आचारप्रकाश by भास्कर, son of आप्पाजी (Baroda O. I. No. 12789).

आचारप्रकाशिका quoted in अहम्याकाम-धेनु.

आचारप्रदीप by केशवभट्ट, quoted in आश्रमसूत्र of रघुनन्दन.

आचारप्रदीप by नागदेव. He wrote निर्णयतत्त्व also.

आचारप्रदीप by भट्टोजि.

आचारप्रशंसा.

आचारचूर्ण of ज्यम्बक राम ओक (in 1741 Śake) in 9 kīṛṇs; pr. in Anan. P.

आचारमञ्जरी by मथुरानाथ.

आचारमण्डल of नीलकण्ठ (ed. by J. R. Gharpure, Bombay and by Gujarati P., Bombay). Vide sec. 107.

आचारमाधवीय of माधवाचार्य, the first part of his com. on पराशरस्मृति.

आचारमाला by निधिराम.

आचाररत्न m. in आह्निकतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

आचाररत्न by मणिनाम (first part of अनुषङ्गिलास).

H. D. 65.

आचाररत्न by लक्ष्मणभट्ट, son of राम-कृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. He was younger brother of कमलाकरभट्ट and so flourished 1580-1640 A. D. Pr. at Nir. P.

आचाररत्न by चन्द्रमौलि.

आचाररत्नाकर quoted by रघुनन्दन in आह्निकतत्त्व.

आचारवाक्यसूत्रा.

आचारवारिधि by रमापति उपाध्यायस्-न्मिश्र. He wrote विवादवारिधि also.

आचारविधि.

आचारविवेक by मानसिंह.

आचारविवेक by मदनसिंह (part of मदनरत्न).

आचारव्रतादिरहस्य.

आचारसंग्रह by रत्नपाणिशर्मा, son of गंगोली संजयेश्वरशर्मा.

आचारसंग्रह by हरिहरपण्डित, son of नारायण.

आचारसागर of बल्लालसेन quoted in the मदनपारिजात (p. 58), स्मृति-रत्नाकर of वेदाचार्य, and in author's own work दानसागर (composed about 1168 A. D.).

आचारसार—m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 900.)

आचारसार by लक्ष्मणभट्ट, son of राम-कृष्ण, son of नारायण; seems to be the same work as आचाररत्न above.

आचारस्मृतिचण्डिका by सदाशिव, son of गदाधर.

आचारादर्श, by श्रीधर (मैथिल). About 1300 A.D. (pr. at Benares, samvat

1920 and by Ven. P.); m. in the शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर and mentions कामधेनु, कल्पक and हरिहर; vide sec. 89.

C. by गौरीपति, son of दामोदर, composed in Benares in 1696 संवत् (1640 A.D.). Pr. by Ven. P.

C. आचारदीपिका by हरिलाल.

आचारादर्शिका, abridgment of the आचारादर्श.

आचारार्क- a part of धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of बालकृष्ण; refers to नीलकण्ठ author of मयूख who was his maternal grandfather; composed in संवत् 1743 (i. e. 1686-87 A. D.).

C. by लक्ष्मणलाल.

आचारार्ककम (अनुक्रमणिका of आचारार्क) by the author's son वैद्यनाथ who wrote अनुक्रमणिका to दानदीपावलि and आद्यचन्द्रिका also.

आचारार्क by मधुरानाथ.

आचारार्क by रामचन्द्रभट्ट.

आचारेन्दु of ज्यम्बक, son of नारायण, surnamed माटे. Composed in Śake 1760 (1838 A.D.) at सतारि (modern Satara). Pr. in Ānan.P.

आचारेन्दुसेखर by नामेशभट्ट, son of शिवभट्ट and सती. Vide sec. 110.

आचारोद्घोत by टोडरानन्द.

„ part of मदनलक्ष्मणप्रदीप by मदनसिंहदेव.

आचारोल्लास first part of the परशुराम-प्रकाश by सण्देशराय, son of नारायण-कविकृत, धर्मधिकारिण at Benares at the bidding of परशुराममिश्र, who

was a शाकदीपीयत्राहण and son of होलिल (र) मिश्र, who was given the title बाणीरसालराय by the Emperor. The 25th मयूख speaks of the origin of शाकदीपीय-त्राहण. N (new series) vol. II. pp. 10-12).

आचारोल्लास by मधुरानाथ शूद्र.

आचार्यगुणादर्श, of वैष्णवाचार्य son of शतक्रतुताताचार्य (Madras ms. contains only the chap. called पंचकालक्रम dealing with rites and worships performed by वैष्णव during the day divided into five parts).

आचार्यचूडामणि.

C. on शूलपाणि's आद्यविवेक, quoted by रघुनन्दन and in शूद्रकमलाकर.

आतिथ्येष्टि.

आतुरसंन्यास- Vide B. B. R. A. S. Cat. Vol. II. p. 241.

आतुरसंन्यासकारिका.

आतुरसंन्यासपद्धति (Baroda O. I. No. 5803).

आतुरसंन्यासविधि.

आतुरसंन्यासविधि by आङ्गिरस.

आतुरसंन्यासविधि by कात्यायन.

आतुरादिपद्धति- D. C. Ms. No. 138 of 18886-92.

आश्रेयधर्मशास्त्र in 9 अध्याय (I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 380 No. 1305). There is another in 6 chapters (I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 381, No. 1308).

आश्वमेधमर्श 1 म. by विश्वरूप, हेमाद्रि.

आत्रेयस्मृति (in 369 verses). I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 381.

आथर्वणसूत्र (ms. in Bom. University Library) in 14 adhyāyas and 141 khaṇḍikas; ends with anadhyāya (school holidays); m. in नीतिमण्डप.

आथर्वणप्रामिताक्षरा by वासुदेव, son of धीपति. (Baroda O. I. No. 7603). Mentions हेमाद्रि and त्रैविक्कमीपस्मृति.

आदिधर्मसारसंग्रह attributed to Tulajirāja (1765-88 A. D.).

आदिस्मृत्यर्थसार- Vide स्मृत्यर्थसार.

आनन्दकारनिबन्ध- m. in स्मृतिसारोद्धार of विश्वम्भर.

आपस्तम्बपापशिवनशातहृयी- vide प्राप-शिवनशातहृयी.

आपस्तम्बपञ्चाजीय.

आपस्तम्बसूत्रध्वनितार्थकारिका or त्रिकाण्डमण्डन by भास्करमिश्र, son of कुमारस्वामिन्. It contains four काण्डः on अधिकार, प्रतिनिधि, पुनराधान, आधान (pr. B. I. series).

C. Vide Stein (Cat. p. 12).

C. पदप्रकाशिका or त्रिकाण्डमण्डन-विवरण ano. (Is it same as above?)

आपस्तम्बसूत्र (ed. by Winternitz and tr. in S. B. E. vol. 30).

C. अनाकुल by हरदत्त (pr. in Mysore G. O. I. Series).

C. by कर्क.

C. कपर्दिकारिका (pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1916).

C. सूत्रतात्पर्यदर्शन by सुदर्शनचार्प (pr. Kashi S. series).

C. प्रयोगशृङ्गि by तालवृत्तानिबामिन् (pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1902).

आपस्तम्बसूत्रप्रदीपिका.

आपस्तम्बसूत्रप्रयोग.

आपस्तम्बसूत्रभाष्यार्थसंग्रह quoted by हेमाद्रि.

आपस्तम्बसूत्रसार by महामहोपाध्याय-योगनभट्ट (आन्ध्र).

आपस्तम्बसूत्रसूत्रकारिका by सुदर्शन, son of बालिविजय.

आपस्तम्बसूत्रसूत्रकारिकाशृङ्गि by नरसिंह (exposition of आपस्तम्बसूत्र in 969 verses composed in śake 1536, 1614-15 A. D.; pr. in 1922 with Telugu tr.).

आपस्तम्बजातकर्म by बापणभट्ट.

आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र Vide sec. 7.

C. उज्ज्वला by हरदत्त (pr. in B. S. Series and at Kumbhakonam).

आपस्तम्बपद्धति.

आपस्तम्बपद्धति by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट.

आपस्तम्बपरिभाषासूत्र (edited with two com. in Mysore G. O. I. series 1894 and in Ānand. series No. 93).

C. by कपर्दिस्वामिन्.

C. by हरदत्त.

आपस्तम्बपूर्वप्रयोग.

आपस्तम्बपूर्वप्रयोगकारिका.

आपस्तम्बपूर्वप्रयोगपद्धति by शिल्पभट्ट (Hultzsch R. 1. No. 87).

आपस्तम्बप्रयोगशत by नारायणयज्वल.

आपस्तम्बप्रयोगसार.

आपस्तम्बप्रयोगसार by गङ्गाभट्ट.

आपस्तम्बपापशिवनशातहृयी.

C. by वेङ्कटवानपेयिन्.

- आपस्तम्बभाट्टप्रयोग.  
 आपस्तम्बश्रुतकारिका.  
 आपस्तम्बश्रुतसंग्रह.  
 आपस्तम्बस्मृति ( in verse in 10 chapters ) pr. by Jivananda.  
 आपस्तम्बस्मृति, quoted by विज्ञानेश्वर, हेमाद्रि, माधव, हरदत्त.  
 आपस्तम्बाह्निक  
 आपस्तम्बाह्निक by काशीनाथभट्ट.  
 आपस्तम्बाह्निक by गोवर्धन कविमण्डन.  
 आपस्तम्बाह्निक by रुद्रदेव तोरो.  
 आपस्तम्बीयद्वादशसंस्काराः.  
 आपस्तम्बीयमन्त्रपाठ ed. by Dr. Winternitz.  
 आपस्तम्बीयसंस्कारप्रयोग.  
 आब्दिकनिर्णय.  
 आभ्युदयिकआह्निक.  
 आभ्युदयिकआह्निक.  
 आरामादिप्रतिष्ठापद्धति by गङ्गाधर महाडकर.  
 आरामोत्सर्गपद्धति-see जलाभयारामोत्सर्गपद्धति.  
 आरामोत्सर्गपद्धति by भट्टनारायण.  
 आरामोत्सर्गपद्धति by शिवराम.  
 आरामोत्सर्गप्रयोग ( Baroda O. I. No. 5424 ).  
 आर्षचन्द्रिका.  
 आर्षचन्द्रिका by वेदनाथ.  
 आर्षिषेणस्मृति m. by निर्णयसिन्धु.  
 आश्वमेधयाधानपद्धति of श्रीधर.  
 आशौच by वेङ्कटेश.  
 आशौचकाण्ड, part of दिनकरोद्घोत.  
 आशौचकाण्ड by वेदनाथ दीक्षित ( a part of स्मृतिवृत्ताकल ).

- आशौचकारिका.  
 आशौचगङ्गाधरी by गङ्गाधर.  
 आशौचचन्द्रिका.  
 आशौचचन्द्रिका by वेदाङ्गराय, son of त्यगलभट्ट or तिगलभट्ट, son of रत्नभट्ट ( Stein's cat. p. 83 ).  
 आशौचचन्द्रिका by राजकृष्णतर्कवागीश-भट्टाचार्य.  
 आशौचतत्त्व- vide शुद्धितत्त्व.  
 आशौचतत्त्व by महादेव, son of विश्वनाथ of the जगन्मोग्ग, in 48 verses. Hultsch R. II. p. 143  
 C. by शिबसूरी ( महाजन ), son of धर्मवर्क.  
 आशौचतत्त्वविचार.  
 आशौचविश्लोकी-see विश्लोकी ; pr. at Aligarh.  
 C. दीप by राघवभट्ट, whose guru was मकुन्द ; quotes स्मृत्यर्थसार-निर्णयासुत.  
 C. by भट्टाचार्य ( Baroda O. I. No. 3883 is dated संवत् 1579, 1522-23 A. D. ).  
 C. by भट्टोजि.  
 आशौचदशक alias दशश्लोकी by विज्ञानेश्वर ; vide under दशश्लोकी also.  
 C. विवरण by भट्टोजि.  
 C. by रघुनाथ, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वर ; composed in A. D. 1578.  
 C. ( चिन्ति ) by विश्वेश्वर, son of लक्ष्मीधर ; mentions विज्ञानेश्वर and वाचस्पति, भट्टोजि ( Stein's cat. p. 302 for extract ); later than 1650 A. D.  
 C. by वेङ्कटाचार्य.  
 C. by श्रीधर.

- C. by हरिहर ( I. O. ms dated संवत् 1589 i. e. 1532 A. D. ; vide cat. p. 565 ).
- आशीचदीपिति, part of the स्मृतिकौस्तुभ by अनन्तदेव.
- आशीचदीपक by a prince of कोटिलिङ्गपुरी ( Cranganore ).
- C. by author.
- आशीचदीपिका by अधोरशिवाचार्य.
- आशीचदीपिका by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट alias गंगाभट्ट. N. VI. p. 136. Portion of दिनकरादयोत on आशीच.
- आशीचदीपिका by श्यामसुन्दर-भट्टाचार्य.
- आशीचदीपिका by कम्भादुर नृसिंह, who consulted हेमाद्रि, माधवीय, बृहशीति, पारिजात.
- आशीचनिर्णय or बृहशीति. Aufrecht II. p. 11 identifies बृहशीति with अभिनवबृहशीति.
- आशीचनिर्णय by आदित्याचार्य or कौशिकादित्य.
- C. शुद्धिचन्द्रिका by नन्दपरिहृत ( pr. Ch. S. series ) between 1590-1625 A. D.
- आशीचनिर्णय of कौशिकाचार्य ( in Bhadkamkar collection ); contains 146 verses, refers to 86 verses of कौशिकादित्य and adds certain texts of गोभिल.
- आशीचनिर्णय by गोपाल, composed in शके 1535 ( 1613 A. D. ); quoted by him in शुद्धिनिर्णय. N. IX p. 267.
- आशीचनिर्णय by गोविन्द, son of बृहपाचार्य who is styled मातामह also by गोविन्द.
- आशीचनिर्णय by जीवदेव, son of आपदेव; born on the Godāvari; probably brother of अनन्तदेव.
- आशीचनिर्णय by ज्यम्बक परिहृत, son of रघुनाथ, son of नारायण of the आङ्गिरसगोत्र ( divided into अंशः ). ( pr. at Nir. P. ). Quotes निर्णयसिन्धु and नामोजिभट्टीय; about 1760 A. D.
- आशीचनिर्णय by नामोजि, son of शिवभट्ट.
- आशीचनिर्णय by भट्टोजि ( 1560-1620 A. D. ).
- आशीचनिर्णय by माधव son of रामेश्वर; about 1515-1570 A. D.
- आशीचनिर्णय by रघुनन्दन.
- आशीचनिर्णय by रघुनाथपरिहृत; vide under विश्वसूक्तोकी.
- आशीचनिर्णय by रामचन्द्र.
- आशीचनिर्णय by वरद, son of श्रीनिवास. Refers to आशीचशतक and आशीचशतक as his authorities.
- आशीचनिर्णय by श्रीरेश्वर.
- आशीचनिर्णय by वेङ्कटाचार्य; see अचनिर्णय.
- आशीचनिर्णय by वेदान्तरामाभुजतातदास, son of वेङ्कटेश्वरदत्तातातदाचार्य.
- आशीचनिर्णय by वैदिकसार्वभौम ( Is it same as आशीचशतक ? ).
- C. by शठकोपदास ( Baroda O. L. No. 6380 b. ).
- आशीचनिर्णय by श्रीनिवासतटकापीडा.
- आशीचनिर्णय by सोमव्यास.
- आशीचनिर्णय by हरि.
- आशीचनिर्णय or स्मृतिकौस्तुभ by रायस वेङ्कटाद्रि.



आशीचनिर्णय or स्मृतिसंग्रह.

आशीचनिर्णय or स्मृतिसार, a com. on some work of वेङ्कटेश.

आशीचनिर्णयसंग्रह (Baroda O. I. No. 12600).

आशीचनिर्णयटीका by मधुरानाथ.

आशीचपरिच्छेद.

आशीचप्रकाश by चतुर्भुज भट्टाचार्य; probably the same as that m. in *शुद्धितत्व* of रघुनन्दन and so before 1500 A. D.

आशीचप्रकाश (from धर्मतत्त्वकलानिधि) by वृध्वीचन्द्र.

आशीचमञ्जरी.

आशीचमाला by गोपालसिद्धान्त.

आशीचविशेष.

आशीचव्यवस्था by राधानाथशर्मन.

आशीचशतक.

आशीचशतक by रामेश्वर.

आशीचशतक by वेङ्कटाचार्य or वेङ्कटनाथ; son of रङ्गनाथ of the हारीतगोत्र, with his own com. Vide *अप-  
निर्णय* above. Hultzsch R. II. No. 1499.

C. आशीचनिर्णय by रामानुजदीक्षित.

आशीचशतक by नीलकण्ठ.

आशीचशतक by वैदिकसार्वभौम (probably same as वेङ्कटाचार्य above).

आशीचषडशीति- see above आशीच-  
निर्णय.

आशीचसंक्षेप by मधुसूदनवाचस्पति.

आशीचसंग्रह by सत्यापीशाक्षिण्य (Baroda O. I. 5862).

आशीचसंग्रह by चतुर्भुज भट्टाचार्य.

आशीचसंग्रहविग्रह by भट्टाचार्य.

आशीचसंग्रह by रामचन्द्रशेखर, son of वेङ्कटनाथरायण.

आशीचसंग्रह by वेङ्कटेश; quotes आचार-  
नवनीत, अपनिर्णय, अपविशेष, अभिनव-  
षडशीति.

आशीचसंग्रहविग्रहचौकी- Vide under  
विग्रहचौकी.

आशीचसागर of कुल्लुक- m. in his *आश-  
सागर*.

आशीचसार by बलभद्र.

आशीचसिद्धान्त.

आशीचस्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

आशीचस्मृतिचन्द्रिका by सदाशिव sur-  
named दशपुत्र, son of गदाधर; com-  
piled for prince जयसिंह (of जय-  
नगर). The author also wrote  
लिङ्गार्चनचन्द्रिका.

आशीचादश quoted in सारसंग्रह.

आशीचाटक by चरकचि (pr. in Tri.  
S. series).

C. anonymous. Names निर्णयकार,  
मरकरिन् on गौतमधर्मसूत्र and सहस्र-  
स्वामिन्.

आशीचादिनिर्णय by रामदैवज्ञ.

आशीचीपदशश्लोकीविग्रह by विश्वेश्वर,  
son of लक्ष्मीधर; see आशीचदशक  
alias दशश्लोकी above.

आशीचेन्दुशेखर by रामदैवज्ञ.

आशीचेन्दुशेखर by नागोजिभट्ट.

आश्वलायनपुस्तक (pr. Nir. P. and B.  
I. series and translated in S  
B E, vol. 29).

C. अनामिका by हरदत्त (pr. Tri S.  
series).

- C. by आनन्दरायपानदेवपञ्चन, minister of Tanjore king Shahji and Sarfoji I.
- C. by गदाधर.
- C. विमलोदयमाला by जयन्तस्वामिन, father of अभिनन्द and son of कान्त, son of कन्याचस्वामिन. N. vol. X. p. 163. About end of 8th century.
- C. by देवस्वामिन; m. by नारायण. About 1000-1050 A. D.
- C. by नारायण, son of दिवाकर of नैष्ठिकगोत्र (pr. B. I. series and Nir. P. ); refers to bhāṣya of देवस्वामी. Doubtful whether he is identical with नारायण, son of नरसिंह, commentator of आश्वलायन-श्रौत. Vide B. B. R. A. S. cat. vol. II. p. 202.
- C. by विष्णुगुहस्वामिन. Follows देवस्वामिन, नारायण and others.
- आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रकरणिका in 22 adhyāyas and 1296 verses.
- C. विवरण by a pupil of वृष्यदेव or उपदेवभट्ट.
- C. by नारायण.
- आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रकरणिका by कुमारल-स्वामिन (? कुमारस्वामिन). Refers to नारायणवृत्ति on आश्वलायनसूत्र and to जयन्तस्वामिन. B. B. R. A. S. cat. vol. II. p. 203; pr. in Bombay, 1894.
- आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रकरणिका by रघुनाथदीक्षित.
- आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रकरणिकावली by गोपाल.
- आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रकरणिका (pr. Nir. P. and B. I. series at end of सूत्र-सूत्र).
- आश्वलायनसूत्रपरिभाषा.
- आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रयोग.
- आश्वलायनसूत्रोक्तवास्तुशान्ति by राम-कृष्णभट्ट.
- आश्वलायनधर्मशास्त्र in 22 अध्यायस on duties of द्विज and on श्राद्ध, प्रायश्चित्त, जातिनिर्णय &c. (Baroda O. I. No. 8708).
- आश्वलायनपूर्वप्रयोग (Hultsch R. I. No. 431).
- आश्वलायनप्रयोग.
- C. वृत्ति by विष्णु.
- आश्वलायनप्रयोगदीपिका by तिकमल सोम-याजिन, son of तिकमलपञ्चन.
- आश्वलायनयाज्ञिकप्रवृत्ति.
- आश्वलायनशास्त्रभाष्यप्रयोग by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण.
- आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रवृत्ति by नारायण.
- आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रयोग by वैविधवृद्ध.
- आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रयोगदीपिका by मध्वा-चार्यभट्ट (pr. Benares S. series).
- आश्वलायनसूत्र (ms. in Bombay University Library) in eleven adhyāyas and about 2000 verses; refers to आश्वलायनसूत्रसूत्र and वृत्ति thereon and कारिका also. Quoted by हेमाद्रि and माधवाचार्य.
- आहिताग्निमरणे दाहादि (आश्वलायनीय).
- आहिताग्निमरणे दाहादि by भट्टनारायण, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट. Vide sec. 102.
- आहिताग्नेर्दाहादिनिर्णय by रामभट्ट, son of विष्णुनाथ हेमिग.
- आहिताग्न्यन्येष्टिप्रयोग.
- आहुततीर्थकस्नानप्रयोग.
- आह्निक- numerous works are so styl- ed. Only some are noted below.

आह्निक by आनन्द, son of प्रभाकर, of the दशपुत्रकुल.

आह्निक by आपदेव.

आह्निक by कमलाकर son of रामकृष्ण. Sec. 106; same as बहुआह्निक.

आह्निक by गङ्गापर.

आह्निक by गोपालदेशिकाचार्य.

आह्निक by छहुरि वृसिंह for followers of मध्वाचार्य.

आह्निक by ज्ञानभास्कर. He wrote आह्निकसंक्षेप also.

आह्निक by दिवाकरभट्ट.

आह्निक by बलभद्र.

आह्निक by भट्टोजि (from चतुर्विंशति-मतटीका).

आह्निक by रघुनाथ, son of माधवभट्ट.

आह्निक by विठ्ठलाचार्य.

आह्निक (बौधायनीय'), by विश्वपतिभट्ट.

आह्निक by वैद्यनाथ दीक्षित.

आह्निक by व्रजराज (for followers of बलभाचार्य).

आह्निककारिका.

आह्निककृत्य of विद्याकर; m. in मलमास-तत्त्व of रघुनन्दन and so before 1500 A. D.

आह्निककौतुक (from हरिवंशविलास).

आह्निककौस्तुभ by श्रीनिवास pupil of पादभाचार्य (Baroda O. I. No. 8809). This is a com. on सदाचारवृत्ति of आनन्दतीर्थ.

आह्निकचन्द्रिका by काशीनाथ.

आह्निकचन्द्रिका by कुलमाणि शूद्र (Is it चन्द्रिका or चन्द्रिकाटीका?).

आह्निकचम्रिका by request of गोकुल-चन्द्रचर्मण.

आह्निकचन्द्रिका by गोपीनाथ.

आह्निकचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर, son of महा-देव काल, son of रामेशभट्ट; men- tions भट्टोजीय (pr. at Nir. P. with extracts from सायण on Vedic mantras). Same as संक्षे- पाह्निकचन्द्रिका.

आह्निकचन्द्रिका by देवराज.

आह्निकचिन्तामणि quoted by रघुनन्दन in आह्निकतत्त्व (and so earlier than 1500 A. D.).

आह्निकतत्त्व or आह्निकाचारतत्त्व by रघु- नन्दन; pr. by Jivananda. C. by मधुसूदन.

आह्निकदर्पण of रामकृष्ण (pr. with Ma- rathi tr. in Bombay, 1876).

आह्निकदीपक.

आह्निकदीपक by अचल residing, at आनन्दपुर, son of वत्सराज, son of गोविन्द, son of लक्ष्मीधर, son of अजन्त surnamed मन्डोह. About 1518 A. D. Vide Ulwar cat. extract No. 291.

आह्निकपद्धति by शिवराज. See आह्निक- संक्षेप.

आह्निकपद्धति by रघुनाथ सन्नादस्थपति, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वर; he was younger brother of विश्वनाथ and प्रभाकर.

आह्निकपद्धति by विठ्ठलदीक्षित. Vide बल- वल्लभा below.

आह्निकपारिजात by अनन्तभट्ट.

आह्निकप्रकाश- from the वीरमित्रोदय.

आह्निकप्रदीप- quoted by कमलाकर.

आह्निकप्रयोग by कमलाकर of कूपरग्राम (Kopergaon on the गोदावरी). There is confusion of author- ship in Baroda O. I. No. 277.

आह्निकप्रयोग by काशीदीक्षित, son of सदाशिवदीक्षित; quoted by अनन्त in his रुद्रकल्पद्रुम.

आह्निकप्रयोग by गोचरधन दक्षिणगहन (for आपस्तम्बीय).

आह्निकप्रयोग by मनोहरभट्ट, son of महादेवभट्ट (for दिग्गणकेडण्डिस).

आह्निकप्रयोग by रघुनाथ, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट; his younger brother प्रभाकर composed रसप्रदीप in 1583 A. D. at the age of 19.

आह्निकप्रयोगरत्नमाला by विश्वम्भरदीक्षित पिटे, son of मयूरेश्वरभट्ट resident of वैराज (modern Wai in Satara District). Mentions भट्टोजिदीक्षित, आचार्य.

आह्निकप्रापञ्चिन— mentions कमलाकर (I. O. cat. III. p. 553).

आह्निकभास्कर by इन्द्रभण्डि सुवनाराचन.

आह्निकमञ्जरीटीका by वीरेश्वर, son of हरिपण्डित, son of शिवपण्डित at पुण्यस्तम्भ (modern Puntambe) on the Godavari; composed in śake विषण्णशरेन्दुमिते i. e. 1598 A. D.

आह्निकरत्न (on daily duties).

आह्निकरत्न by दाक्षिणात्य शिरोमणिभट्ट. In three प्रकाश.

आह्निकरत्नचषक by गङ्गाधरसुत (Baroda O. I. No. 12306-7).

आह्निकविधि by कमलाकर.

आह्निकविधि by नारायणभट्ट.

आह्निकसंक्षेप of कौथुमिशाखा.

आह्निकसंक्षेप of ज्ञानभास्कर.

आह्निकसंक्षेप by रामदेव, written for Lala Thakkura.  
H. D. 66.

आह्निकसंक्षेप by शिवराम, an abridgement of वैद्यनाथ's आह्निक.

आह्निकसंग्रह of अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागेशभट्ट, son of यज्ञभट्ट, for शुक्रयजुर्वेदिस.

आह्निकसार by इलपतिगज (2nd chap. of कृतिहप्रसाद).

अह्निकसार by बालम्भट्ट (probably same as author of आह्निकसार-मञ्जरी below).

आह्निकसार by सुदर्शनाचार्य.

आह्निकसार by हरिराम.

आह्निकसाम्भञ्जरी by बालम्भट्ट, son of विश्वनाथभट्ट दातार.

आह्निकवृत्त of गौतम in 17 खण्डs on duties of ब्राह्मण; vide BBRAS. cat. p. 204 No. 651.

आह्निकस्मृतिमंथन.

आह्निकान्तराज by रामानन्द वाचस्पति, great-great-grandson of पुष्कराक्ष of the family of सूरानन्द; compiled under राजा कृष्णचंद्रराय of Nadia about 1750 A. D.

आह्निकामृत of वासुदेवभट्टाचार्य, son of रङ्गनाथ, on duties and ritual of the वैखानस school of वैष्णवs.

आह्निकोद्धार quoted by रघुनन्दन in आह्निकतत्त्व.

इन्द्रदनस्मृति.

इष्टिकाल by दामोदर.

ईशानसंहिता m. in समयमण्ड.

ईश्वरसंहिता quoted by रघुनन्दन in तिथितत्त्व.

उज्ज्वला by हरदत्त, com. on आपस्तम्भ-धर्मसूत्र.

C. कालाभूतटीका by वेङ्कटपञ्चन.

उत्तरकालासूत्र by कालिदास (on Marri-  
age, विरसुखवन्द्य &c.).

उत्तरक्रियापद्धति by याज्ञिकदेव.

उत्तरीषकर्मन् (काण्वीय).

उत्पातशान्ति attributed to बुद्धगर्ग.

उत्सर्गकमलाकर of कमलाकरभट्ट.

उत्सर्गकर्मन्.

उत्सर्गकौस्तुभ, part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of  
अनन्तदेव.

उत्सर्गनिर्णय by कृष्णराम.

उत्सर्गपद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

उत्सर्गपरिक्षिप्त.

उत्सर्गप्रयोग by नारायणभट्ट.

उत्सर्गमयूख by नीलकण्ठ (pr. by J. R.  
Gharpure in Bombay).

उत्सर्गोपाकर्मप्रयोग by रामकृष्ण, son of  
नारायणभट्ट.

उत्सर्जनपद्धति.

उत्सर्जनोपाकर्मप्रयोग by बापूभट्ट, son of  
महादेव.

उत्सवनिर्णय by तुलजाशाम.

उत्सवनिर्णय by पुरुषोत्तम.

उत्सवनिर्णयमञ्जरी by गङ्गाधर, compos-  
ed in śake 1554 i. e. 1632 A. D.  
(Baroda O. I. 2575).

उत्सवप्रकाश.

उत्सवप्रतान by डुरुषोत्तम.

उत्सुम्भवान्.

उदक्पाशुद्धिप्रकाश by ज्वालाधामिभ.

उदयाकरपद्धति (तन्त्र) quoted in माला-  
संस्कार.

उद्दीप्यप्रकाश (Baroda O. I. No.  
8016).

उद्यावप्रतिष्ठा.

उद्यावनकालनिर्णय.

उद्गाहकन्यास्वरूपनिर्णय.

उद्गाहचन्द्रिका by गोचर्धन उपाध्याय.

उद्गाहतत्त्व—see चिदाहतत्त्व.

C. by काशीराम-वाचस्पति-भट्टाचार्य  
(printed in 1877 at Calcutta in  
Bengali characters and in 1916).

उद्गाहनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन.

उद्गाहलक्षण.

उद्गाहविधेय by गणेशभट्ट.

उद्गाहव्यवस्था N. vol. II. p. 77.

उद्गाहव्यवस्था—vide संबन्धन्यवस्थाविकाश.

उद्गाहव्यवस्थासंक्षेप.

उद्गाहादिकालनिर्णय by गोपीनाथ (Baroda  
O. I. No. 10226).

उपकाश्यपस्मृति.

उपचारषोडशरत्नमाला (महादेवपरिचर्पा-  
सूत्रव्याख्या) by छुरेश्वररवामित्र, pu-  
pil of रघुरामतीर्थ).

उपनयनकर्मपद्धति.

उपनयनकारिका anonymous.

उपनयनचिन्तामणि by शिवानन्द.

उपनयनतन्त्र by गोभिल.

उपनयनतन्त्र by रामदत्त.

उपनयनतन्त्र by लौगाक्षि.

उपनयनपद्धति by रामदत्त (for वाजसनेयि  
followers).

उपनयनपद्धति by विश्वनाथदीक्षित.

उपस्थान.

उपाकर्मनिर्णय.

उपाकर्मकारिका (Stein's cat. p. 12).

उपाकर्मपद्धति (कान्यायनीय) by वैद्यनाथ.

उपाकर्मप्रमाण by बालदीक्षित.

उपाकर्मप्रयोग (आपस्तम्बीय).

उपाकर्मप्रयोग (आम्बलापनीय).

उपाकर्मप्रयोग by द्वारकानाथ, son of टीकामधु.

उपाकर्मविधि.

उपाकृतितत्त्व by बालम्बदु alias बालकृष्ण पापगुण्ड ; ms. dated संवत् 1848 (1792 A. D.) in Stein's cat. p. 302.

उपाकर्मविधि by दयाशङ्कर.

उपाङ्गिनःस्मृति.

ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रधारण.

ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रनिर्णय by एकबोत्तम (ms. No. 3862 in Baroda O. I. is dated संवत् 1764).

ऊर्ध्वसूत्र.

कर्मवेदाङ्गिक by काशीनाथ. Also called कर्मवेदाङ्गिकचन्द्रिका.

कर्मवेदाङ्गिक by शिरोमणि.

कर्मवेदाङ्गिकचन्द्रिका by काशीनाथ.

कस्तुरप्रयोग by भट्टराम, son of विश्वनाथ होमिंग (following तीर्थदर्पण). Baroda O. I. No. 8515 ms. dated 1676 (śake).

कस्तुरमिताक्षरा- same as मिताक्षरा.

कणमोक्षण.

कतुलक्षण.

कतुशान्ति.

कविवरगणनिर्णय by अनन्तदेव.

कवितर्पण.

कवितर्पणकारिका.

कविभट्टी ; see संस्कारभास्कर.

कप्यशृङ्गविधान (rite for inducing rainfall). Baroda O. I. 11047 A and C.

कप्यशृङ्गनसृति- vide sec. 40.

एकदण्डसंन्यासविधि by शौनक.

एकनक्षत्रजननशान्ति by गग (Baroda O. I. No. 5661).

एकवस्त्रस्नानविधि by भातुभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट. About 1640-1680 A. D.

एकाग्रिकाण्ड (यजुर्वेदीय) also known as मन्त्रपाठ, मन्त्रप्रपाठक and मन्त्रप्रश्न. (pr. in Mysore G. O. L. series, 1902). Vide आपस्तम्बीयमन्त्रपाठ.

एकाग्रिकाण्डमन्त्रव्याख्या by हरदत्त.

एकाग्रिदानपद्धति of श्रीदत्तमिश्र ; ms. copied under देवमिह of मिथिला in इ. सं. 299 i. e. 1418 A. D.

एकादशाहकन्य.

एकादशिनीप्रयोग (chanting of रुद्राध्याय eleven times).

एकादशीतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

C. by काशीराम वाचस्पति.

C. दीप by राधामोहन गोस्वामी, a friend of Colebrooke, residing at Śāntipura. He was a descendant of अह्नैत, associate of चैतन्य.

एकादशीनिर्णय (several works are so called and are ano. in the catalogues).

एकादशीनिर्णय or निर्णयसार by धरणीधर, son of मुरारि ; composed in śake 1408 (1486 A. D.) ; refers to महाराजधिराज वीसलदेव ; mentions अनन्तभट्ट, चोपदेवपाण्डित, विश्वरूप

(verses on varieties of शुद्ध and विद्धा एकादशी), विश्वानेश्वर (three श्रमधरा verses on एकादशी). Baroda O. I. ms. No. 12052 is dated संवत् 1620.

एकादशीनिर्णय of हरि, son of नरसिंह, of अष्टपुत्र family, at विराटनगर (Wai) on the Kṛṣṇā.

एकादशीनिर्णय by शङ्कर, son of नीलकण्ठ (part of सदाचारसंग्रह).

एकादशीनिर्णयव्याख्या of अच्युतानन्द (a pupil of आनन्दगिरि).

एकादशीविषय by शूलपाणि- sec. 95.

एकादशीव्रतनिर्णय by देवकीानन्दन.

एकादशीव्रतोपापनपद्धति.

एकादशीहोमनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. 8332).

एकादशीहोमनिर्णय by रामनखरान (Baroda O. I. 8656).

एकोद्दिष्टश्राद्ध.

एकोद्दिष्टश्राद्धपद्धति.

एकोद्दिष्टश्राद्धप्रयोग.

एकोद्दिष्टसारिणी by रत्नपाणिमिश्र, son of मंगोलीसखीवेश्वर, composed for securing the favour of the king of मिथिला.

ऐन्दवमासनिर्णय by गणेशदत्त.

औदीच्यप्रकाश by वेणीदत्त.

औपासनप्रायश्चित्त (from संस्कारदीपिति of अनन्तदेव).

और्ध्वदेहिककल्पवल्ली by विश्वनाथ.

और्ध्वदेहिकक्रियापद्धति by विश्वनाथ, son of ज्योतिर्विज गोवाल (according to कृष्णपञ्चद माध्यन्दिनशाखा). He was गोमतीपालहातीय.

और्ध्वदेहिकनिर्णय by बाहुदेवाश्रम.

और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति of कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण; sec. 106.

और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति or-प्रयोग by कृष्ण-दीक्षित, son of यज्ञेश्वर (according to सामवेद).

और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति by दयाशङ्कर.

और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति or अन्वेषितपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर.

और्ध्वदेहिकप्रकरण.

और्ध्वदेहिकाधिकारनिर्णय.

कटपरीशष्ट quoted by हेमाद्रि in परिशेषसंग्रह.

कटसूत्र quoted by हेमाद्रि in परिशेषसंग्रह and संस्कारमण्डप.

कण्ठभूषण by वैदिकसार्वभौम, m. in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका. It is a com. on शुद्धरत्न.

कण्वस्मृति- m. by हरदत्त on गौ. घ. सू., आचार्यमण्डप, आश्रमपत्र.

कदलीव्रतोपापन.

कन्यागमतीर्थविधि.

कन्यादानपद्धति.

कन्यादानप्रयोग.

कन्याविवाह.

कन्यासंस्कार.

कर्पादिकारिका m. by नि. सि., संस्कारमण्डप of सिद्धेश्वर.

कपालमोचनश्राद्ध.

कपिलगोदान.

कपिलसंहिता m. in संस्कारमण्डप.

कपिलस्मृति in 10 अध्याय, each with 100 verses, on degeneration of जाद्वज्ज in Kali, आश्र, purifying ceremonies, adopted son, विवाह, gifts, penances.



कपिलादान.

कपिलादानपद्धति.

कर्णवैधविधान (from प्रयोगपारिजात).

कर्मकाण्डपद्धति.

कर्मकाण्डसारसमुच्चय (Baroda O. I. 9506 dated संवत् 1618, i.e. 1561-62 A. D.).

कर्मकालप्रकाश by कृष्णराम.

कर्मकौमुदी by कृष्णदत्त, son of आचस्यिक ब्रह्मदत्त.

कर्मकौमुदी by मित्रविष्णुशर्मन्.

कर्मक्रियाकाण्ड (शैव) composed by सोमशङ्खु in 1073 A.D.; ms. copied in 1206 A. D.; vide Hp. p. 95.

कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका alias लघुपद्धति by कृष्णभट्ट, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of रघुनाथ, on कलिवर्ग, आह्निक, संस्कार, श्राद्ध; quotes माधवीय, वामनभाष्य, चन्द्रिका, जयन्त, कालादर्श, मदन-पारिजात. About 1400-1550 A. D. (Stein's cat. p. 304, extract).

कर्मदीप quoted in विक्रान्तमण्डन.

कर्मदीपिका of रघुरामतीर्थ. Incomplete ms. in B B R A S. cat. p. 211-213; a vast work; over 73 adhyāyas on वर्णाश्रमधर्म, व्यवहार, प्रायश्चित्त. Names विज्ञानेश्वर.

कर्मदीपिका of हरिदत्त, son of भुज (Baroda O. I. No. 6892) on कुण्ड, वेदि, मण्डपक, कन्यादान, चतुर्थी-कर्म.

कर्मनिर्णय by आचन्दतीर्थ.

C. by जयतीर्थ.

CC. by राघवेन्द्र.

कर्मपद्धति by विश्वनाथानन्द.

कर्मपीठ m. in अहन्वाकामधेनु.

कर्मप्रकाश by कलायत्तञ्ज.

कर्मप्रकाश m. by रघुनन्दन in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व. कर्मप्रकाशिका of वत्साक्षर मुकुनाथ (on पाकयज्ञ, कृष्णाण्डहोम, पुत्रस्वीकार-विधि, इत्यादि).

कर्मप्रदीप attributed to कात्यायन or गोमिल. Also called, इन्दोगपरिशिष्ट; quoted by शूलपाणि, माधव, रघुनन्दन, कमलाकर.

C. by आशादित्य or आशार्क, son of चक्रधर.

C. परिशिष्टप्रकाश by नारायणोपाध्याय, son of गेण (B. I. series 1909).

C. by शिवराम, son of विश्वराम.

कर्मप्रदीपिका, 2 पद्धति 10 पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र, by कामदेव.

कर्मप्रायश्चित्त by वेदकूविजयिन्.

कर्ममञ्जरी (Ulwar cat. No. 1277).

कर्मलोचन 108 stanzas on duties of householders.

कर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाक by ब्रह्मदेव who is said to have instructed नारद on the fruits of कर्म in 12 अध्याय (Ulwar cat. extract 293).

कर्मविपाक by भरत who is instructed by भृगु.

कर्मविपाक by भृगु who is instructed by वसिष्ठ.

कर्मविपाक by माधवाचार्य.

कर्मविपाक by मान्धातु- see महार्णवकर्म-विपाक.

कर्मविपाक by मौलुगिभूतति m. in कर्म-विपाकसारग्राह and कृत्तिहप्रस्ताद; earlier than 1380 A. D.

कर्मविपाक by रवि to अरुण (Ulwar cat. No. 1278 and extract No. 293).

कर्मविपाक by रामकृष्णाचार्य.

कर्मविपाक by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट- see महार्णव-कर्मविपाक; m. in शुद्धितत्त्व p. 242.

कर्मविपाक by शङ्करभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठ भट्ट (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 575).

कर्मविपाक by the eldest son of काल्ड-देव, son of पद्मनाभ. Vide under सारग्राहकर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाक from the ज्ञानभास्कर.

कर्मविपाक from शातातपस्मृति (pr. Jivananda II. p. 435 ff).

कर्मविपाक from the सूर्यार्णव.

कर्मविपाकचिकित्सासूतसागर by पण्डित देवीदास.

कर्मविपाकपरिपाटी.

कर्मविपाकप्रापञ्चित.

कर्मविपाकमहार्णव; vide महार्णवकर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाकरत्न by कमलाकर, son of राम-कृष्ण.

कर्मविपाकसंहिता (pr. at Venk. P.), a part of ब्रह्मपुराण.

कर्मविपाकसंग्रह from महार्णवकर्मविपाक, quoted by शङ्कर in कर्मविपाक and in मदनरत्न.

कर्मविपाकसमुच्चय m. in महार्णव of मान्धातु, son of मदनपाल and in निर्याचारप्रदीप. Earlier than 1350 A. D.

कर्मविपाकसार quoted by शङ्कर in कर्म-विपाक and in निर्याचारप्रदीप pp. 140 and 207.

कर्मविपाकसार by दलवतिराज (about 1510 A. D.).

कर्मविपाकसार by दिनकर, son of राम-कृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट (I. O. ms. dated सेवह 1696; vide cat. p. 573). About 1585-1640 A. D.

कर्मविपाकसार by सूर्यराम.

कर्मविपाकसारग्राह by eldest son of कान्हड or काहड, son of पद्मनाभ; vide under सारग्राहकर्मविपाक and कर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाकाकं by शङ्कर. See कर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाकसारोद्धार.

कर्मसंग्रह m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

कर्मसरणि by विठ्ठल दीक्षित; vide under सद्गुरुदत्ता. Said to have been born about 1519 A. D.

कर्मसिद्धिसिद्धान्त by दुरुषोत्तम (Baroda O. I. 8361) on भास्कर, स्वप्नाध्याय &c.

कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति by भक्तेय (vide sec. 73).

C. संसारपद्धतिरहस्य.

कर्मोपदेशिनी of अनिरुद्ध (sec. 82); quoted by रघुनन्दन and कमलाकर.

कर्मोपदेशिनी of हलायुध (sec. 72).

कलानिधि m. in स्मृतिसारोद्धार of विश्व-रूपर.

कलिका- vide दीपकलिका; quoted by कमलाकर.

कलिधर्मनिर्णय.

कलिधर्मप्रकरण by कमलाकरभट्ट.

कलिधर्मसारसंग्रह by विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती.

कलिधुमधर्मसार of विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती in two parts, first on worship of चण्डू and 2nd on शिवपूजा, गंगा-स्नानफल &c.

कलियुगधर्माधर्म.

कलिवर्णनिर्णय by दामोदर, eldest brother of नीलकण्ठ; quoted in आचारमण्ड. About 1610 A. D. Mentions मांसमीमांसा of नारायणभट्ट, शास्त्रदीपिकाटीका of his father, रामचन्द्राचार्य, आश्वदीपिकाटीका etc. (Baroda O. I. No. 10793).

कल्पतरु by लक्ष्मीधर: vide sec. 77.

कल्पद्रु quoted in मदनपारिजात and by देवदास.

कल्पद्रुम- see दानकल्पद्रुम, रामकल्पद्रुम and आश्वकल्पद्रुम: quoted by चण्डेश्वर and मदनपारिजात (who both mean कल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर).

कल्पलता-vide कृत्यकल्पलता.

कल्पलता by लोहद (?); quoted by श्रीधर, आश्वसंघ of रामकृष्ण, by रघुनन्दन in मलमासतत्त्व.

कल्पवृक्षदान.

कवचस्मृति quoted in पराशरस्मृति-व्याख्या and मत्सरिभाष्य on गौ.ध.सू.

कविरहस्य by कृष्णभट्ट.

कविराजकौतुक by कविराजगिरि.

कवयस्मृति quoted in हेमाद्रि, माधव, विज्ञानेश्वर and मदनपारिजात.

कव्यपोतरसंहिता.

कस्तूरिस्मृति or स्मृतिशेखर by कस्तूरि.

कांस्यपात्रदान.

काकचण्डेश्वरी.

काठकण्डव्युक्त quoted by हेमाद्रि, रघु० in मलमासतत्त्व, आश्वमयस्य.

काठकण्डव्युक्तिका.

काठकण्डव्युक्तिपरिशिष्ट m. by हेमाद्रि and रघुनन्दन.

काठकण्डव्युक्त by लौगाक्षि (ed. by Dr. Caland in D. A. V. College series, Lahore 1925, with extracts from three com.).

C. (भाष्य) by देवपाल, son of हरिपालभट्ट.

C. विवरण by आदित्यदर्शन.

C पद्धति of ब्राह्मणवल, son of माधवाचार्य.

काठकाङ्गिक by गङ्गाधर.

काण्व quoted in आप. ध. सू. I. 19. 7.

कातीयगृह्य- see पारस्करगृह्य; m. in संस्कारमण्ड.

कात्यायनगृह्यकारिका.

कात्यायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट.

कात्यायनस्मृति m. by राजवल्क्य, विज्ञानेश्वर, हेमाद्रि, माधव. See बृह्दकात्यायन; m. by रघुनन्दन; pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 603-644. This is also called कर्मप्रदीप and गोभिलस्मृति in Anan. Sm. pp. 49-71.

कादम्बरी, a com. on the वैतनिर्णय by गोकुलनाथ.

कामधेनु of गोपाल; vide sec. 71.

कामधेनु of पतीश, son of टेकचन्द्र, on धर्म, अर्थ, काम and मोक्ष. Compiled under विजयपाल son of अमृतपाल in four स्तनः (on धर्म, अर्थ, काम, मोक्ष); ms. in Stein's cat. pp. 84 and 303 contains 283 verses on धर्म and breaks off after 206 on अर्थ.

कामधेनुदीपिका by नारायण, commentator of मनुस्मृति (vide मनु V, 56, 80, 104).

कामन्दकीयनीतिसार (pr. in B. I. series and Tri. S. series) m. in महाभारत,

वामन's काव्यालंकार, In 19 सर्गs and 1087 verses. Some mss have 20 सर्गs.

C. by आत्माराम.

C. उपाध्यायनिरपेक्ष (vide Ulwar cat. extract 295 which begins work with the first verse of काव्यादर्श and derives कौटिल्य as कुटिर्पट उच्यते तं लान्ति संशुद्धन्ति ...नाधिकं...इति कुटिलाः ..., कुटिलानामपत्यं कौटिल्यः विष्णुमुत्तः).

C. by जवराम.

C. नयमङ्गला by शङ्करार्प (pr. in Tri. S. series).

C. नयप्रकाश by वरदराज.

कामरूपनिबन्ध quoted by रघुनन्दन in मलमासतत्त्व and by कमलाकर.

कामरूपयात्रापद्धति by हरिरामशर्मन् in ten पटलs.

कामिक m. by हेमाद्रि, कालमाधव, वृसिंह-प्रसाद, नि. सि.

काम्यकर्मकमला.

काम्यसामान्यप्रयोगारम्भ.

कायरपक्षेत्रवियत्तद्रुमदलनकुटार by लक्ष्मी-नारायणपण्डित.

कायरपथतत्त्व.

कायरपथधर्मदीप or -प्रकाश by विश्वेश्वर alias गागाभट्ट (composed about 1674 A. D.).

कायरपथनिर्णय.

कायरपथपद्धति by विश्वेश्वर. Printed at Bombay in 1873. Same as कायस्थ-धर्मदीप. Baroda O. I. ms. No. 9670 is dated संवत् 1727 (1670-71 A. D.).

कायरपथविचार.

कायरस्थोत्पत्ति by गङ्गाधर.

कायस्थप्रापश्चित्त.

कारिका by अनन्तदेव.

कारिकाटीका (लघु) by माधव.

कारिकामञ्जरी by कनकस्तभापति, son of वैद्यनाथ, of मौड्लगोज.

C. ग्रथोपादर्श by author himself.

कारिकासमुच्चय.

कार्तवीर्यार्जुनदीपदान by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण.

कार्तवीर्यार्जुनदीपदानपद्धति by रघुनाथ, son of विश्वामित्र.

कार्तवीर्यार्जुनदीपदानपद्धति by लक्ष्मण-देविक, son of कृष्ण.

कार्यनिर्णयसंक्षेप on आद्य.

कार्णाजिनिस्मृति m. by हेमाद्रि, माधव, जीमूतवाहन, मिता ०.

कालकौमुदी m. in दूर्गोत्सवविवेक.

कालकौमुदी by गोपालभट्ट, son of हरि-वंशभट्ट, who was a द्वाविड. M. by रघुनन्दन, रायमुकुट, कमलाकर; earlier than 1400 A. D.

कालकौमुदी by नीलाम्बर, son of गदाधर, author of कालसार; m. in शुद्धि-कौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द.

कालयुष्मोत्तर m. in शान्तिमण्डल.

कालचन्द्रिका by कृष्णभट्टमौनिष्ठ.

कालचन्द्रिका by पाण्डुरङ्ग मोरेश्वरभट्ट.

कालचिन्तामणि m. in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द (so earlier than 1500 A. D.).

कालतत्त्वविवेचन by रघुनाथभट्ट styled सद्भाट्टपति, son of भट्टमाधव (and ललिता), son of भट्टशिवेश्वर. His elder brother was विश्वनाथ. Composed in संवत् 1677 i.e. 1620 A.D.; dead with तिथिs, मास, अधिकमास.

कालतत्त्वविवेचनसारसंग्रह or -सरोवहार  
(based on विवेचन) by क्षम्भुभट्ट,  
son of बालकृष्ण and pupil of  
मीमांसक खण्डदेव. About 1700 A.D.

कालतत्त्वार्णव.

C. रामप्रकाश by रामदेव.

कालतरङ्ग first part of स्मृत्यर्थसागर by  
छलारिवृत्तिह.

कालदानपद्धति.

कालदिवाकर by चन्द्रचूडदीक्षित.

कालदीप m. in संस्कारमयूख and वृत्तिह-  
प्रसाद (संस्कारसार). Earlier than  
1500 A. D.

C. m. in प्रयोगपरिभाषा of वृत्तिह.

कालदीप of दिव्यसिंह महापात्र.

कालनिरूपण by वैद्यनाथ.

कालनिर्णय by आदित्यभट्ट कौवल्लभ.

कालनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायप्रधान.

कालनिर्णय by तोटकाचार्य.

कालनिर्णय (लघु) by दामोदर.

कालनिर्णय by नारायणभट्ट (? probably  
same as कालनिर्णयसंग्रहश्लोकविवरण).

कालनिर्णय (संक्षिप्त) by भट्टोजि (Baroda  
O. I. No. 5373).

कालनिर्णय by माधव (called काल-  
माधवीय). Pr. in B. I. series and  
Ch. S. series.

C. by मिश्रमोहनतर्कतिलक, son of  
ब्रह्मकादास; written in संवत् 1670  
(समुत्तिरसंस्कृतमित्ये) i. e. 1614  
A.D. (D. C. No. 264 of 1886-92).

C. कालनिर्णयसंग्रहश्लोकविवरण by  
नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर.

C. कालमाधवचान्द्रिका by मधुरानाथ  
शुक्ल.

B. D. 67.

C. दीपिका-vide कालनिर्णयदीपिका of  
रामचन्द्राचार्य below.

C. by धरणीधर.

C. लक्ष्मी by लक्ष्मीदेवी, wife of वैद्य-  
नाथ पायगुण्ड.

कालनिर्णय from परिशेषखण्ड of हेमाद्रि.

कालनिर्णयकारिका (130 कारिकाs of  
माधवाचार्य taken from कालमाधव).

C. and. (N. vol. X. pp. 239-  
240).

C. by वैद्यनाथ (Stein's cat. p. 85),  
son of रामचन्द्र.

कालनिर्णयकौस्तुभ, a part of हरिचं-  
दिलास of नन्दसिंह.

कालनिर्णयचान्द्रिका by द्विपराभट्ट, son  
of महादेव, samantad har. About  
1660. He was daughter's son of  
रामकृष्ण, father of कामलाकर.

(2) by सीतारामचन्द्र of कौण्डिन्यगोत्र,  
son of अधिभट्ट and कामला and  
grandson of वृत्तिह.

कालनिर्णयदीपिका by काशीनाथभट्ट also  
called शिवानन्दनाथ, son of जयराम-  
भट्ट and grandson of शिवरामभट्ट  
and pupil of अनन्त.

कालनिर्णयदीपिका by छगनभट्ट.

कालनिर्णयदीपिका a com. on माधवीय-  
कालनिर्णय by रामचन्द्राचार्य, son of  
कृष्णाचार्य and great-grandson of  
अनन्ताचार्य and pupil of परमहंस-  
श्रीगोपाल. About 1400 A. D. He  
wrote प्रक्रियाकौमुदी.

C. विवरण by his son वृत्तिह; ms.  
dated 1548 A.D.; m. in वृत्तिहप्रसाद.  
This gives a detailed pedigree  
of the शेष family (Baroda O. I.

- Ms. No. 10/10, which says it was composed in śake 1331 (शशाङ्ककालानलविश्वसंमिते विरोधिचर्पे).
- C. रामप्रकाश by राघवेन्द्र, composed by order of कृपारामवृषति.
- C. by सूर्यपण्डित.
- कालनिर्णयप्रकाश by रामचन्द्र, son of विठ्ठल and grandson of बालकृष्ण-तन्त्र. His mother was daughter of रघुनाथभट्ट, author of कालतत्त्व-विवेचन. So about 1670 A. D. Baroda O. I. No. 8455 is dated śake 1603 माघ (February 1682 A. D.).
- कालनिर्णयसंग्रह by मधुति, son of लक्ष्मीधर; based on इमाद्वि's work.
- कालनिर्णयसार by दशरथराज (part of नृसिंहप्रसाद); sec. 99.
- कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्त in 118 verses by महादेवचिद्, son of कालजित; based on prose materials collected by रघुराम, son of जयराम, in बेलवटपुर near modern Sihor; composed in 1709 संवत्, i. e. 1652-53 A. D. in the city of Bhuj (modern Bhuj). Vide D. C. Ms. No. 275 of 1887-91.
- C. by same; composed in संवत् 1710.
- कालनिर्णयसौख्य or समपनिर्णयसौख्य (part of टोडरानन्द).
- कालनिर्णयसौख्य by अनन्तदेवज्ञ.
- कालप्रदीप m. in प्रयोगशारिता of नृसिंह.
- कालप्रदीप by दिव्यसिंह.
- कालभाष्यनिर्णय by गौरीनाथ चक्रवर्तिन (Baroda O. I. 10260).
- कालभास्कर by शम्भुनाथमिश्र (Baroda O. I. 10155).
- कालभेद.
- कालमयूष or समपमयूष of नीलकण्ठ; sec. 107.
- कालमाधव (pr. Kashi S. series and B. I. series). Vide कालनिर्णय above.
- कालमाधवकारिका or लघुमाधव.
- C. by पैपनाथसुरि, son of रामचन्द्र-तन्त्र, son of विठ्ठल. Ulwar cat. No. 1293.
- कालमार्तण्ड by कृष्णमित्राचार्य, son of रामसेवक and grandson of देवीदत्त-भट्ट.
- कालविधान m. in आद्यकल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.
- कालविधान of श्रीधर.
- कालविधानपञ्चति of श्रीधर.
- कालविवेक by जीमूतबाहुन (B. I. series). Vide sec. 78; m. by नृसिंह, रघुनन्दन and कमलाकर.
- कालविवेचनसारसंग्रह by शम्भुभट्ट.
- कालसर्वस्य of कृष्णमिश्र of the कौस्तुभ-गोत्र.
- कालसार of गदाधर, son of नीलाम्बर and जानकी and nephew of हल-धर who was guru of the queen of हरेकृष्णभूपति; pr. in B. I. series. Between 1450-1500 A. D. Men- tions कालमाधवीय, कालादर्श, रुद्रधर.
- कालसिद्धान्त or सिद्धान्तनिर्णय by चन्द्र-चूड, son of उमापति or उमणभट्ट, son of धर्माभट्ट, surnamed पौराणिक. Later than 1550 A. D.
- कालादर्श or कालनिर्णय by आदित्यभट्ट कविप्रह्लाद of गर्गगोत्र, pupil of विश्वे-

- श्रवाचार्य; ms. dated संवत् 1581; quoted by बुर्खिट, अज्ञानाथ, रघु-नन्दन, कालमाधव, दुर्गोत्तमविषयक; composed between 1200-1325 A. D., as it mentions स्मृति-चन्द्रिका, स्मृतिमहार्णव, विश्वादर्श.
- कालावलि (and C. उज्ज्वला) by वेङ्कट-यज्वन्, one of whose four brothers was यदुयज्वन्.
- (1) (pr. at Madras in Telugu and Grantha characters) Hultsch R. I. p. 72.
- (2) by बुरुभट्टलक्ष्मीनरसिंह and com. by author; pr. at Madras in 1880.
- कालावलि m. in अद्भुतमासर.
- कालिकार्चनपद्धति.
- कालिकार्चनप्रदीप m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.
- कालिकार्चनसंहिता m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.
- कालिकार्चादीपिका.
- कालोनर m. in हेमाद्रि. मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०; seems to be the Tantric work of that name.
- काल्यार्चनचन्द्रिका by नीलकमल लाहारी; pr. at Murshidabad, 1877-79, in Bengali characters.
- काशीखण्डकथकेलि by प्रभाकर.
- काशीतत्त्व by रघुनाथेन्द्रसरस्वती.
- काशीतत्त्वदीपिका by प्रभाकर (Is it the same as केलि above?).
- काशीतत्त्वप्रकाशिका or काशीसारोद्धार by रघुनाथेन्द्रशिवयोगिन् (Stein's cat. pp. 86, 303). Divided into उद्धारस. Probably the same as काशीतत्त्व above.
- काशीप्रकरण (from the जिग्मर्होसितु).
- काशीप्रकाश by नन्दपण्डित. See 105.
- काशीमरणमुक्तिविचार by नारायणभट्ट.
- काशीमाहात्म्यकौमुदी by रघुनाथदास.
- काशीमुक्तिप्रकाशिका.
- काशीसृतिमोक्षनिर्णय or काशीमोक्षनिर्णय by सुरेश्वराचार्य.
- काशीसृतिमोक्षनिर्णय by विश्वनाथाचार्य.
- काशीरहस्यप्रकाश, by भद्रनारायण, son of राम, son of नारायण, composed at राजनगर by order of कामदेव.
- काश्यपधर्मशास्त्र—vide sec. 19 (Vide I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 384 No. 1317).
- कांतिचन्द्रोदय by दामोदरपण्डित under the patronage of चन्द्रमल्ल in the reign of Akbar (latter half of 16th century).
- कांतिचन्द्र.
- कांतिप्रकाश of विष्णुधर्मन्; vide under समयप्रकाश (I. O. cat. p. 538 No. 1682).
- कुण्डकल्पवृक्ष of माधवशास्त्र, son of कृष्ण, son of व्यासनारायण; composed in 1577 šake (1655-56 A. D.). BBRAS cat. p. 138. He was उदाच्यब्राह्मण of the काश्यपगोत्र, mentions कुण्डतत्त्वप्रदीप, कुण्ड-शिरोमणि, कुण्डसिंहि, विश्वनाथ; pr. at Benares in 1879 A. D. C. by author.
- कुण्डकल्पलता by द्वण्डिराज, son of बुरु-बोत्तम, son of रामकुण्ड. He was pupil of रामपण्डित, father of नन्द-पण्डित. About 1600 A. D.
- कुण्डकारिका by भट्टलक्ष्मीधर.
- कुण्डकौमुदी or कुण्डमण्डपकौमुदी in 103 verses of विश्वनाथ, son of शम्भु.



He is different from विश्वनाथ, a. of लघुपरमार्क - between 1520-1600 A. D., as m. in मण्डपकुण्ड-  
साय and as he mentions मदनराज  
and रूपनारायण.

C. by author.

कुण्डकोसदी by शिवसूरि son of व्यसक  
(महाजन).

C. कुण्डालोक by same. Vide  
Hultzsch's Report No. III. p. V.  
and p. 80; mentions कोस्तुभ. मण्ड.  
कुण्डरंभादि and रामनाजयेव. Later  
than 1680 A. D.

कुण्डमणपात.

कुण्डचमकति.

C. by रासदेव of the महाजन  
family, son of शिवसूरि, son of  
व्यसक.

कुण्डतत्त्वप्रकाश or अकाशिका by राम-  
नन्दतीर्थ.

कुण्डतत्त्वप्रदीप by ललभटसूरि शृङ्ग, son  
of श्यामर of वसमोज; compos-  
ed at खम्बतार (Khambayat) in  
1623 A. D. Has 164 verses.

C. by author composed in  
1632 A. D. Vide D. C. Ms. No.  
204 of 1884-87.

कुण्डदिक्पाल by बाबाजी पाडे.

C. by author.

कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोक by रामवाजपेय, an in-  
habitant of नैमिषारण्य; composed  
in सेवत 1506 i. e. 1449-50 A. D.

C. by author.

कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोकाद्विका by माधिराम-  
दीक्षित.

कुण्डपद्यति or नागोजिभट्ट.

कुण्डपरिमाण ano. (BBRAS cat.  
p. 138).

कुण्डप्रकाश by रुद्रदेव, son of नारायण  
of तोरो family (from the  
प्रतापनारसिंह). Vide Ulwar cat.  
extra 299. About 1710 A. D.

कुण्डप्रदीप in 21 verses by महादेव  
राजसूर, son of काद्विजिहाडव.

C. by same; quotes कामिक.

कुण्डप्रदीप by महादेव राजसूर, son of  
काद्विजिहाड and teacher of हितगज  
(Hibatrao) in 20 fine verses  
in शाहूलविज्जीहित. स्रग्धरा and  
अनुष्टुप.

C. by author.

कुण्डप्रबन्ध by कालिदाम, son of  
बलभट in 73 verses. Composed  
in Śake 1544 (1632 A. D.) D. C.  
Ms. No. 42 of 1882-83.

कुण्डभास्वर vide कुण्डोदयोतदर्शन.

कुण्डमण्डप by वाचस्पति.

कुण्डमण्डपकौमुदी vide कुण्डकौमुदी by  
शिवसूरि.

कुण्डमण्डपचन्द्रिका by वज्रसूरि, son of  
विश्वनाथ.

कुण्डमण्डपदर्शन by नारायण, son of  
अनन्त; composed in Śake 1500  
1578 A. D.; in 49 श्लोक  
written at टापरग्राम, while his  
प्रपितामह dwelt at मणौरग्राम.

C. मनोरमा by गङ्गाधर, son of  
author.

कुण्डमण्डपनिर्णय from परशुरामपद्यति.

कुण्डमण्डपनिर्णय by मीलकुण्ड, son of  
शङ्करभट्ट (Stein p. 86).

कुण्डमण्डपपद्धति.

कुण्डमण्डपमण्डनप्रकाशिका by नरहरिभट्ट  
surnamed सप्तर्षि. Peterson (Ul-  
war cat. extract No. 300) wrong-  
ly says that the work is called  
सप्तर्षि.

C. by author.

कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण (same as कुण्डनिर्माण-  
श्लोक above) of रामबाजपेयी, son of  
सूर्यदास; composed in संवत् 1506  
(1449-50 A. D.) at the order of  
the king of रत्नपुर. In 74 श्लोक.

C. by same.

कुण्डमण्डपविधान by अनन्तभट्ट.

कुण्डमण्डपविधान by नीलकण्ठ.

कुण्डमण्डपविधि by केशवभट्ट, son of  
गोपालदीक्षित.

कुण्डमण्डपविधि by बाबूदीक्षित जडे.

कुण्डमण्डपविधि by रामबाजपेयी (pro-  
bably same as कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण  
above).

कुण्डमण्डपविधि by लक्ष्मण देशिकेन्द्र.

कुण्डमण्डपसंग्रह by रामकृष्ण.

कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि by नीलकण्ठ.

कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि or कुण्डसिद्धि by बिहल  
दीक्षित, son of ब्रह्ममन् of San-  
gamner (in Ahmednagar Dis-  
trict) of the कुण्ठाविगोत्र; com-  
posed in Śake 1541 (शशियुगतिधि-  
गण्ये) i. e. 1619-20 A. D. Vide  
BBRAS cat. p. 141.

C. by same; pr. at Bombay in  
1892.

C. by राम.

कुण्डमण्डपहोमविधि.

कुण्डमरीचिमाला by विष्णु. Based on  
the कुण्डाकृति of राम.

कुण्डमार्तण्ड of गोविन्ददैवज्ञ, son of  
गदाधर of माध्यन्दिनशाखा and गौतम-  
गोत्र; composed at Junnar in  
1691-92 A. D. in 71 verses.

C. घभा by अनन्त, son of सिद्धेश्वर  
residing at पट्टीपत्तन (Pali in Bhor  
State). D. C. Ms. No. 43 of A  
1882-83. Composed in 1693  
A. D.

कुण्डमार्तण्ड of रामबाजपेयी. Probably  
same as कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण.

कुण्डसूत्र by गोपाल (Ulwar cat.  
No. 1303 and extract 301).

कुण्डरचना.

C.

कुण्डरचनामिति by बालकृष्ण son of देश-  
भट्ट.

कुण्डरत्नाकर of विश्वनाथ द्विवेदिन, son  
of श्रीपति, son of जगन्नाथ; quotes  
कुण्डाकृति of रामबाजपेयी and is  
quoted in कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि of बिहल;  
flourished between 1450-1615  
A. D. In 84 verses.

C. by विश्वनाथ (the author).

कुण्डरत्नावलि by रामचन्द्र जडे, son of  
कुण्ठा alias Babu; composed in  
Śake 1790. Pr. at Nir. P.

कुण्डलक्षण by राम नैमिषारण्यवासिन.  
Probably same as कुण्डनिर्माण-  
श्लोक above.

कुण्डलक्ष्मचिन्ति of राम, son of सूर्यदास  
(रघुदेव in Stein's cat. p. 186);  
same as कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोकटीका and  
कुण्डमण्डपलक्षणटीका above; m. in  
आचारमयूख. About 1449 A. D.

कुण्डविचार from तत्त्वसार.

कुण्डविधान by विष्णुनाथ

कुण्डशिरोमणि m. in कुण्डकल्पद्रुम.

Earlier than 1640 A. D.

कुण्डश्लोकदीपिका of रामचन्द्र; m. in  
प्रतापनारसिंह (वृत्तप्रकाश).

कुण्डश्लोकप्रकाशिका by रामचरण.

कुण्डसाधनविधि.

कुण्डसिद्धि vide कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि above.

कुण्डसिद्धि by विष्णेश्वरभट्ट.

कुण्डसिद्धि by रामभट्ट.

कुण्डारुति by रामवानपर्वण नैमिषस्थ,  
son of सूर्यदास; in 1449 A. D.  
(at bidding of prince रामचन्द्र  
of रत्नपुर). Probably same as  
कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोकविहृति above.

C. by author.

कुण्डार्क by कृष्णाचार्य.

कुण्डार्क by शङ्करभट्ट son of नीलकण्ठ  
of the चतुर्धर family; pr. at Rat-  
nagiri in 1873.

C. मरीचिमाला by रघुवीर, son of  
बिहल who was author of कुण्ड-  
मण्डपसिद्धि; pr. at Bombay in  
1902. He wrote मुहूर्तसर्वस्व in  
1635-36 A. D.

कुण्डार्कमणिदीपिका by बलभद्रसुरि.

C. by author.

कुण्डार्चन by श्रीधर अग्निहोत्रिन, son of  
श्रीसूर्य, son of नागेश; ms. copied  
in Śake 1661 (1739 A. D.).

कुण्डोदधि in 9 अक्षरा verses by  
रामचन्द्र.

कुण्डोदयोत by नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्कर-  
भट्ट.

C. कुण्डभास्कर by शङ्कर, son of  
the author.

कुण्डोदयोतदर्शन by अनन्तदेव.

कुण्डोदयोतदर्शन alias कुण्डभास्कर of  
शङ्करभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठ; same as  
com. on कुण्डोदयोत, composed  
in 1671 A. D.

कुभुमिरस्ति m. in अपराक, काठविषेक  
of जीमूतवाहन, हेमाद्रि.

कुमारतन्त्र, of the son of रावण; m. in  
मदनरत्न (शान्त्युदयोत).

कुमारस्ति m. in मिताक्षरा, अपराक,  
प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व.

कुरुक्षेत्रार्चननिर्णय by रामचन्द्र.

कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप by वनमालिमिश्र, alias  
कृष्णदत्तमिश्र, son of मोहशमिश्र and  
disciple of भट्टोजिदीक्षित; about  
1650 A. D.

कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप or क्षेत्रमाहात्म्य by माधवा-  
चार्य.

कुरुक्षेत्ररत्नाकर by शङ्कर.

कुरुक्षेत्रादुक्रमणिका of हरिमिरि.

कुशकण्डिका by बंशीधर.

कूपप्रतिष्ठा.

कृष्माण्डहोम.

कृष्माण्डहोमप्रयोग.

कृष्णचान्द्रायणलक्षण.

कृष्णलक्षण.

कृष्णादिसुप्रसोधिनीपद्धति by रामचन्द्र,  
son of विष्णु (Baroda O. I.  
10629).

कृतिकन्तर by मणिरामदीक्षित.

कृतिसारसमुच्चय by अमृतनाथमिश्र.

कृत्यकल्पतरु alias कल्पतरु by लक्ष्मीधर;  
vide sec. 77.

कृत्यकल्पद्रुम by गदाधर; m. by वाचस्पति-  
मिश्र. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

कृत्यकल्पलता of वाचस्पति; m. by रघु-  
नन्दन in मलमासतत्त्व.

कृत्यकालविनिर्णय of श्रीनाथ, son of  
श्रीकराचार्य; vide under कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव.

कृत्यकौमुदी vide sec. 101 on गोविन्दा-  
नन्द. It is this that is m. in मल-  
मासतत्त्व of रघु.

कृत्यकौमुदी by गोपीनाथमिश्र.

कृत्यकौमुदी by जगदानन्द. He men-  
tions छुदिदीपिका.

कृत्यकौमुदी by सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य  
(Baroda O. I. No. 10152 on  
एकोद्विंशद् portion of it).

कृत्यचन्द्रिका by रामचन्द्र चक्रवर्तिन.

कृत्यचन्द्रिका by रुद्रधर महामहोपाध्याय,  
pupil of चण्डेश्वर (a calendar of  
fasts and feasts enjoined in the  
स्मृतis and the rites appropriate to  
them). About 1360-1400 A. D.

कृत्यचिन्तामणि by चण्डेश्वर; m. in his  
युहस्थरत्नाकर; vide sec. 90. Deals  
with तारादिशुद्धि, गोचर, वेपथुशुद्धि,  
संवत्सर, करण, नक्षत्र, सुहर्त, अवि-  
मान, गर्भाधान and other संस्कारs,  
मूलशान्ति, वष्टिकापूजा, शनैश्चरचार,  
संक्रान्ति, ग्रहणफल.

कृत्यचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति; sec. 98.

कृत्यचिन्तामणि by शिवराम छूह, son of  
विश्वराम. In five प्रकाशs for सामवेद  
followers. Based on गोधिलगुप्त,  
deals with परिभाषा, शुद्धिभास्व,  
गणेशपूजा, पञ्चमहायज्ञ, अष्टका, संस्कारs.  
Stein's cat. (Intro. p. XV and p.  
86) gives the date of composition

as śake 1562 (1640-41 A. D.),  
but B. O. cat. vol. I. No. 72  
and J B O R S. for 1927 parts  
III-IV p. IX give 1500 śake  
(1578-79 A. D.) as the date.

कृत्यतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

कृत्यतत्त्व alias प्रयोगसार of कृष्णदेव  
स्मार्तवागीश.

कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव alias कृत्यकालविनिर्णय of  
श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकराचार्य; m. in  
शुद्धितत्त्व and प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व, नि. सि.,  
रामप्रकाश and quotes महार्णव.  
About 1475-1525 A. D.

कृत्यदर्पण of आनन्दशर्मा, son of राम-  
शर्मा; m. in his व्यवस्थादर्पण.

कृत्यदीप m. in देवदासप्रकाश.

कृत्यपूर्तिमञ्जरी by रामचन्द्र (pr. at  
Bombay in 1855).

कृत्यप्रदीप of कृष्णमिश्राचार्य.

कृत्यप्रदीप of केशवभट्ट (this is pro-  
bably the कृत्यप्रदीप quoted in  
शुद्धितत्त्व, आद्यतत्त्व, and other  
तत्त्वs).

कृत्यमञ्जरी by बाबूभट्ट, son of महादेव  
केटकर; composed in śake 1640  
पौषमास on नित्य, नैमित्तिक, काम्य rites  
and observances in the 12 months  
of the year, on संक्रान्ति, eclipses  
&c. at सप्तर्षि (modern Satara).  
N. vol. X. pp. 217-219.

कृत्यमहार्णव of वाचस्पतिमिश्र under  
हरिनारायणदेव of मिथिला. Deals  
with feasts and fasts on impor-  
tant days of the twelve months  
of the year; m. in आचारमण्डव;  
vide sec. 98.

कृत्यमुक्तावली vide सङ्कल्पमुक्तावली.

कृत्यरत्न m. in नि. सि., भास्करप्रहस.

कृत्यरत्न of खण्डेराय, son of हरिभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट who was honoured by the king of विदर्भ. In 8 प्रकाशs. Mentions हेमाद्रि, माधवीय and his own संस्काररत्न. Baroda O. L. No. 1953.

कृत्यरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर; vide sec. 90 (pr. B. I. series, 1921).

कृत्यरत्नाकर of मुदाकरसूरी.

कृत्यरत्नावली of रामचन्द्र, son of बिहुल and grandson of बालकृष्ण तत्सव. He was daughter's son of रघुनाथ, author of कालतत्त्वविवेचन. Composed in संवत् 1705 (1648-49 A. D.). Deals with religious observances of तिथिs from प्रतिपद् and of months from चैत्र to काल्युन; quotes हेमाद्रि, मदनरत्न, नारायणभट्ट.

कृत्यरत्नाकर of लक्ष्मीधर.

कृत्यरत्नाकर of नोकनाथ.

कृत्यराज a manual of ceremonial observances for different months of the year compiled under prince कृष्णचन्द्र of नवईय about 1750 A. D.

कृत्यविलसमञ्जरी.

कृत्यसमुच्चय of भूपाल m. in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 499.

कृत्यसागर m. in वर्षमान and स्मृतिरत्नाकर of बेशाचार्य. Earlier than 1400 A. D.

कृत्यसार by मधुरानाथ शुक्ल.

कृत्यसारसमुच्चय of अश्वत्थाम जोड़ा (pr. at Bombay).

कृत्यसारसमुच्चय of वाचस्पति.

कृत्यापहृवदीपिका; vide शान्तिकल्पप्रदीप.

कृत्यार्णव m. in देवदामप्रकाश.

कृष्णपद्धति by चतुर्भुज.

कृष्णभक्तिकल्पवल्ली alias भक्तिमञ्जरी or हरिभक्तिमञ्जरी—a work on कृष्ण worship in four parts (मञ्जरीs).

कृष्णभट्टीय the same as कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका; m. in प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट and in आह्निकचन्द्रिका. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

कृष्णार्चनचन्द्रिका of रत्नपाणि, son of सञ्जीवेश्वर.

कृष्णसुतमहार्णव by आनन्दतीर्थ. N. (new series) vol. III. preface VI.

केशवार्णव by केशव.

कोटचक्र on eight kinds of forts.

कोटिहोमप्रयोग by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट.

कौतुकचिन्तामणि by प्रतापकृष्णदेव. In three द्वात्रिंs on magic charms and expedients for protecting the king's person and for various other purposes, and on various startling, interesting experiments on women, plants, food. N. IX. pp. 189-190 and D. C. Ms. No. 981 of 1887-91 and 1031 of 1884-87. About 1520 A. D.

कौस्तुभनिर्णय.

कौशिकयुद्धसूत्र in 14 अध्यायs (ed. by Bloomfield, 1889).

C. by बट्टारिभट्ट.

C. by दारिल.

C. by बासुदेव.

कौशिकसूत्रसूत्रपद्धति of केशव, son of सोमेश्वर, son of अनन्त + composed at भोजपुर (Stein's cat. p. 248).

कौशिकसूत्रप्रयोगदीपिकावृत्ति.

कौशिकस्मृति m. in निर्णयदीपक, मस्क-  
रिभाष्य on गौतम, हेमाद्रि, माधव.

कौषीतकिपुस्तकारिका.

कौषीतकिपुस्तकसूत्र (pr. in Ben. S.  
series). Vide under शाङ्ख्यन-  
सूत्रसूत्र.

क्रतुस्मृति m. by the मिताक्षरा.

क्रमदीपिका m. in वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी  
(p. 121) and देवप्रतिष्ठातन्त्र;  
before 1500 A. D.

क्रमदीपिका (on worship of कृष्ण)  
by केशवाचार्य in 8 पटलs. About  
1500 A. D.

C. by केशवभट्टगोरखामी.

C. by गोविन्दभट्ट (pr. in Ch. S.  
series).

क्रमदीपिका by निम्पानन्द.

क्रियाकाण्डशेखर m. in हेमाद्रि.

क्रियाकैरवचन्द्रिका.

क्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द (pr. in  
B. I. series). Vide sec. 101.

क्रियाकौमुदी of मधुरगनाथ.

क्रियानिवन्ध m. in शुद्धकर्मठाकर.

क्रियापद्धति by विश्वनाथ. Describes  
rites from the day of death to  
सर्पिणीकरण for माध्वन्दिनीयs. D.  
C. Ms. No. 207 of 1884-87.

क्रियापद्धति or षड्विंशत्यध्यायनादिपद्धति  
N. X. p. 237.

क्रियापदीप.

II. D. 68.

क्रियाश्रय (astrological work in re-  
lation to dharma) m. by अपतर्क.

क्रियामार m. in नि. सि. and कुण्ड-  
मण्डपसिद्धि; earlier than 1600 A. D.

क्षत्रियसंघा.

क्षयमासकल्पनिर्णय.

क्षयमासनिर्णय.

क्षयमाससंस्कारार्कार्पणनिर्णय by परशुराम  
(Stein's cat. p. 87).

क्षयमाससंस्कारार्कार्पणनिर्णयसंग्रह by  
परशुराम (Stein's cat. p. 87).

क्षयमासादिविवेक of रत्नपाणिशर्मा, son of  
मंगोलीसंजीवेश्वर; composed dur-  
ing the reign of छत्रसिंह of मिथिला.  
Gives a long list of authorities,  
such as वाचस्पति, वर्धमान, अनन्त-  
पाण्डित, महेश, स्मृतिविवेक &c.  
Vide N. vol. VI p. 41.

क्षयाधिकमासवृत्ति by गणेशदत्त.

क्षेमप्रकाश by क्षेमवर्मन; composed in  
Vikrama 1568 (1512 A. D.)  
at वीरसिंहपुर, where he was go-  
vernor. On आचार, विष्णुपूजा, शिव-  
पूजा, दान, उत्सर्ग, व्रत; ms. copied  
in संवत् 1582 (1526 A. D.) when  
वीरसिंहदेव was ruler (Stein's cat.  
p. 305, extract).

क्षीर्गनिर्णय or -दर्पण by son of गङ्गाधर.

क्षीर्गविवाह (Baroda O. I. 1142.)

क्षीर्गद्वयसूत्र (pr. in Mysore G. O. L.  
series and translated in S. B. E.  
vol. 29). Agrees closely with  
गोभिलसूत्र.

C. of रुद्रचन्द्र, son of नारायण re-  
siding at मसवाट (pr. in above.).

क्षीर्गद्वयकारिका by वामन.

सेटपीठमाला by आपदेव.

गङ्गाकृत्यविवेक by वर्धमान for king राम-  
भद्रदेव of मिथिला. 1450-1500 A. D.

गङ्गाधरपद्धति by गङ्गाधर (Stein's cat.  
p. 87) m. in रुद्रकल्पद्रुम (vide  
BBRAS cat. vol. II. p. 226).

गङ्गाभक्तिरङ्गिणी by गणपति, son of  
धारेश्वर, in 3 chapters. He says  
that king नान्य of मिथिला gave  
कुलि to his grandfather. N. vol.  
V. p. 183; ms. dated 1766 संवत्  
(1710 A. D.).

गङ्गाभक्तिरङ्गिणी by चतुर्भुजाचार्य.

गङ्गाभक्तिप्रकाश by हरिनन्दन; compos-  
ed in संवत् 1852 (1795-96 A. D.).

गङ्गाभक्तिरसोदय by शिवदेवशर्मा.

गङ्गासुत m. in रघुनन्दन and वर्धमान in  
गङ्गाकृत्यविवेक.

गङ्गासाक्षात्पद्धति by विद्यापति, under the  
patronage of महादेवी निखान्देवी,  
wife of पद्मसिंह of मिथिला, son of  
शिवसिंह, son of देवसिंह, son of  
भवसिंह; m. by गोविन्दानन्द and  
रघुनन्दन (in प्रापञ्चितमय). About  
1400-1450 A. D. Speaks of the  
advantage of visiting and wor-  
shipping the Ganges and bath-  
ing therein.

गणपतितत्त्वविवेक.

गणेशपद्धति by लोमेश्वरपुत्र (Ulwar  
cat. No. 1309).

गणेशविमर्शिनी m. in कुण्डमण्डपमन्त्रि.

गणेशशान्ति.

गदाधरपद्धति (आचारमार्ग) pr. in B. I.  
series.

गद्यदेवल m. in प्रापञ्चितमयसूत्र.

गद्यविष्णु m. in नि. सि.

गद्यव्यास m. by कादम्बिक of जीमूत-  
बाहन.

गन्धर्वप्रयोग (Stein's cat. p. 87).

गभस्तिरसूति m. by अपरार्क, सूतिच०,  
हेमाद्रि.

गयादासनिबन्ध m. by भट्टोजि. Earlier  
than 1600 A. D.

गयातुष्टानपद्धति—part of त्रिस्थलीसेतु of  
नारायणभट्ट.

गयातुष्टानपद्धति alias गयापद्धति by रघु-  
नाथ. Vide गयापद्धति.

गयापद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

गयापद्धति by रघुनाथ, son of माधव,  
son of रामेश्वर; flourished between  
1550-1625 A. D.

गयापद्धतिदीपिका by प्रभाकर.

गयाप्रकरण from the त्रिस्थलीसेतु by  
नारायण.

गयाप्रकाश N. (new series) vol. I.  
p. 84.

गयाप्रयोग by वाचस्पतिमिश्र.

गयायात्राप्रयोग by मणिरामदीक्षित.

गयावाराणसीपद्धति.

गयाभ्रातृपद्धति.

गयाभ्रातृपद्धति by अनन्तदेव, son of  
उद्धवद्विवेदिन (for राजसनेयवेद).

गयाभ्रातृपद्धति by रघुनन्दन. Vide p.  
417 above.

गयाभ्रातृप्रकरण m. in मलमासतत्त्व.

गयाभ्रातृविधि by गोकुलदेव (Baroda O.  
I. 8688).

गयाभ्रातृविधपद्धति of वाचस्पति. The  
first verse specially mentions



- वासुपुराण, गरुडपुराण and कल्पवृक्ष (i. e. कल्पतरु) as its authorities.
- गर्गपद्धति or गृह्यपद्धति, manual of domestic rites (for वारस्करपद्धति) by रघुपतिगर्ग on स्थालीपाकहोम, वस्तिदान, पिण्डपितृयज्ञ, श्रवणाकर्म, शूलगव, वैश्वदेव, मासश्राद्ध, वृद्धाकरण, उपनयन, ब्रह्मचारिप्रतानि, सीतायज्ञ, शालाकर्म; expressly states that it follows भर्तृयज्ञमत; m. in गदाधरभाष्य on वारस्करगृह्य and in आद्यतत्त्व. I. O. ms. dated संवत् 1575 i. e. 1519 A. D. (Vide I. O. cat. p. 515 No. 1633).
- गर्गस्मृति m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका. निरुपाचार-पदीप.
- गर्भाधानादिदशसंस्कारपद्धति by रामदेव, son of गणेश्वर; completed by स्वामिठाकुर. About first half of 14th century.
- गर्भाधानादिविवाहपौदशकर्मपद्धति attributed to शौनक; mentions जयन्त.
- गागाभट्टपद्धति by गागाभट्ट.
- गायत्रीपद्धति of भृषणभट्ट.
- गायत्रीपुरश्चरण or पद्धति by शङ्कर, son of बल्लाळ, surnamed घरे. He wrote व्रतोपापनकौमुदी in शके 1675 (1753 A. D.).
- गायत्रीपुरश्चरण by शिवराम.
- गायत्रीपुरश्चरण by साम्भट्ट.
- गायत्रीपुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका by काशिनाथ, son of जयरामभट्ट and वाराणसी, surnamed भट्ट. His guru was अनन्त. Ulwar cat. extract 618.
- गायत्रीपुरश्चरणप्रयोग by कृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट; composed in 1757. A. D.
- गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि by अनन्तदेव.
- गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि by गीर्वाणोन्द्रसरस्वती.
- गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि from the गायत्री-पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका (vide Ulwar cat. extract 302).
- गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि from शास्त्रातिव्यास.
- गायत्रीभाष्यनिर्णय (Ulwar cat. No. 1312 and extract 304).
- गार्गीयपद्धति m. in आद्यतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 213).
- गार्ग्यस्मृति m. by विश्वरूप, मिता०, अप-सर्क, स्मृतिच०.
- गार्ग्यदीपिका by जगन्नाथ, pupil of यज्ञेश.
- गार्ग्यस्मृति m. in स्मृतिच०, कालमाधव.
- गणेशजी by विपादिपालकृष्ण, son of काशीराम of the महारथ family. On प्रायश्चित्त.
- गुणितसंज्ञा m. in आद्यविवेक of रुद्रधर and in तिथितत्त्व and मूलमासतत्त्व. Earlier than 1400 A. D.
- गृहदीपिका of श्रीनाथ आचार्य m. in his कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव.
- गृहार्थदीपिका by वामदेव. Vide स्मृति-दीपिका; on doubtful points of rites and ceremonies.
- गृहपतिधर्म by विश्वेश्वर.
- गृहप्रतिष्ठातृत्व.
- गृहवासु by चन्द्रचूड (portion of संस्कारनिर्णय).
- गृहस्थमुक्ताफल.
- गृहस्थरत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर a large work in 589 pages (pr. in B. I. series, 1928); sec. 90.

यह्यकल्पतरु.

यह्यकारिका.

- (1) आश्वलायनीय by जयन्त.
- (2) बौधायनीय by कनकसभाक्षित.
- (3) सामवेदीय by शुवाक, son of विशासभट्ट.

यह्यकारिका by कर्क.

यह्यकारिका by रेणुक, composed in 1266 A. D.

यह्यकौमुदी m. in गोविन्दार्णव.

यह्यतन्त्र्यदर्शन com. on आपस्तम्बयह्य-  
सूत्र by सुदर्शनाचार्य.

यह्यपदार्थानुक्रम, summary of matters  
connected with domestic rites,  
according to मैत्रायणीययह्यसूत्र.

यह्यपद्धति.

यह्यपद्धति (यह्यशास्त्रीय) by भास्करदीक्षित.  
Ulwar cat. extract 54.

यह्यपद्धति by रामेश्वर.

यह्यपद्धति by वासुदेवदीक्षित, in three  
kandas on संस्कार, अष्टका &c.;  
ms. copied in शके 1720.

यह्यपरिशिष्ट—vide under बहुचयसपरि-  
शिष्ट, छन्दोगयह्यपरिशिष्ट.

यह्यपरिशिष्ट by अजन्तभट्ट.

यह्यपरिशिष्ट by वैकुण्ठनाथाचार्य.

यह्यप्रदीपकभाष्य, a com. on शाङ्खायन-  
यह्यसूत्र, by नारायण.

यह्यप्रयोग (आपस्तम्बीय) by जगन्निवा-  
सीर्य. He quotes सुदर्शनाचार्य. Ul-  
war cat. extract 14.

यह्यप्रयोग

बौधायनीय.

वाजसनेय.

यह्यप्रायश्चित्तसूत्र (Hultzsch R. I. No.  
637).

यह्यभाष्यसंग्रह or यह्यभाष्यार्थसंग्रह m.  
by हेमाद्रि.

यह्यरत्न by वैदिकसार्वभौम (i. e. prob-  
ably वैकुण्ठेश) in 21 khandas;  
deals with यह्यसंस्कारs like गर्भा-  
धान, पुंसवन, सीमन्तोक्षयन, जातकर्म,  
नामकरण, अन्नप्राशन, चूडाकर्म, उप-  
नयन, चत्वारि वेद्वतानि and वैव-  
संस्कारs like पाकयज्ञ.

C. विष्णुपकण्डसूत्र or कण्डसूत्र by  
वैकुण्ठनाथ वैदिकसार्वभौम, son of  
रङ्गनाथ of हारीतगोत्र, Hultzsch R.  
I. No. 603 and extract, p. 88.  
Refers to his पितृमेघसार and its  
टीका and आशौचशतक and its  
व्याख्या.

यह्यसंग्रह m. by जयराम in his भाष्य  
on पारस्करयह्य III. 1. 1.

यह्यसूत्रपद्धति.

यह्यसूत्रप्रकाशिका (on पारस्करयह्य) by  
विश्वनाथ, son of सुसिंह. About  
1600 A. D.

यह्यश्रिसागर alias प्रयोगसार by नारा-  
यणभट्ट, son of लक्ष्मीधरभट्ट, sur-  
named आरह (आरहे); quotes  
रामाण्डारव्याख्या on धूर्तस्वामी's भाष्य  
on आपस्तम्ब, प्रयोगपारिजात, प्रयोग-  
रत्न, निर्णयसिद्ध, भट्टोजिदीक्षित, परशु-  
रामप्रताप and रामवाजपेयी and his  
own आह्वसागर. Later than 1650  
A. D.

यह्यसंग्रह by गोभिलसूत्र (pr. in B. I.  
series as appendix to गोभिलयह्य);  
m. in कृत्यचिन्तामणि of शिवराम  
and in the छन्दोगवृत्तान्त and  
मठप्रतिष्ठातन्त्र.

- C. by रामकृष्ण, son of दामोदर.  
 यज्ञासंग्रहपरिशिष्ट m. in छन्दोगवृत्तोत्तम-  
 तत्त्व and edited by Bloomfield in  
 Z D M G. vol. 35 pp. 537-548  
 in 209 verses and two प्रपाठक.  
 Begins अथातः संप्रवक्ष्यामि बहुकं पद्म-  
 योनिना । ब्राह्मणानां हितार्थाय संस्कारार्थं  
 तु भावितम् ॥. Text same as in  
 B. I. series.
- शुद्धोक्तकर्मपद्धति.  
 गोत्रनिर्णय by केशवदेवज्ञ of नन्दिपुर in  
 27 श्लोक.  
 C. वाक्युष्यमाला by प्रभाकर देवज्ञ ;  
 mentions प्रवरमञ्जरी of श्रीधर.
- गोत्रनिर्णय by बालभट्ट.  
 गोत्रनिर्णय by महादेव देवज्ञ.  
 गोत्रप्रवर ( Bk. cat. p. 391 ).  
 C. भास्कर.
- गोत्रप्रवर by प्रभाकर देवज्ञ ( probably  
 same as वाक्युष्यमाला, a com. on  
 गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय of केशव ).
- गोत्रप्रवरकारिका.  
 गोत्रप्रवरखण्ड ( taken from आपस्तम्ब-  
 सूत्र ).  
 गोत्रप्रवरखण्ड ( taken from धर्मसिन्धु ).  
 गोत्रप्रवरदर्पण.  
 गोत्रप्रवरदीप by विष्णुपण्डित.  
 गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by अनन्तदेव ( in संस्कार-  
 कौस्तुभ, which is taken from his  
 brother's work ).  
 गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by आपदेव ( probably  
 a mistake, as जीवदेव was a son of  
 आपदेव ). Vide Baroda O. I. No.  
 1870.
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by कमलाकर son of  
 रामकृष्ण ( also styled गोत्रप्रवरदर्पण )  
 ( pr. by Chentsalrao, Mysore  
 1900 ). First half of 17 century.
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by केशवदेवज्ञ of नन्दि-  
 ग्राम ( ms. in Baroda O. I. 8131  
 dated शके 1600 ). Each verse  
 ends with the words कुर्वन्तु वो  
 महत्फलम्.
- C. वाक्युष्यमाला by प्रभाकर देवज्ञ.  
 गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by गोर्पनाथ ( Baroda  
 O. I. 11041 ).
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by जीवदेव, son of आप-  
 देव and younger brother of  
 अनन्तदेव, author of संस्कारकौस्तुभ ;  
 quotes प्रवरमञ्जरी, आम्बलायनसूत्र-  
 युक्तिकार, नारायणकृति. About 1660-  
 1680 ; says मातृगोत्र is to be avoid-  
 ed in marriage by माध्यन्दिनीय  
 alone as सत्याषाढ says and as the  
 शिष्टाचार is to the same effect.
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by नामेशभट्ट.  
 गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by नारायणभट्ट m. in  
 गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by भट्टोजि.
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by पद्मनाभ ( Baroda O.  
 I. 8789 ).
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by भट्टोजिदीक्षित ; first  
 half of 17th century ( also styl-  
 ed गोत्रप्रवरभास्कर ).
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by ( अभिनव ) माधवा-  
 चार्य.  
 C. by नारायणार्य, son of मण्डूरि-  
 रघुनाथार्य ( pr. by Chentsalrao,  
 Mysore, 1900 ).
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by रघुनाथ, son of माधव,  
 son of रामेश्वर. 1550-1625 A. D.,
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by विश्वनाथदेव or विश्वे-  
 श्वर, son of शम्भुदेव and younger  
 brother of रामदेव ; finished at

- Benares (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 580). Composed in Śaka 1306 (Baroda O. I. 11055). In verse and prose.
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by सदाशिव.
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णयवाक्यसुधारण by विश्वनाथ-देव (Baroda O. I. 9375). Different from गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.
- गोत्रप्रवरभास्कर by भट्टोजि; same as गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.
- गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी by केशव, who also wrote मुहूर्ततत्त्व.
- C. by राम; quotes स्मृत्यर्थसार, प्रयोगपारिजात.
- गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी alias प्रवरमञ्जरी by पुन-सोनमण्डित (standard work on this subject). Pr. by Chentsal-rao, Mysore, 1900. Under each of the eight original gotras quotes passages from आपस्तम्ब, आश्वलायन, कान्वायन, बौधायन, श्वत्थुपराज, लौगाक्षि, सत्यापाद; mentions धर्म-स्वामी, कर्णद्विस्वामी, and ग्रहदेवस्वामी as भाष्यकार on आपस्तम्बसूत्र; m. in नि. सि., नृसिंहप्रसाद, दत्तकमीमांसा. Earlier than 1450 A. D.
- गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी by शङ्करतान्त्रिक; gives exhaustive enumeration of divisions and sub-divisions of go-tras; mentions ज्योतिर्विद्वन्, प्रवर-दीपिका, व्याख्याकार of बौधायन. (Baroda O. I. No. 7657).
- गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरीसारोद्धार by शङ्करदेवज्ञ, son of शिव.
- गोत्रप्रवररत्न by लक्ष्मणभट्ट, son of राम-कृष्णभट्ट and younger brother of कमलाकरभट्ट. About 1585-1630 A. D.
- गोत्रप्रवरविवेक (from the धर्मप्रदीप by धनञ्जय).
- गोत्रप्रवराध्याय vide प्रवराध्याय.
- गोत्रप्रवरचोच्चार (from the औदीच्य-प्रकाश).
- गोत्रावृत्त by नृसिंहपण्डित.
- गोदानविधिसंग्रह by मधुसूदनगोस्वामिन, son of वजराज.
- गोपादकारिका (बौधायनीय) 420 verses on various matters connected with religious observances, such as the measurement and construction of altars.
- गोपालपद्धति He is m. even by नारा-यण. Earlier than 1000 A. D. BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 183.
- गोपालपुजापद्धति by दिनकर, son of नृसिंह belonging to दशार्ण country (on worship of कृष्ण). I. O. ms. (cat. p. 587) dated संवत् 1664.
- गोपालरत्नाकर by गोपाल.
- गोपालसिद्धान्त m. in आचाररत्न.
- गोपालार्चनचन्द्रिका.
- गोपालार्चनचन्द्रिका by लक्ष्मीनाथ.
- गोभिलयुगसूत्र (pr. in B. I. series and by Dr. Knauer and tr. in S. B. E. vol. 30.).
- C. (भाष्य) by भट्टनारायण son of महाबल; m. in आश्वतथ of रघुनन्दन; ms. copied in ल. सं. 431 (1549-50 A. D.).
- C. (भाष्य) by वशोधर, m. in दान-क्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द and in आश्वतथ. Earlier than 1500 A. D.
- C. सरला m. in तिथितत्त्व and आश्व-तथ. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

C. by सापण.

C. सुबोधिनीपद्धति by शिवराम, son of विश्राम (different from the author's कारिकापञ्चोपनी). About 1640 A. D. (Stein's cat. p. 86).

C. पद्धति by अग्निहोत्रविष्णु, of मयुरा.

C. कारिकापञ्चोपनी by शिवराम, son of विश्राम (Stein's cat. p. 15 and p. 250).

गोभिलपरिशिष्ट (pr. in B. I. series with com.) on सन्ध्यासूत्र, स्नानसूत्र and आश्वकथ.

C. प्रकाश by नारायण; m. by रघुनन्दन.

गोभिलश्राद्धसूत्रभाष्य m. by रघुनन्दन in तिथितत्त्व and श्राद्धतत्त्व. Probably same as भाष्य of महायशस.

गोभिलसंख्यासूत्र.

गोभिलस्मृति—same as कर्मप्रदीप of कान्याधन. Anan. Sm. pp. 49-71.

गोभिलीपरिशिष्ट (on rites for propitiating the planets in their evil positions, on ग्रहयाम etc.) N. vol. X. pp. 201-202.

गोभिलीयश्राद्धकथ.

C. (भाष्य) by महायशस, m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. महायशस is probably same as यशोधर above.

C. by समुद्रकर m. in श्राद्धकला of भवदेव's स्मृतिचन्द्र.

गोत्रप्रथावञ्चिन.

गोविन्दमानसोल्लास m. in एकादशीतत्त्व and मलमासतत्त्व. So earlier than 1500 A. D.

गोविन्दार्चनचन्द्रिका (pr. at Bombay).

गोविन्दार्णव alias स्मृतिसागर or धर्म-तत्त्वावलोक by शेषचरसिंह son of रामचन्द्र; compiled under the orders of महागजनाथिराज गोविन्दचन्द्र of Kāśī, divided into six वीचिः (waves) on संस्कार, आह्निक, आश्व, शुद्धि, काल and प्रायश्चित्त; quotes कल्पतक, अपराक, माधवाचार्य, विश्वेश्वरभट्ट and is quoted in the निर्णयसिन्धु, आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मणभट्ट; compiled between 1400 and 1450 A. D. Vide Ulwar cat. extract, 304 for a long description of a town ताण्डेतिका near Benares, which is said to have surpassed Delhi and Kalpi and of the श्रीवास्तक family of kings, of which गोविन्दचन्द्र was a scion and of the शेष family. The Ulwar ms. (verse 85) speaks of only five वीचिः (omitting प्रायश्चित्त). It appears that शेषलक्ष्मण in his शृङ्गाचार्यशरोमणि claims the गोविन्दार्णव as his work. Vide Ind. Ant. for 1912 p. 248.

गोहनिबन्ध m. in the पितृभक्ति of श्रीदत्त.

गोहनिबन्धसागर m. in हि. सि. (probably the श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लुभट्ट).

गोहश्राद्धकौमुदी m. in निर्णयसिन्धु (probably the श्राद्धकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द).

गोहसंवनप्रदीप m. in the कालसा of मदाधर.

गौडीपचिन्तामणि m. in कालसार of सदाशिव.

गौतमधर्मसूत्र- vide sec. 5 ; pr. in B. S. series and Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 403-434.

C. by कुलमणि शूद्र.

C. (भाष्य) by मस्करिन (pr. in Mysore G. O. L. series).

C. मिताक्षरा by हरदत्त (pr. in Ānan. P.)

गौतमस्मृति.

ग्रन्थराज or स्मृतिग्रन्थराज.

ग्रन्थविधानधर्मकुलुम by शङ्करशर्मन.

ग्रहणक्रियाक्रम.

ग्रहणनिर्णय (from the ग्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट).

ग्रहणभास्वनिर्णय.

ग्रहदानप्रयोग ; refers to माधव.

ग्रहमन्त्रतिलक by माधव, son of कृष्णाचार्य, of भारद्वाजगोत्र. Peterson's 5th Report p. 176.

ग्रहमन्त्रप्रयोग (N. X. p. 200).

ग्रहयज्ञकारिका.

ग्रहयज्ञतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन. Mentions दीपिका.

ग्रहयज्ञदीपिका by सदाशिव दीक्षित.

ग्रहयज्ञनिरूपण from संस्कारकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

ग्रहयज्ञपद्धति.

ग्रहयज्ञप्रयोग.

ग्रहयज्ञविधान by अनन्तदेवभट्ट, son of नागदेवभट्ट.

ग्रहयागकौमुदी by रामकृष्णभट्टाचार्य.

ग्रहयागप्रयोगतत्त्व or ग्रहयागतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन, son of हरिभट्ट ; pr. in Ben-

gali type by Sanskrit Sahitya-parishad, Calcutta (No. 10). This is over and above his 28 तत्त्वः.

ग्रहयोगशान्ति.

ग्रहशान्ति according to शाङ्खायन and गोभिल.

ग्रहशान्तिपद्धति or वासिष्ठीशान्ति by गणपति रायल, son of हरिशङ्कर. About 1686 A. D.

ग्रहशान्तिपद्धति by योद्धराज.

ग्रहस्थापनपद्धति (Peterson's 5th Report p. 98).

ग्रामनिर्णय or वातित्यग्रामनिर्णय (from the तद्भाषित्वण्ड of the स्कन्दपुराण). पृतप्रदानरत्न by प्रेमनिधि.

चक्रनारायणीय m. in दुर्गोत्सवविवेक of झलपाणि. So earlier than 1400.

चक्रनारायणीयनिबन्ध or स्मृतिसारोद्धार by विश्वम्भरत्रिवेदिन in 12 उद्धारः on सामान्यनिर्णय, एकमकादिनिर्णय, तिथिसामान्यनिर्णय, प्रतिपदादितिथिनिर्णय, व्रत, संक्रान्ति, आश्व, आशीच, गर्भाधानादिकालनिर्णय, आह्निक, व्यवहार, प्रायश्चित्त, under orders of prince नारायणमल्ल, son of भीममल्ल ; mentions प्रतापमार्तण्ड, होरिलस्मृति, रूपनारायणीय, अनन्तभट्टीय. First half of 17th century ; pr. in Ch. S. series.

चण्डिकाचर्चदीपिका by काशीनाथभट्ट, son of जयरामभट्ट, son of शिवरामभट्ट, of the भट्ट family. (Uwar cat. extract 620).

चण्डीप्रयोग by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण.

चण्डीप्रयोग by नागोजिभट्ट.

चण्डकानिबन्ध or स्मार्तकर्मामुष्ठानक्रमविवरण by महामात्य श्रीसहाय चण्डक.  
On daily duties, श्राद्ध, मलमास, अष्टोदशीनिर्णय &c. (Baroda O. I. No. 296 dated संवत् 1593).

चतुरशीतिज्ञातिप्रशक्ति by मर्दाशय.

चतुर्थीकर्मन् (on the ceremonies to be performed on the fourth night after marriage).

चतुर्विंशश्लोकी by भट्टोजि (Baroda O. I. 1488). In fourteen verses on श्राद्ध.

C. by महेश्वर.

चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि of हेमाद्रि. Vide sec. 87 (pr. in B. I. series). Hultsch R. I. No. 658 contains प्रायश्चित्त and व्यवहार, but they are most probably by a different author.

चतुर्विंशतिमत or -स्थिति. Vide sec. 42.

C. by भट्टोजि (Ben. S. series publishes on संस्कार and श्राद्ध). The I. O. cat. ms. p. 475 (on संस्कार-काण्ड only) ascribes it in the colophons to रामचन्द्र, son of नारायणभट्ट. Mss. of अद्वैत, आचार and प्रायश्चित्तकाण्ड are known.

C. by रामचन्द्र, son of नारायण.

चतुर्विंशतिमुनिमतसार (Baroda O. I. 2247 and 10540).

चतुर्विंशतिस्थितिधर्मसारसमुच्चय.

चतुर्विंशतिशतसंस्काराः

चन्दनधेनुदानप्रमाण or -तत्त्व by वाचस्पति.  
Rites on the occasion of the first śrāddha of a woman dying  
H. D. 69.

before her husband and son.  
Based on रत्नाकर. N. (new series)  
I. p. 100.

चन्दनधेनुर्गोपद्धति by रत्ननाथ भट्टाचार्य  
of नवद्वीप. N. (new series) I. p. 101; ms. dated 1765 A. D.

चन्द्रकमलाकर.

चन्द्रकालिका.

चन्द्रनिबन्ध quoted in निर्णयदीपक.

चन्द्रप्रकाश m. by नि. सि., चन्द्रनिबन्धतः श्राद्धकल्पलता, भट्टोजि. Earlier than 1570 A. D.

चन्द्रस्थिति m. in निर्णयदीपक.

चन्द्रोदय m. in नि. सि. (probably पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय or आचारचन्द्रोदय).

चमत्कारचिन्तामणि by नारायणभट्ट (pr. at Benares, 1870); m. in आचार-मथुरा, समयमपवाद.

C. मितक्षर.

C. अन्वयार्थदीपिका by धर्मेश्वर (pr. at Benares, 1870).

C. by नारायण.

चमत्कारचिन्तामणि by राजर्षिभट्ट; (is probably the work so m. by नि. सि.). It is on astrology. Earlier than 1550 A. D.

C. (ms. dated संवत् 1657 i. e. 1600-1601 A. D.).

चमत्कारचिन्तामणि by वैद्यनाथ. On संस्कारs of two kinds, ब्राह्म (गर्भाधान and others) and दैव (such as वाकपत्र), on मुहूर्तs for गर्भाधान and other संस्कारs and on मल-मासकृत्याकृत्य; D. C. No. 112 of 1895-1902 copied in संवत् 1719.



चलाचलशक्तिप्रतिष्ठा.

चलार्चा (acc. to बौधायन); vide B.B.R.A.S. cat. vol. II. p. 243.

चलार्चापद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

चलार्चापद्धति of नारायण based on गृह्य-परिशिष्ट, त्रिविक्रमपद्धति, कालादर्श, पुरुषार्थप्रबोध, शारदातिलक and बोध-देव. Later than 1450 A. D.

चाणक्यनीति (ed. by Kressler).

चाणक्यनीति or चाणक्यराजनीति or चा-णक्यशतक. There is a सुद्धचाणक्य in 660 verses. There is a लघु-चाणक्य also.

चाणक्यनीतिदर्पण of गजानन.

चाणक्यनीतिसारसंग्रह in 108 stanzas. It begins 'सुलक्ष्मं प्रवक्ष्यामि चाणक्येन यथोदितम्'.

चाणक्यराजनीतिशास्त्र (pr. in Calcutta O. series No. 2, 1921).

चाणक्यसप्तति.

चाणक्यसारसंग्रह.

चाणक्यसूत्र (pr. at end of the कौटिलीय in Dr. Sham Sastri's edition).

चातुराश्वम्वधर्म by श्रीकण्ठासन.

चातुर्मास्यकरिका by गोपाल.

चातुर्वर्ण्यधर्मसंग्रह.

चातुर्वर्ण्यविचार by गङ्गाधर.

चातुर्वर्ण्यविवरण by गङ्गाधर.

चातुर्वर्ण्यविवेचन by धरणीधर.

चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्था by धरणीधर.

चाराण्यीयगृह्यपरिशिष्ट m. by हेमाद्रि.

चारुचर्या by क्षेमेन्द्र (pr. in Kāvya-mālā series).

चारुचर्या by भोजराज.

चूडाकरणकेशान्तो.

चूडाकर्म by दत्तपण्डित.

चूडाकर्मप्रयोग.

चौलोपनयन from the विश्वप्रकाशपद्धति of विश्वनाथ.

चौलोपनयनप्रयोग.

उन्दोगकर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति by भवदेवभट्ट. Vide उन्दोगपद्धति.

उन्दोगगृह्य. Vide गोभिलगृह्य.

C. (भाष्य) m. by हरदत्त in his अनाविला.

उन्दोगपद्धति by भवदेवभट्ट; vide sec. 73.

C. संस्कारपद्धतिरहस्य of रामनाथ, composed in Śaka 1544 (1622 A. D.).

उन्दोगपरिशिष्ट- same as कर्मप्रदीप. (It is in verse).

उन्दोगपरिशिष्ट m. by हेमाद्रि.

C. m. in आश्वविषेक of रुद्रधर.

C. प्रकाश by महामहोपाध्याय नारायण, son of गोण and grandson of उमापति, who was a great प्राभाकर and patronised by king जयपाल. Vide under कर्मप्रदीप.

CC. सारमञ्जरी by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकराचार्य.

CC. by हरिराम.

CC. by हरिहर.

C. by आशाधर or आशाक, son of चक्रधर.

उन्दोगप्रायश्चित्त.

उन्दोगआह.

उन्दोगआशुतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

C. by काशीराम, son of राधावल्लभ, son of रामकृष्ण.

छन्दोगभास्वदीपिका by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकर.

छन्दोगाचाररूप m. by रघुनन्दन.

छन्दोगानीयाद्विक by शिवराम, son of विश्राम. (I. O. cat. I. p. 95 ms. dated संवत् 1810 i. e. 1753-4 A. D.). Composed about 1640.

छन्दोगाद्विक by गोवर्धनदीक्षित, son of बेजीदास (Baroda O. I. No. 1026). Ms. dated संवत् 1860.

छन्दोगाद्विक by श्रीवत्स, m. by रघुनन्दन in आद्विकतरव.

छन्दोगाद्विक by सदानन्द.

छन्दोगाद्विकपद्धति by रामकृष्ण विपाटिन.

छन्दोगाद्विकोद्धार of शाङ्करमिश्र, son of भवनाथमिश्र. Vide under प्रायश्चित्त-प्रदीप.

छन्दोबहारावलि.

छागलेयस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा, हेमाद्रि, माधवाचार्य.

जगद्गुरुभा by श्रीबल्लभाचार्य of the भारद्वाजगोत्र (in more than 24 प्रकरण).

जगन्नाथकारिका m. in गदाधर's भाष्य on पारस्करयुज्य.

जगन्नाथप्रकाश by सुरमिश्र, composed under orders of जगन्नाथ, of Kamboja family. Vide Mitra's Notices vol. V p. 109 for contents (the ms. was copied in संवत् 1838 i. e. 1782-3 A. D.); in ten प्रभास.

जटमलविलाम by श्रीधर compiled under the patronage of prince

(महाडकर) जटमल, younger brother of चायमल, who was son of बालचन्द्र, son of डौल who was sole minister of the king of Delhi. The family was Mandira from Kosala country and their capital was स्वर्णपुरी. Deals with आचार, काल, भान्द, संक्रान्ति, मलमास, संस्कार, आशौच and शुद्धि. The date in the I. O. ms. is corrupt 'बानास्ववाणक्षिति' (? रत्नाक्षवाणक्षिति 1559) of the विक्रम era. About 1500 A. D. Names काल-निर्णय, कालादर्श, प्रासाददीपिका.

जतिदोषपतिकार-ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 2365) dated 1565 संवत् (1508-9 A. D.).

जन्मदिनछापपद्धति.

जन्मदिवसपूजापद्धति.

जन्ममरणविशेष by वाचस्पति (Baroda O. I. No. 12774). On अशौच and भान्द.

जन्माष्टमीतरव or जन्माष्टमीव्रततरव by रघुनन्दन.

जन्माष्टमीनिर्णय by विद्वलेश्वर.

जयतु m. in निर्णयसिन्धु.

जयन्तकारिका.

जयन्तीनिर्णय (on कृष्णजन्माष्टमी) by आनन्दतीर्थ.

जयन्तीनिर्णय by गोपालदेशिक, pupil of रामानुजयोगीन्द्र and son of अजय कृष्णार्थ.

जयमाधवमानसोल्लास by जयसिंहदेव of गोरक्षपुर (modern Gorakhpur). He was a devotee of नारायण; deals with all religious acts

(nitya, naimittika, and kāmya) about वासुदेव. The प्रशस्ति at the end of D. C. ms. No. 241 of A 1881-82 is by हरिदास राजपण्डित; ms. copied संवत् 1827 (1771 A. D.).

जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम by रत्नाकर of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र, son of पण्डितश्रीदेव-भट्ट of Benares (extensive work in 900 pages pr. by Lakṣmīvenka-ṭeśvara Press at Kalyan in 1925). A digest in 19 सूत्रs on काल, व्रत, श्राद्ध, दान etc. the first being on काल, compiled under the patronage of जयसिंह who performed ज्योतिष्टोम in उज्जयिनी and also पौण्डरीक. His city अम्बिका (Amber) is also referred to. Composed in Vikrama 1770 (1713 A. D.). Gives genealogy as जयसिंह (who brought Shivaji to Delhi) - रामसिंह - कुण्डसिंह - विष्णुसिंह - जयसिंह. Sometimes called 'हमोदयोत' (Ulwat cat. extract 305); pr. in Bombay, 1903.

जयानिर्वन्ध (निबन्ध?) m. in कुत्य-रत्नाकर of चण्देश्वर (p. 166).

जयाभिवेकप्रयोग by रघुनाथ.

जयार्णव m. by जि. सि. and by गदाधर in पारस्करयज्ञसूत्रभाष्य. Vide सूत्र-जयार्णव.

जलपात्र.

जलाशयवतिष्ठा by भागुणिमिश्र.

जलागपारामोर्त्तर्गविधि or -वृद्धि.

(1) by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर; quotes लघुनारायण: 1513-1575 A. D.; sec. 103.

(2) by कमलाकर; sec. 106.

जलाशयोत्सर्गप्रकाश pr. at Ratnagarh (1893 A. D.).

जलाशयोत्सर्गतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (pr. by Jivananda). Sec. 102.

जातकर्मवृ from the संस्कारभास्कर.

जातकर्मपद्धति by केशवभट्ट.

जातकर्मपद्धति by दामोदर.

जातकर्मादिबालाशकर्मन्त by बापणभट्ट.

जातरिष्टादिनिर्णय by विद्यार्णव; N (new series) II p. 55-56.

जातिनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. No. 11003) on काश्यपs etc.

जातिमाला (part of वरप्रामलतन्त्र).

जातिमाला (vide N. vol. II, p. 151) on the origin of different Hindu castes.

जातिमाला by सोमनाथ, son of सुब्रह्म and ज्ञापामिका, surnamed सकलकल and inhabitant of जलग्राम. Divided into three parts in verse on लक्ष्मीनिन्दा, वैराग्य, पार्वतीस्तुति; but contains nothing on धर्म or जाति. D. C. Ms. No. 302 of 1884-86.

जातिमाला (from पराशरपद्धति); Stein's cat. p. 94.

जातिविवेक m. in शुद्धाचारशिरोमणि of ज्ञानकृष्ण and in नृसिंहप्रसाद.

जातिविवेक by कृष्णगोविन्द पण्डित. Part of a larger work called वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीपिका.

जातिविवेक by व्यम्बक.

जातिविवेक by नारायणभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 11147).

जातिविवेक by पराशर.

जातिविवेक by रघुनाथ.

जातिविवेक by विश्वनाथ (N. vol. IX p. 179). Stein's cat. calls it 'विवेकसंग्रह' (p. 89).

जातिविवेक by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट (probably same as first part of कायस्थधर्म-दीप).

जातिविवेक by व्यासगोपांन्यायकवि of वासिष्ठगोत्र, son of शार्ङ्गधर, grandson of विश्वनाथ, of प्रत्यण्डपुर (Parāṇḍā in Mahārāṣṭra?). In three उद्गास; ms. (I. O. cat. vol. III p. 519 No. 1639) is dated śake 1564 (1642 A. D.). Peterson (in Ulwar cat. No. 1323) says that it is part of विश्वभरवास्तु-शास्त्र, which is quoted by हेमाद्रि and he gives the father's name as व्यासराज previously called विश्वनाथ and grandfather as 'Samaraja'.

जातिविवेकशतप्रश्न attributed to सायण.

जातिविवेकसंग्रह by विश्वनाथ.

जातिसाङ्ख्य by शिवलाल सुकुल.

जातिसाङ्ख्यवाद by अनन्ताल्वार.

जातिसाङ्ख्यवाद by वेणीराम शाकदीपिन.

जिकनीयविबन्ध m. in दुर्गोत्सविवेक of शूलपाणि and by कुल्लुक.

जीर्णोद्धारविधि (according to त्रिविक्रम) on repairing temples, images of gods &c. N. vol. X. p. 271.

जीवच्छादप्रयोग by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट.

जीवच्छादप्रयोग by शौनक.

जीवत्पितृकर्तव्यनिर्णय by बालकृष्णभट्ट, son of रत्नोजिभट्ट. N. (new series) vol. III p. 64 (ms. dated संवत् 1785).

जीवत्पितृकर्तव्यनिर्णय by बालकृष्ण बाय-गुण्डे (Baroda O. I. Nos. 358 and 5549).

जीवत्पितृकर्तव्यनिर्णय or-कर्मनिर्णय by रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर. About 1570-1590 A. D.

जीवत्पितृकर्तव्यसंचय by कृष्णभट्ट.

जीवत्पितृकविभागव्यवस्था by मधुसूदन-गोस्वामिन, son of ब्रजराज.

जीवत्पितृकविभागव्यवस्थासार by मधुसूदन-गोस्वामिन, son of ब्रजराज.

जीवत्पितृकविभागव्यवस्था-सारसंग्रह- abridgment of the above ms. (Ulwar cat. No. 1324) copied in संवत् 1812 (1755-6 A. D.).

जीवभास्व Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. 611.

जैमिनिश्रुत्य (ed. by Dr. Caland, Panjab Oriental Series 1922).

C. सुबोधिनी by श्रीनिवास (extracts printed in above).

जैमिनिश्रुत्यमन्त्रवृत्ति.

जातिभेदविवेक.

ज्ञानभास्कर (in the form of a dialogue between सूर्य and अरुण); Divided into प्रकाश on प्रायश्चित्त, कर्म &c.; vide Bik. cat. p. 398. Burnell (Tanjore ms. cat. p. 136 b) says that the author's name appears to be दिङ्मणि. Baroda O. I. 1136 is a part of it (कर्मप्रकाश on रीमाधिकार) and ex-

- tends over 10000 ग्रंथ and No. 10546 is another in 14000 ग्रंथ.
- ज्ञानमाला by भट्टोत्पल m. in the धर्म-  
प्रदीप of भोज and in आह्निकतत्त्व of  
रघुनन्दन and in आचारमयूख.
- ज्ञानरत्नावलि m. in हेमाद्रि, सुसिद्धप्रसाद  
(दानसार), कुण्डकौमुदी. Earlier  
than 1250 A. D.
- ज्ञानाङ्कुर by वृद्धामणि, son of राघवेन्द्र-  
चट्ट, in four स्तवक.
- ज्ञानानन्दतरङ्गिणी by कृष्णानन्द on  
संस्कार.
- ज्येष्ठाविधान.
- ज्योतिःकालकौमुदी m. by रघुनन्दन.
- ज्योतिःसार m. in कालसार of गदाधर,  
नि. सि.
- ज्योतिःसारसार by मधुरेश.
- ज्योतिःसारसार by विद्यानिधि; N.  
(new series) vol. I p. 134, ms.  
dated Śaka 1670 (1748 A. D.).
- ज्योतिःसार m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति and  
गोविन्दार्णव.
- ज्योतिःसारसंग्रह m. by रघुनन्दन in  
ज्योतिस्तत्त्व and मदनपारिजात.
- ज्योतिःसारसंग्रह by हृदयानन्द विद्यालङ्कार.
- ज्योतिःसारसमुच्चय m. by रघुनन्दन.
- ज्योतिःसारसमुच्चय by नन्द, son of देव-  
शर्मन्.
- ज्योतिरर्णव m. in गोविन्दार्णव, सं. की.
- ज्योतिर्निबन्ध m. in शूद्रकमलाकर and  
संस्कारमयूख and शुद्धिमयूख.
- ज्योतिर्दुर्लभ m. in गोविन्दार्णव and चतु-  
र्विंशतिमतव्याख्यान of भट्टोजि.
- ज्योतिषरत्न m. in संस्कारभास्कर of सिद्धे-  
श्वर.
- ज्योतिषरत्न by केशवतर्कपञ्चानन N.  
(new series) II, p. 58.
- ज्योतिषार्णव m. by दुर्योन्मत्तविवेक of  
शूलपाणि, by रघुनन्दन.
- ज्योतिष्यकाश m. by प्रयोगरत्न of नारा-  
यणभट्ट, नि. सि., गोविन्दार्णव.
- ज्योतिस्तत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.
- टोडरप्रकाश by रघुनन्दनमिश्र, under  
Raja Todaramalla.
- टोडरानन्द vide sec. 104.
- दृण्दिपतप by विश्वनाथ under the  
patronage of Mahārāja दृण्दि. On  
the rites for every day of the  
year; ms. written in Śaka 1589  
i. e. 1667-68 A. D. (Burnell's  
Tanjore cat. p. 136b.).
- दृण्दुपद्धति m. in the अन्येष्टिपद्धति of  
नारायणभट्ट, by रघुनन्दन in आह्निकतत्त्व  
(vol. I p. 213) and in शूद्र-  
कमलाकर; earlier than 1525 A. D.
- तडागप्रतिष्ठा.
- तडागादिपद्धति of टोडरमल्ल (part of  
टोडरानन्द).
- तडागादिप्रतिष्ठापद्धति by धर्मकर उपाध्याय.
- तडागादिप्रतिष्ठाविधि by मधुसूदन गो-  
स्वामी.
- तडागोत्सर्गतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.
- तत्त्वकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्दकविकृष्ण-  
पाचार्य. It is a com. on आह्निकविवेक  
of शूलपाणि.
- तत्त्वकौमुद by भट्टोजिदीक्षित (Baroda  
O. I. No. 376). Written at the  
bidding of केलदी वेङ्कटेश. Dilates

on the question as to who should observe *tantra* rites, discourses on the inadvisability of *tantra* practices and *liṅga* practices.

*tantra* by *vyākṛant*.

*tantra* by *paṇḍita*, son of *mahā-mahopādya* *śaṭṭha*. Vide *Mitra's Notices* vol. V, p. 155 for contents; ms. copied in *śaka* 1661.

*tantra* by *śaṭṭha*—vide *śaṭṭha* by *śaṭṭha*.

*tantra* by *śaṭṭha* vide *BBRAS* cat. p. 217 No. 687, probably same as the next.

C. vide *BBRAS* cat. p. 217 No. 687.

*tantra* by *śaṭṭha* of *nandapāṇi* vide *BBRAS* cat. p. 217 No. 687. Gives summary of his *śaṭṭha*.

C. *śaṭṭha* by *śaṭṭha*.

C. *śaṭṭha* by *śaṭṭha*.

*tantra* by *śaṭṭha*.

*tantra* m. by *śaṭṭha* and *śaṭṭha* in *śaṭṭha* and *śaṭṭha* and in *śaṭṭha*.

*tantra* m. in *śaṭṭha* of *śaṭṭha*.

*tantra* m. by *śaṭṭha*.

*tantra*—vide *śaṭṭha*.

*tantra* by *śaṭṭha*. An abridgement of his *śaṭṭha* or *śaṭṭha* divided into four *śaṭṭha* on *śaṭṭha*, *śaṭṭha*, *śaṭṭha* and *śaṭṭha*. Composed when king *śaṭṭha* was reigning. Latter half of 15th century; mentions his *śaṭṭha* in *śaṭṭha*.

*tantra* by *śaṭṭha* by *śaṭṭha*, a com. on *śaṭṭha*—*śaṭṭha* of *śaṭṭha* (pr. by *śaṭṭha*).

*tantra*.

*tantra* m. by *śaṭṭha* in *śaṭṭha*.

*tantra*.

C. *tantra* by *śaṭṭha*.

*tantra* by *śaṭṭha* (against the practice of branding the body with marks, as *śaṭṭha* do).

*tantra* or *śaṭṭha* from *śaṭṭha*.

*tantra* by *śaṭṭha*.

*tantra* by *śaṭṭha* (Baroda O. I. 11575).

*tantra* by *śaṭṭha*.

*tantra* by *śaṭṭha*.

*tantra* by *śaṭṭha*.

*tantra* or *śaṭṭha* of *śaṭṭha*, son of *śaṭṭha*.

*tantra* by *śaṭṭha*; Baroda O. I, 8336).

*tantra* by *śaṭṭha*; (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 145; ms. copied in *śaṭṭha* i. e. 1464 A. D.

*tantra* by *śaṭṭha*.

*tantra* m. in *śaṭṭha*.

*tantra* by *śaṭṭha*.

C. by *śaṭṭha* (new series) I. p. 155

C. by *śaṭṭha* (new series) II p. 71.

- C. by रामचरण विद्यावाचस्पति ; N. ( new series ) II. p. 72.
- तिथितत्त्वचिन्तामणि by महेशाठकुर ( pr. at Benares in 1887 A. D. ).
- तिथितत्त्वसार by आपदेव.
- तिथिदर्पण.
- तिथिदीपिति ( part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव ).
- तिथिदीपिका by काशीनाथ, son of जय-रामभट्ट ( Baroda O. I. No. 10724 ).
- तिथिद्वैतनिर्णय ( or तिथिविवेक ) by शूल-पाणि. Same as above.
- तिथिद्वैतप्रकरण alias तिथिविवेक by शूल-पाणि. Names संवत्सरप्रदीप, स्मृति-समुच्चय.
- C. by श्रीनाथशर्मन, son of श्रीकर.
- तिथिनिर्णय from the कालमाधव.
- तिथिनिर्णय by अनन्तभट्ट ( Baroda O. I. No. 10611 is dated संवत् 1583 i. e. 1526-27 A. D. ).
- तिथिनिर्णय by कमलाकर.
- तिथिनिर्णय by गङ्गाधर..
- तिथिनिर्णय by गोपाळ.
- तिथिनिर्णय by गोविन्दभट्टबुद्धिल ( Ulwar cat. No. 1326 ). Peterson is wrong in saying that he praises one कालरघुनाथ. रघुनाथ is here राम the incarnation of विष्णु, identified with काल ( Time ) and ब्रह्म.
- तिथिनिर्णय by दयाशङ्कर.
- तिथिनिर्णय by देवदासमिश्र.
- तिथिनिर्णय by नागदेव, son of शिव; based upon निर्णयसिन्धु.
- तिथिनिर्णय by नागोजिभट्ट.
- तिथिनिर्णय by नारायणभट्ट.
- तिथिनिर्णय by पक्षधरमिश्र.
- तिथिनिर्णय by बालकृष्ण भारद्वाज. Relies on हेमाद्रि.
- तिथिनिर्णय by भट्टोजि ( pr. at Benares and Bombay ).
- तिथिनिर्णय by मधुरानाथ शूद्र.
- तिथिनिर्णय by महादेव.
- तिथिनिर्णय by माधव ( part of काल-निर्णय ).
- तिथिनिर्णय by रघुनाथ ( probably same as राघवभट्ट ). W. and K. cat. II p. 182 notes that रघुनाथ is written on title page of राघव's तिथिनिर्णय.
- तिथिनिर्णय by रमावति सिद्धान्त; N. ( new series ) I. p. 156 ; composed in śake 1633.
- तिथिनिर्णय by राघवभट्ट ; names निर्णय-सिन्धु and नीलकण्ठ. So later than 1640 A. D. ; ms. copied in śake 1681 ( 1766 A. D. ) ; pr. at Bombay in 1864.
- तिथिनिर्णय of रामचन्द्र, pupil of गोपाल, Baroda O. I. No. 1524. About 1400 A. D.
- C. by हर्षिद, son of the author. Ms. dated संवत् 1638 ( 1582 A. D. ).
- तिथिनिर्णय by रामप्रसाद.
- तिथिनिर्णय by वाचस्पति.
- तिथिनिर्णय by विश्वेश ; names हेमाद्रि, माधव, चमत्कारचिन्तामणि, पुराण-समुच्चय.



तिथिनिर्णय by वैद्यनाथ (from चम्पकार-  
चिन्तामणि).

तिथिनिर्णय by शिवानन्दभट्टगोस्वामी (Ul-  
war cat. No. 1329).

तिथिनिर्णय by शुभङ्कर.

तिथिनिर्णय by सिद्धलक्ष्मण.

तिथिनिर्णय by हृदयान.

तिथिनिर्णय from the लघुमाधवीय of  
माधवाचार्य.

तिथिनिर्णय from the स्तुत्यर्थसार.

तिथिनिर्णयकारिका by श्रीनिवासार्थ, son  
of गोविन्दार्थ of the कौशिकगोत्र.

तिथिनिर्णयचक्र by विश्वनाथ (Baroda  
O. I. No. 8336).

तिथिनिर्णयतन्त्र by शिवनन्दननाथ.

तिथिनिर्णयदीपिका by रामदेव, son of  
शम्भु.

तिथिनिर्णयमार्तण्ड by रुक्ममित्राचार्य.

तिथिनिर्णयसंक्षेप or तिथिनिर्णय by  
भट्टोजि, son of लक्ष्मीधर.

तिथिनिर्णयसंग्रह by रामचन्द्र. A sum-  
mary of the तिथिनिर्णय of अनन्त-  
भट्ट.

C. by हृसिंह (Baroda O. I. ms.  
No. 1524 is dated संवत् 1683).

Later than 1400 A. D.

तिथिनिर्णयसर्वसमुच्चय.

तिथिनिर्णयसार by मदनपाठ. Vide sec.  
93.

तिथिनिर्णयेन्दुशेखर by नागोजिभट्ट.

तिथिनिर्णयोद्धार or लघुतिथिनिर्णय or  
-निर्णयोद्धार by राघवभट्ट. Vide तिथि-  
निर्णय above. Also called तिथि-  
सारसंग्रह.

तिथिप्रकाश by गङ्गादाम द्विवेदिन.  
H. D. 70.

तिथिप्रकाशप्रकाशिका.

तिथिप्रदीपक by भट्टोजि.

तिथिप्रदीपिका by हृसिंह. Refers to  
विद्यारण्य.

तिथिप्रदीपिका by रामसेवक.

तिथिमन्त्रो of गणेश, son of ज्ञानेश्वर,  
son of महादेव, son of लालभट्ट.

तिथिरत्न by महादेव.

तिथिरत्नमाला by नीलकण्ठ, son of  
अनन्त, son of चिन्तामणि.

तिथिवाक्यनिर्णय--Vide तिथिनिर्णय of  
नारायणभट्ट.

तिथिबोधक of जूलपाणि m. in रघुनन्दन's  
तिथितन्त्र.

C. तान्यर्थादीपिका by श्रीनाथ आचार्य-  
चूडामणि, son of श्रीकर; about  
1475-1525 A.D. N. (new series)  
vol. II. pp. 73-74 ms. copied in  
1512-13 A. D.

तिथिव्यवस्थासंक्षेप.

तिथिसंग्रह or तिथिनिर्णय by राघव. Vide  
above (pr. in Bombay 1864).

तिथिसंग्रह ano. N. (new series) II.  
p. 75.

तिथिस्वरूप or सर्वतिथिस्वरूप by सुरेश्वर.

तिथीन्दुशेखर by नागेशभट्ट.

तिथ्यर्क by दिवाकर, son of महादेव,  
son of बालरुक्मण of भारद्वाजगोत्र;  
author of आचारार्क (both being  
parts of धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि). About  
1683 A. D.

अनुक्रमणिका by his son वैद्यनाथ.

तिथ्यर्कपर्वनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. No.  
5947). The author says that  
नारायणभट्ट author of प्रयोगरत्न was

- the great-grand-father (प्रपितामह) of his mother. So author flourished about 1650 A. D.
- तिथ्यर्कप्रकाश by दिवाकर (same as तिथ्यर्क above ?).
- तिथ्यादितत्त्वनिर्णय by लौगाक्षि भास्कर (Baroda O. I. ms. No. 5772 is dated 1605 संवत् i. e. 1548-9 A. D.). Mentions दीपिका, कालादर्श, माधव and निर्णयासूत. So later than 1400 A. D.
- तिथ्यादिनिर्णय by गोपीनाथ.
- तिथ्यादिनिर्णय of वट्टनाथ (part of योगीश्वरसंग्रह; ms. copied in 1707 A. D.).
- तिथ्यादिषिषिसंग्रह by रघुनम तर्कशिरोमणि. N. (new series) vol. II. P. 75.
- तिथ्युक्तिरत्नावली by हरिलालमिश्र.
- तीर्थकमलाकर alias सर्वतीर्थविधि of कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण. Vide sec. 106.
- तीर्थकल्पलता by गोकुलदेव, son of अनन्तदेव.
- तीर्थकल्पलता by नन्दपण्डित. Sec. 105.
- तीर्थकल्पलता by वाचस्पति.
- तीर्थकाशिका m. by गङ्गाधर.
- तीर्थकौमुदी of शङ्कर, son of बह्मल; mentions तीर्थचिन्तामणि. Same as तीर्थोपापनकौमुदी.
- तीर्थकौमुदी of सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य.
- तीर्थचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र, in five प्रकाशाः (pr. in B. I. series); m. in the हस्तितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन and in नि. वि. Vide sec. 98.
- तीर्थतत्त्व or तीर्थयात्राविधितत्त्व of रघु०. This is over and above his स्मृतितत्त्व in 28 तत्त्व.
- तीर्थदर्पण (vide under वज्रप्रयोग) of भट्टराम, son of विश्वनाथ, surnamed होसिङ्ग.
- तीर्थनिर्णय or कुरुक्षेत्रतीर्थनिर्णय of रामचन्द्र.
- तीर्थपरिभाषा by व्यास.
- तीर्थमञ्जरी by सुकुन्दलाल.
- तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व by रघुनन्दन. Same as तीर्थतत्त्व; sec. 102.
- तीर्थयात्रानिर्णय.
- तीर्थरत्नाकर by अनन्तभट्ट, son of पट्टभट्ट, at the request of अनुपसिंह.
- तीर्थरत्नाकर or रामप्रसाद of रामकृष्ण, son of माधव, of पराशरगोत्र; ms. dated संवत् 1690 (1634-5 A. D.). He composed the सुक्तिस्नेहप्रधुरणी, com. on शास्त्रदीपिका, at Benares in संवत् 1600. He is author of प्रतापमार्तण्ड; flourished between 1500-1545 A. D.
- तीर्थसंग्रह m. in स्तुत्यर्थसार by श्रीधर.
- तीर्थसंग्रह by साहेबराम.
- तीर्थसार (part of सुसिंहप्रसाद).
- तीर्थसेतु by रुन्दावन शूद्र.
- तीर्थसौख्य (part of टोडरानन्द).
- तीर्थेन्दुशेखर of नागोजिभट्ट, son of शिवभट्ट. Vide sec. 110.
- तीर्थोपापनकौमुदी by शङ्कर, son of बह्मलसूरि. Vide under व्रतोपापनकौमुदी. About 1753 A. D.
- तुलसीकाव्यमालाधारणनिषेध by नरसिंह (Baroda O. I. No. 3894).

तुलसीचन्द्रिका by राजनारायण सुखो-  
पाध्याय.

तुलसीविवाह (taken from प्रतापमार्तण्ड)  
Ulwar cat. No. 1334 and ex-  
tract 313.

तुलादान.

तुलादानपद्धति.

तुलादानपुरुषप्रयोग.

तुलादानप्रकरण by सिद्धनाथ.

तुलादानप्रयोग (माध्यन्दिनीय).

तुलादानप्रयोग by कमलाकर, son of राम-  
कृष्ण. See. 106.

तुलादानविधि.

तुलापद्धति by कमलाकर.

तुलापुरुषदानपद्धति.

तुलापुरुषदानप्रयोग by विहल.

तुलापुरुषमहादानपद्धति by गोपीनाथ.

तुलापुरुषमहादानप्रयोग or तुलादानविधि  
by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर ;  
see. 103.

विशच्छोकी or भाषाचविशच्छोकी by  
वोपदेव. Is it the same as the  
next ?

विशच्छोकी or आशीचविशच्छोकी or  
सुतककारिका (pr. at Benares in  
1876 with com.) in 30 अक्षरा  
verses on आशीच. Ulwar cat. No.  
1339 ascribes it to वोपदेव. Vide  
BBRAS cat. vol. II pp. 209-210  
where it is ascribed to हेमाद्रि.

C. विवरण by रघुनाथभट्ट, son of  
माधव, son of रामेश्वर ; flourished  
1500-1625 A. D.

C.C. विवरणनारोद्धार by शम्भुभट्ट  
कविमण्डन, son of बालकृष्ण. Names

नि. नि., मण्डल, भट्टोजिदीक्षित. Be-  
tween 1660-1710 A. D. He says  
he follows com. of रघुनाथ on  
the विशच्छोकी.

C. आशीचसंग्रह.

C. ascribed to विज्ञानेश्वर (wrong-  
ly). Vide under दशश्लोकी.

C. by अनन्तभट्ट (Ulwar cat. No.  
1340).

C. by भट्टाचार्य (Ulwar cat. No.  
1341); ms. in Baroda O.I. 3883  
is dated संवत् 1579 (1522-23 A. D.).

C. सुवोपिनी by अनन्त, son of कम-  
लाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण. About  
1610-1660 A. D.

C. by कृष्णमित्र.

C. by राघव.

C. by रामभट्ट.

C. by विश्वनाथ.

C. (vide I. O. cat. III p. 566,  
No. 1750-51).

C. by रामेश्वरभारती.

C. by author

विकाण्डमण्डन alias आपस्तम्बसूत्रव्याख्यनि-  
तार्थकारिका by भास्करमिश्रसोमपाणि,  
son of कुमारवामिन (pr. in B. I.  
series). Printed text and mss. dif-  
fer. Divided into four sections in  
575 verses on अधिकारिनिरूपण,  
प्रतिनिधि, पुनराधेय, निमित्त and प्रकी-  
र्णक. He names कविदेव, कर्क,  
केशवमिश्रान्त, दामोदर, नारायणकृष्ण  
on आपस्तम्बसूत्रांत, भवनाग, भर-  
द्वाजसूत्रभाष्यकार, लौगाक्षिकारिका, भर्तृ-  
वृत्त, शालीकिनाथ (on पूर्वमीमांसा),  
यज्ञपाश्वर्त, केमदीप, विधिरान ; many

of his *कारिका*s, though primarily concerned with *śrauta* rites, are quoted largely in *धर्मशास्त्र* works. He incidentally deals with many topics of *धर्म*, such as proper actions in *मलमास* (I, 165-177), what is *शौणकाल* for an act etc. He is named by *हेमाद्रि* and the *मदनपारिजात*. So he flourished after 1000 and before 1200 A. D. Vide Dr. Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 pp. 30-31 for date. C. विवरण.

C. पदप्रकाशिका.

त्रिकालसन्ध्या.

त्रिपिण्डीभाष्यप्रयोग (Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. 591).

त्रिपुष्करशान्तिस्तव of रघु ०; vide p. 417 above.

त्रिविक्रमपद्धति m. in वि. ति.

त्रिविक्रमी (rules for the consecration of images when transferred from one place to another through fear of *mlecchas* or otherwise). N. vol. IX p. 295.

त्रिवेणीपद्धति by विनाकरभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 5840).

त्रिस्थलीषिपि by हेमाद्रि.

त्रिस्थलीसेतु of काशीनाथभट्ट, son of जयरामभट्ट.

त्रिस्थलीसेतु of नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट (pr. at Anandāsrama Poona). The first part deals with rites common to all sacred places and then the special features of the pilgrimage to

प्रयाग, काशी and गया. Composed about 1550-60 A. D.

त्रिस्थलीसेतुप्रघट्टक by नागेश.

त्रिस्थलीसेतुसार or -सारसंग्रह or तीर्थ-यात्राविधि by भट्टोजि.

त्रैलोक्यसागर m. by वाचस्पतिमिश्र in his द्वैतनिर्णय. So earlier than 1400 A. D.

त्रैलोक्यसार m. by हेमाद्रि. रघुनन्दन, and in दानमयूख.

त्रैषणिकसंन्यास by कैलासपति.

त्रैविक्रमी- vide त्रिविक्रमपद्धति.

दक्षस्मृति see sec. 43; pr. Jivananda Sm. part II, pp. 383-402, Anan. sm. pp. 72-84.

C. by कुण्ठाभाष.

C. by तत्कनहाल.

दक्षिणद्वारनिर्णय by नारायण (Baroda O. I. 9175).

दण्डकशास्त्र.

दण्डनैतिप्रकरण (extracted from the नैतिमञ्जरी of शम्भुराज).

दण्डविधेक of वर्षमान of बिल्वपक्षग्राम, son of भवेष्ट and younger brother of गण्डर्कमिश्र; in seven परिच्छेदः; latter half of 15th century; on penal offences, the propriety of inflicting punishments and the different forms of punishments to be inflicted. N. vol. V p. 225 No. 1910; composed for the king of मिथिला; mentions कन्य. तरू, कामधेनु, इलायुध, धर्मकोश, स्मृति-सार, कुल्यसागर, रत्नाकर, पारिजात, व्यवहारतिलक, प्रदीपिका and प्रदीप as among his authorities. It is a part of his स्मृतिप्रकाशविधेक.

दत्तककुटार.

दत्तककौमुदी by रामनय तर्कालङ्कार (pr. at Calcutta in 1827 in Bengali characters). Summarised in दत्तकशिरोमणि pr. under the patronage of P. C. Tagore.

दत्तकहौलुभ by केदारनाथदत्त (pr. at Calcutta).

दत्तकचन्द्रिका of कुबेरपाण्डित (pr. Calcutta 1857, text with Marathi translation pr. at Baroda, 1899). The last verse is interpreted as giving गुरुमणि as the name of the author. Said to be fabricated by a pandit of Colebrooke's. The author says he wrote a स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

C. by रामेश्वरशुक्ल.

दत्तकचन्द्रिका by कोलपाचार्य.

दत्तकचन्द्रिका by तोळप्पर, son of श्रीनिवासाचार्य (Baroda O. I. 6572 B.)

दत्तकचन्द्रिकाटीका by तकनलाल.

दत्तकतत्त्वविनिर्णय or-निर्णय by हरिनाथमिश्र. N. vol. XI. Intro. p. 5.

दत्तकतिलक of भवदेव (a part of his व्यवहारतिलक). Summarised in the दत्तकशिरोमणि.

दत्तकदर्पण by द्वैषायन (N. X. p. 71).

दत्तकदीपिति by महामहोपाध्याय अनन्तभट्ट (pr. at Calcutta and also at Bhavnagar). Summarised in दत्तकशिरोमणि.

दत्तकनिर्णय by तान्वाशास्त्रिन.

दत्तकनिर्णय by विश्वनाथ उपाध्याय.

दत्तकनिर्णय by झलपाणि (part of his digest called स्मृतिविवेक). Nearly the whole is pr. in Bharatachanda-

dra Siromani's दत्तकशिरोमणि. Also styled दत्तकविवेक.

दत्तकनिर्णय by श्रीनाथभट्ट.

दत्तकपुत्रविधान by अनन्तदेव (probably same as दत्तकदीपिति above).

दत्तकपुत्रविधान by वृत्तिहभट्ट.

दत्तकपुत्रविधि by झलपाणि; same as दत्तकनिर्णय above.

दत्तकमीमांसा or दत्तपुत्रनिर्णयमीमांसा of नन्दपाण्डित alias चिनायकपाण्डित (pr. by भरतचन्द्र शिरोमणि at Calcutta). Vide sec. 105.

C. by वृन्दायनशुक्ल.

दत्तकमीमांसा by मोक्षवाचार्य.

दत्तकविधि (an extract from the व्यवहारमयस्य of नीलकण्ठ).

दत्तकविधि by वाचस्पति; vide N. (New Series) vol. III. preface pp. VII-VIII.

दत्तकविवेक by झलपाणि (vide दत्तकनिर्णय above).

दत्तकसप्तपण्डितनिर्णय.

दत्तकोज्ज्वल by वर्धमान, who performs an obeisance to काली. N. (new series) vol. I p. 166.

दत्तविन्तामणि by बन्धेश्वर, son of नरसिंह.

दत्तदायप्रकाश by ब्रजनाथ विद्यारत्न (pr. at Calcutta 1875).

दत्तपुत्रतत्त्वविवेक by वासुदेवभट्ट (Stein's cat. p. 307).

दत्तपुत्रविचार by गोविन्द वासुदेवभट्ट (Baroda O. I. No. 10701 b).

दत्तपुत्रविधि.

दत्तमञ्जरी.

दत्तलक्ष्मीदीपिका by श्रीनिवासाचार्य.

दत्तलक्ष्मी by धर्मराजाध्वरीन्द्र, son of माधवाध्वरीन्द्र ; names विज्ञानेश्वर, कालासूत, वरदराजीय, दत्तसंग्रह, काल-निर्णय, दत्तमीमांसा; later than 1650 A. D.

दत्तलक्ष्मी by सीतारामशास्त्रिण (Baroda O. I. No. 7204).

दत्तविधि by वैद्यनाथ.

दत्तसंग्रह by भीमसेनकवि.

दत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी by बालकृष्ण, son of देवमद्रदीक्षित of the Phalnitkar family. His guru was अद्वैतानन्द.

दत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी by भट्टभास्करपण्डित.

दत्तसिद्धान्तमन्दारमञ्जरी.

दत्तस्मृतिसार.

दत्तहोमानुक्रमणिका.

दत्तादर्श by माधवपण्डित.

दत्तार्क by दादा करजुनि, son of माधव, son of वृत्तिह. He was pupil of कृष्णाचार्य at Nasik on the Godavari and composed the work in śake 1691 (1769 A. D.). Names निर्णयसिन्धुकार and मयूखकार.

दत्तार्चनकौमुदी or दत्तात्रेयपद्धति by चैतन्यगिरि.

दत्तार्चनविधिचन्द्रिका by रामानन्दपति.

दत्ताशौचव्यवस्थापनवाट by रामसुब्रह्मण्य-शास्त्रिण, son of रामराज; flourished towards end of 18th century.

दन्तधावनविधि.

दर्शननिर्णय by वेङ्कटनाथ, called वैदिक-सार्वाभौम, son of रङ्गनाथ, son of सरस्वतीचन्द्रभ. On such topics as जपन्तीनिर्णय, एकादशीनिर्णय &c.

Probably a part of his स्मृतिरत्नाकर (N. vol. VIII p. 14).

Mentions स्मृतिचन्द्रिका. कालनिर्णय, अखण्डादर्श.

दर्शभास्त्र by रामभट्ट, son of विश्वनाथ होसिङ्ग.

दर्शभास्त्रपद्धति by रघुनाथ. Based on हेमाद्रि's work.

दर्शभास्त्रप्रयोग by दयाशङ्कर, son of धरणीधर.

दर्शभास्त्रप्रयोग by भट्टगोविन्द (Baroda O. I. ms. 1677 dated śake 1680).

दर्शभास्त्रप्रयोग by शिवराम.

दर्शनचिन्ता.

दशकर्मदीपिका or-पद्धति of पद्मपति for Yajurvedins (Kanyā). He was elder brother of हलायुध and Pandit of Lakṣmanasena of Bengal and so flourished about 1168-1200 A. D.

दशकर्मपद्धति by महामहोपाध्याय कालेसि for Rgvedins (about गर्भाधान etc.). N. vol. II. p. 61.

दशकर्मपद्धति by गणपति, son of हरिशङ्कर.

दशकर्मपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट.

दशकर्मपद्धति by पृथ्वीधर.

दशकर्मपद्धति by भवदेवभट्ट; (the work is also called दशकर्मदीपिका or कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति). According to तुन्दोम school. Vide sec. 73.

दशकर्मपद्धति by रामदत्तमिश्र for Vajasaneyins; same as गर्भाधानवि-दशमंस्कारपद्धति.

दशकर्मव्याख्या of हलायुध (part of ब्राह्मणसंस्मरण).

दशकालनिर्णय.

दशधेनुदानपद्धति or-विधि (part of हेमाद्रि's दानसङ्ग्रह).

दशनिर्णय by वेङ्कटनाथ वैदिकसार्वभौम, son of रङ्गनाथ.

दशनिर्णय (on fasts and festivals) m. in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका.

दशपुत्राह्निक by आनन्द, son of प्रभाकर, of the दशपुत्र family.

दशसुखकोटिहोमप्रयोग by देवभद्रपाठक (Baroda O. I. 10963).

दशविधविप्रपद्धति.

दशश्लोकी (ascribed to विश्वानेश्वर) on आशौच. Same as आशौचदशक above.

C. by भट्टोजि, son of लक्ष्मीधर. In Hultzsch's Report III p. 101 we find that भट्टोजि says 'विश्वानेश्वर-मदनपारिजातकारश्चिदशश्लोकीकारप्रसूत-यस्तु ब्राह्मणस्य वैष्णवानुगमने पक्षिणीत्याह', which shows that he regarded the author of चिदशश्लोकी as different from विश्वानेश्वर.

दशसंस्कारपद्धति. Same as गर्भाधानादि-दशसंस्कारपद्धति.

दशसंस्कारप्रकरण.

दशादिकालनिर्णय.

दशाहकर्मवृ.

दशाहविवाह by वैद्यनाथदीक्षित.

दानकमलाकर of कमलाकरभट्ट; sec. 106.

दानकल्प quoted in अहल्याकामधेनु.

दानकल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर-part of कल्प-तरु; sec. 77.

दानकाण्डपर्व by साम्बाजी प्रतापराज (from परशुरामप्रताप.)

दानकाण्डसंक्षेप.

दानकौतुक (extracted from the हरि-वंशविलास of नन्दपण्डित).

दानकौमुदी by रामजयतकालङ्कार.

दानकौमुदी or दानक्रियाकौमुदी of मोचिन्दानन्द (about 1500-1540 A. D.); mentioned in his आश-क्रियाकौमुदी. Vide sec. 107; pr. in B. I. series.

दानकौस्तुभ (from the स्तुतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव).

दानचन्द्रिका by गौतम.

दानचन्द्रिका by जयराम (abstract of हेमाद्रि).

दानचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर, son of महादेव and grandson of रामेश्वर sur- named खान; names दानोदयोत, दानरत्न, दानमण्यव, and वृत्तार्क, also called दानसंक्षेपचन्द्रिका. Later than 1660 A. D.; pr. at Benares in 1864 and at Bombay in 1880 and 1884.

दानचन्द्रिका by नीलकण्ठ.

दानचन्द्रिका by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकर. About 1475-1525 A. D.

दानचन्द्रिकावली by श्रीधरपति.

दानतत्त्व.

दानदर्पण m. in सुदित्तत्त्व (vol. II p. 250) and तिथितत्त्व by रघु-नन्दन.

दानदिनकर by कमलाकर.

दानदिनकर by दिवाकर, son of दिवकर.

दानदीपिति by नीलकण्ठ, son of भास्कर.

दानदीपवाक्यसमुच्चय.



दानधर्मप्रक्रिया by भवदेवभट्ट, son of कृष्णदेवभस्मिन्म मंधिल. Names भूपाल. In four काण्डs; ms. (Mitra's Notices vol. V p. 144) dated Śaka 1558, i.e. 1636-7 A.D.

दानपद्धती or -पञ्जिका by नवराज, son of देवसिंह of टोण family. N. vol. V, p. 150. Peterson (5th Report p. 177) reads नवराज and shows that सूर्यकर compiled it at the bidding of नवराज.

दानपञ्जी by रत्नाकर ठाकुर -summarises दानसागर, as he expressly says.

दानपञ्जी by सूर्यकरशर्मन् - vide above under नवराज also.

दानपद्धति-बोडशमहादानपद्धति by राम-दत्त minister of कर्णाट king तुल्लिह of मिथिला. He was first cousin (paternal) of चण्डेश्वर. First half of 14th century (I. O. cat. vol. III, p. 550 No. 1714). The colophon describes it as the work of भवशर्मन्, who is in the 4th introductory verse referred to as born of the शशीपालवंश and as an अग्निहोत्रिन् and appointed (to compose the work?).

दानपरिभाषा by नीलकण्ठ.

दानपरीक्षा by श्रीधरमिश्र.

दानपारिजात by अनन्तभट्ट, son of नानेश or नानदेव, son of जह्नु of काण्वकुल.

दानपारिजात by क्षेमेन्द्र.

दानप्रकरण.

दानप्रकार.

दानप्रकाश of मित्रमिश्र (part of वीर-मिश्रोद्य). Vide sec. 108.

दानप्रदीप by दयाराम.

दानप्रदीप by दयाशङ्कर.

दानप्रदीप by महामहोपाध्याय माधव, son of विष्णुशर्मन् from Gurjaradesa.

दानफलविशेष.

दानकलव्रत - description of ceremonies to be performed by wives estranged from husbands or by women afraid of being separated from their sons. (I. O. cat. vol. III, p. 577).

दानमागवत by वर्णिकुचेरानन्द; composed during the reign of सद्याम-सिंह. It is a huge work and is very valuable for the history of the text of the Purāṇas and for Purāṇic rites, as it deals principally with topics of धर्म relying upon the पुराणs. Vide D. C. ms. No. 265 of 1887-91 which contains 392 folios. D. C. ms. No. 496 of 1886-92 is a fragment of it, on grammatical points arising out of पुराणs. It gives various derivations of the word नामरी as applied to the alphabet. It mentions वीर-देव and so is later than 1300 A.D.

दानमञ्जरी by ब्रजराज.

दानमनोहर by सदाशिव, son of त्रिपा-ठिपरमानन्द; composed in संवत् 1735 (1678-79 A. D.) by command of गौडेश महाराज मनोहरदास.

दानमयस by नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्कर-भट्ट. First half of the 17th century (pr. in Kashi S. series and by Mr. Gharpure, Bombay).

दानमहिम्न.

दानसुकावली.

दानरत्न m. in दानचन्द्रिका.

दानरत्न part of अनुपमिलास.

दानरत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर. Vide sec. 90.

दानरत्नाकर by मधुराम, son of सखल, of the होसिंग family; compiled under the direction of अनुपमिह, king of जोधापुर in मरवाड़. Gives genealogy of अनुपमिह, whose ancestor बीक founded Bikaner. मधुराम says he composed at the king's bidding five other works अनुपमिवेक (on शास्त्रग्रामपरीक्षण), सन्तानकल्पलता, अनुपमकुतकार्णव, अमृतमञ्जरी (on antidotes against 'poisons') and चिकित्सा-मालतीमाला. About 1675 A. D.

दानशाक्य.

दानशाक्यसङ्ख्यचय by योगीश्वर (Baroda O. I. ms. 10513 dated संवत् 1687 i. e. 1630-1 A. D.). D. C. ms. 332 of 1880-81 is dated संवत् 1594.

दानशाक्यसङ्ख्यचय by योगीश्वर, mentioned in भोजदेवसंग्रह, a ms. of which was copied in Śaka 1297 (1375 A. D.).

दानशाक्यावलि by नरराज.

दानशाक्यावलि by विद्यावति; composed at the direction of महादेवी धीरमति, queen of नरसिंहदेव दर्पनारायण of मिथिला; ms. dated संवत् 1539 (1483 A. D.). First half of 15th century. Vide Bhandarkar's Report 1883-84 p. 352 for extract.

दानशाक्यावलि Anonyms (D. C. ms. No. 367 of 1891-95).

H. D. 71.

दानविजय.

दानविवेक m. by हेमाद्रि, दानचन्द्रिका, दानमण्डप of नीलकण्ठ.

दानविवेक by भागुडीक्षित, son of भट्टोजि-क्षित. About 1650. A. D.

दानविवेकोद्घोषित or दानोद्घोषित (from मदनरत्न).

दानभक्षेयचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर son of महादेव. Vide दानचन्द्रिका above.

दानसागर by अनन्तभट्ट.

दानसागर by कामदेवमहाराज, in imitation of बल्लालसेन's work.

दानसागर by बल्लालसेन. Vide sec. 83.

दानसार, portion of दृष्टिद्वयसाह. Vide sec. 99.

दानसारसंग्रह (only section on वास्तु-पूजा). Ulwar cat. No. 1355 and extract 319.

दानसारावली (vide Bik. cat. p. 375).

दानसौख्य m. in दानचन्द्रिका and दानमण्डप (part of टीकरानन्द).

दानदीपावलिप्रकाश by दिवाकर, son of भारद्वाज महादेव. He was daughter's son of नीलकण्ठभट्ट. A versified summary of contents was added to this work by his younger son वैद्यनाथ. He wrote आचारार्क in 1686 A. D. The work is part of his धर्मशास्त्रसुधाविधि. Vide under आचारार्क (I. O. cat. vol. III pp. 547-48).

अनुक्रमणिका by वैद्यनाथ, son of the author.

दानहेमाद्रि—part of चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि, q. v.

दानार्णव composed by order of queen श्रीमति, wife of श्रीनारायण नरसिंहदेव ( कामेश्वरराजपण्डित ) of मिथिला, First half of 15th century.

दानोद्योत-same as दानविवेकोद्योत ( a part of मदनरत्नप्रदीप ).

दानोद्योत by कृष्णराम.

दामोदरीय m. in निर्णयदीपक and शुद्धि-मयूख and समयमयूख ; earlier than 1500 A. D.

दायकौमुदी by पीताम्बर सिद्धान्तपाणीश. About 1604 A. D.; pr. at Calcutta 1904.

दायक्रमसंग्रह of श्रीकृष्ण तर्कालङ्कार ; pr. at Calcutta, 1828 and translated by Wynch); mentions आचार्य-चूडामणि.

दायतत्त्व or दायभागतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन ( pr. by Jivananda ). Vide sec. 102.

C. by काशीराम बाचस्पति.

C. by राधाभोहन.

C. by हृन्दावन शुक्ल.

C. Ano. N. ( new series ) vol. II p. 80.

दायदशश्लोकी in ten शार्ङ्गलविक्रीडित verses on inheritance ( pr. by Burnell at Mangalore ).

C. by दुर्गाय, son of बासुदेव.

दायदीप, com. on दायभाग. Vide under दायभाग.

दायनिर्णय by गोपालवन्धन. Summary of रघुनन्दन's दायतत्त्व.

दायनिर्णय by विद्याप.

दायनिर्णय by श्रीकरहारा; quotes मदन-पाणिनाथ, दायभाग and बाचस्पति.

Vide I. O. cat. vol. III p. 462 No. 1523; p. 463 No. 1524 shows that there is some confusion between गोपाल and श्रीकरहारा.

दायभाग of जीमूतवाहन. Vide sec. 78; (pr. with seven com. by Bharata-chandra for Prasanna Kumar Tagore, 1863-66 ).

C. by दायभागप्रबोधिनी ( pr. at Calcutta 1893, 1898 ).

C. दायभागसिद्धान्तकुसुमचन्द्रिका by अच्युत चक्रवर्ती, son of हरिदास तर्क-चार्य; criticizes श्रीनाथ's टीका and he is quoted by महेश्वर and श्रीकृष्ण. 1500-1550 A. D.

C. by उमाशङ्कर.

C. by कृष्णकान्तहारा.

C. by गङ्गाधर.

C. by गङ्गाराम.

C. दायदीप by श्रीकृष्णतर्कालङ्कार, whose daughter's son was living in 1790 A. D. ( pr. in 1863 ).

C. by नीलकण्ठ.

C. by मणेश्वर ( vide I. L. R. 48 Cal. 702 ).

C. by महेश्वर; quotes अच्युतचक्र-वर्ती ( pr. in 1863 ).

C. by रघुनन्दन ( pr. in 1863 ), son of हरिहर.

C. by रामनाथ विद्याबाचस्पति.

C. विवृति or दीपिका by रामभद्र, son of श्रीनाथ आचार्य चूडामणि; quoted in अच्युत's टीका ( pr. in 1863 ).

C. by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकराचार्य; criticized by अच्युत ( pr. in 1863 ). 1475-1525 A. D.

C. by लघुशिव.

C. by हरिदीक्षित.

दायभाग—a portion of व्यवहारनिर्णय of बरदराज.

दायभाग—a portion of the विवाद-भङ्गार्णव of जगन्नाथ.

दायभाग by वैद्यनाथ.

दायभागकारिका by मोहनचन्द्र विद्यावाचस्पति. N. ( new series ) I. 172.

दायभागनिर्णय or -विनिर्णय by कामदेव ( I. O. cat. p. 463 ).

दायभागनिर्णय by भट्टोजि ( Peterson's 6th Report No. 84 ).

दायभागनिर्णय by व्यासदेव.

दायभागनिर्णय of श्रीकर-*vide* दायनिर्णय above.

दायभागविवेक alias दायरहस्य by रामनाथ विद्यावाचस्पति ; a com. on दायभाग of जीमूतबाहन composed in 1657 A.D. Part of स्मृतिरत्नावलि. N. vol. V. p. 154.

दायभागव्यवस्था of मार्कण्डेय in 8 तरङ्गस. Composed in ( शाकेश्वरिभट्टलहरास्य-कलानिधाने ) *śake* 1583 i. e. 1661-2 A. D. ; composed for राघव.

दायभागव्यवस्थासंक्षेप by गणेशभट्ट ( part of व्यवस्थासंक्षेप ).

दायभागसिद्धान्त of बलभद्र तर्कवागीश-भट्टाचार्य ( I. O. cat. p. 465 ).

दायभागसिद्धान्तकुसुमदण्डिका, com. on दायभाग. *Vide* above.

दायभागार्थदीपिकापद्यावली by रघुराम, pupil of रघुमणि N. ( new series ) vol. I p. 174 ; towards end of 18th century.

दायभुक्तावली by टीकाराम.

दायरहस्य-*vide* दायभागविवेक of रामनाथ.

दायविभाग by कमलाकर.

दायसंक्षेप by गणेशभट्ट.

दायसंग्रहश्लोकदशकव्याख्या by दुर्गाय, son of बासुदेव. *Vide* दायदशश्लोकी.

दायाधिकारक्रमसंग्रह by श्रीकृष्णतर्कालङ्कार.

दायाधिकारक्रमसंग्रह by कृष्ण or जयकृष्ण तर्कालङ्कार. Ulwar cat. No. 1356.

Seems to be same as the preceding.

दायाधिकारिक्रम by लक्ष्मीनारायण.

दातव्यकृतधर्मशास्त्र ( on भाव्य ) D. C. ms. No. 267 of 1887-91 contains prose passages about दायोप.

दान्तरपद्धति ( Baroda O. I. No. 8156 ). On rites of death and after death.

दामोदाव.

दाहादिकर्मकर्तृनिर्णय by पाशिकदेव सत्पादस्यपति.

दाहादिकर्मपद्धति.

दिनक्रोरोद्योत or शिवचमणिवीरिका begun by दिनकर alias विद्याकर, son of रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट and finished by his son विष्णेश्वर alias मागाभट्ट, contains sections on आचार, आशौच, काल, दान, पुर्त, प्रतिष्ठा, प्रायश्चित्त, व्यवहार, वर्षकृत्य, व्रत, शूद्र, भाव्य, and संस्कार.

दिनत्रयनिर्णय of विद्यापीशमुनि.

दिनत्रयमीमांसा of नारायण ( for माधव followers ).

दिनदीपिका.

दिनभास्कर of शम्भुनाथ सिन्धुस्तवागीश. Manual of daily religious duties

- of householders. About 1715 A. D.
- दिव्यसतिसंग्रह m. by ओम्बतवाहन's काल-विषेक.
- दिव्योदामधकाश m. by कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका of दिवाकर.
- दिवादासांघ m. by जि. नि., विधानपरि-जात, शांखचन्द्रिका. Earlier than 1500 A. D. Probably the same as दिवादासप्रकाश.
- दिव्यतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102. C. लघुटीका by मधुरानाथ झा.
- दिव्यतन्त्र or तन्त्रकीमदी m. by देवनाथ; mentions only Vaishnavite rites. ( Mitra's Notices vol. VI p. 32, ms. copied in 1551 šake i.e. 1629-30 A. D. ).
- दिव्यदीपिका of दामोदरठक्कर, compiled under Muhamad Shah ( N. vol. V. p. 282 ).
- दिव्यनिर्णय of दामोदरठक्कर, compiled under संग्रामशाह ( N. vol. VI. p. 40 ). Earlier than 1575 A.D. Vide under विषेकदीपक of दामोदर.
- दिव्यसंग्रह by सदानन्द.
- दिव्यसिंहकारिका by दिव्यसिंह. An abridgment in verse of his कालदीप and आश्वदीप.
- दिव्यानुष्ठानपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट. Vide sec. 103. N. (new series ) vol. III. p. 92.
- दीक्षातत्त्व by रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102.
- दीक्षातत्त्वप्रकाशिका of रामकिशोर ( C. P. cat. No. 2202 ).
- दीक्षानिर्णय.
- दीपकलिका of कलुषाधि, com. on वाज-पत्यसूक्ति. Vide sec. 95.
- दीपदान.
- दीपदानविधि or-कारिका.
- दीपमालिका.
- दीपभास्व.
- दीपालिप्रयोग.
- दीपिका—Occurs in the name of several works such as कालनिर्णय-दीपिका, आश्वदीपिका &c.
- दीपोत्सवनिर्णय ( Baroda O. I. 10625 dated 1757 संवत् ).
- दुर्गभजन ( alias सूक्तिदुर्गभजन ) by चन्द्रशेखरशर्मा, a बारेन्त्रब्राह्मण of नव-द्वीप. Four chapters on तिथि, मास, persons qualified to perform religious ceremonies such as दुर्गा-पूजा, fasts and penances; solves doubts on points of dharma.
- दुर्गातत्त्व—Vide दुर्गास्तवतत्त्व.
- दुर्गातत्त्व by राघवभट्ट.
- दुर्गापुनश्चरणपद्धति.
- दुर्गाभक्तिरत्निणी or दुर्गास्तवपद्धति as-cribed to नरसिंहदेव of मिथिला, composed by विद्यापति. This was his last work. Praises धीरसिंह, son of नरसिंह, and his brother भैरवचन्द्र who is here styled रूपनारायण, though elsewhere he is called हरिनारायण ( vide Ind. Ant. vol. 14 p. 193 ). About 1438 A.D.; pr. in Calcutta, 1909. Mentions रत्नाकर.
- दुर्गाभक्तिरत्निणी of माधव.
- दुर्गाभक्तिप्रकाश m. by रघुनन्दन in दुर्गास्तवतत्त्व.
- दुर्गाभक्तिहरी by रघुनमतीर्थ.

दुर्गाचरितकल्पतरु.

दुर्गाचरितकल्पतरु by मधुरानाथ शुक्ल.

दुर्गाचरितकल्पतरु by मधुरानाथ शुक्ल. N. (new series), vol. I. p. 81.

दुर्गाचरितकौमुदी by परमानन्दशर्मा.

दुर्गाचरितकौमुदी by कालीचरण in two volumes, first describing जगद्धात्री-पूजा and the 2nd कालिकापूजा. It speaks of the दुर्गापूजा on कार्तिक-शुक्लनवमी while the well-known दुर्गापूजा is in आश्विन.

दुर्गाचरित m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति.

दुर्गावतीप्रकाश alias समयालोक by वसु-  
नाथ, son of बलभट्ट. In seven  
अलोकः. Composed under pa-  
tronage of दुर्गावती queen of दल-  
पति, king on the नर्मदा and  
father of श्रीरामाक्षि; vide Bik. cat.  
p. 450 and I. O. cat. p. 536  
No. 1680. M. by शङ्करभट्ट in  
द्वैतनिर्णय and names निर्णयान्त.  
मदनपारिजात, मदनमाल. Between  
1460-1550 A.D. Deals with निर्णयः  
on तिथिः, संक्रान्तिः, मलमास etc.  
Is this दलपति the same as the  
author of सुसिंहप्रसाद? The  
seven sections are on समयः,  
व्रतः, आचारः, व्यवहारः, दातः, शुद्धिः,  
ईश्वराराधन (or पूजा?).

दुर्गाचरितकौमुदी by शम्भुनाथसिद्धान्त-  
बागीश. Mentions संवत्सरप्रदीप,  
वर्षकल्प. He was a pandit at the  
court of the king of कामरूप.  
About 1715 A.D.

दुर्गाचरितचन्द्रिका by भारतीचरण वर्धमान  
महापात्र at the instance of prince  
रामचन्द्रदेव गजपति of Orissa.

दुर्गाचरित by रघुनन्दन. Vide sec.  
102.

दुर्गाचरितनिर्णय by गोपाल (N. vol. VI  
p. 210).

दुर्गाचरितनिर्णय by न्यायप्रज्ञानन (name  
not given). Mitra appears to  
regard this as different from  
above, while Aufrecht holds  
them identical, N. vol. VII p. 7.

दुर्गाचरितचन्द्रिका- vide दुर्गाभक्तितराङ्गिणी.

दुर्गाचरितप्रमाण by रघुनन्दन. Calcutta  
Sanskrit College mss. cat. vol. II  
pp. 310-311 No. 336.

दुर्गाचरितविशेष by छलपाणि. Vide sec.  
95.

दुर्गाचरितविशेष by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि.

दुर्गाचरितदर्शनशान्ति (from प्रदीपचरित of  
नारायणभट्ट).

दुर्गाचरितलक्षण.

दुर्गाचरितलक्षण.

दुर्गाचरित by दुर्गाचरित.

दुर्गाचरित m. in नि. सि., विधानपारि-  
जात, आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण. Earlier  
than 1600 A.D.

दुर्गाचरितपूजा.

दुर्गाचरितकवचहृति (marriage of an idol  
of विष्णु with लक्ष्मी). N. (new  
series) I. p. 179.

दुर्गाचरितप्रकाश or मदनमालचूडामणि by  
देवदासमिश्र, son of नामदेव, son of  
अर्जुन of the गौतमगोत्र. Extensive  
digest of leading rites with  
particular reference to luna-  
tions, and on आर्य, आर्षीच, मल-  
मास. Based as the author says

on इत्यतः, कर्क, कृत्यदीप, सृष्टि-  
नार, मिताक्षरा, कृत्यार्णव. Between  
1350-1500 A. D. Baroda O. I.  
No. 5581.

देवदासीय m. by नि. सि., विधानपारि-  
जात, आद्यमयस. (Probably same  
as above).

देवपद्धति m. in रुद्रकल्पद्रुम of अनन्तदेव.  
Probably the महाकल्पद्रुम of  
अनन्तदीक्षित.

देवप्रतिष्ठातृत्व or प्रतिष्ठातृत्व of रघु-  
नन्दन. Vide sec. 102.

देवप्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

देवप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग by श्यामसुन्दर, son of  
गङ्गाधरदीक्षित.

देवप्रतिष्ठाविधि (Bik. cat. p. 380).

देवपाशिकपद्धति (सङ्गुर्देवीय) of देव-  
पाशिक (pr. in Kashi S. series).

देवलसृष्टि- vide sec. 23; pr. Anan-  
Sm. pp. 85-89.

देवस्थापनकौमुदी by शङ्कर, son of बल्लाल,  
surnamed घणे (Baroda O. I.  
1464).

देवालपप्रतिष्ठाविधि by रमापति.

देवीपरिचर्या m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

देवीपूजनभास्कर by शम्भुनाथ सिद्धान्त-  
बागीश (N. vol. VII p. 154 gives  
date of completion as स्वयंमोर्नि-  
शिषे शास्त्रे निशाचरतिथौ शुभे).

देवीपूजापद्धति by वैतन्यगिरि.

देवाम्बरपूतकीर्त्यानिकपण.

देवसृष्टिवाचस्पति (Aufrecht's Leip-  
zig cat. 673).

देवज्ञचिन्तामणि m. in टोहरानन्द.

देवज्ञमनोहर by लक्ष्मीधर- m. by रघु-  
नन्दन in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व and मङ्गलास-

तत्त्व and in टोहरानन्द and by नि.  
सि.; (probably a purely astro-  
logical work). Earlier than  
1500 A. D.

देवज्ञबह्म by नीलकण्ठ or श्रीपति; m.  
by नि. सि. (probably a purely  
astrological work).

दोलपात्रा.

दोलपात्रातत्त्व or दोलपात्राप्रमाणतत्त्व of  
रघुनन्दन; vide sec. 102. N. (new  
series) vol. I. p. 191.

दोलपात्राविवेक of कलपाणि. Vide sec.  
95.

दोलपात्रासूत्र by नारायणतर्काचार्य.

दोलारोहणपद्धति of विद्यानिवास.

द्रव्यसृष्टि by रघुनाथ.

द्रव्यसृष्टिदीपिका by पुरुषोत्तम, son of  
पीताम्बर. Author describes him-  
self as श्रीमद्भगवाचार्यचरणान्तरास-  
शम; quotes नि. सि., सृष्टिमयस.  
दिनकरोदयोत; he was born in संवत्  
1724 (1668 A. D.) and died  
about संवत् 1781; pr. in 1906.

द्राक्षापण्यसूत्रपरिशिष्ट.

द्राक्षापण्यसूत्रपूर्वापरप्रयोग.

द्राक्षापण्यसूत्रसूत्र vide सादिरसूत्रसूत्र; pr.  
at Anandāśrama Press, Poona  
with com.

C. by रुद्रकन्द.

C. सुबोधिनी by श्रीनिवास.

द्राक्षापण्यसूत्रसूत्रकारिका by बालाशिवोद्दिन.

द्राक्षापण्यसूत्रसूत्रप्रयोग by विनयानन्दन.

द्रोणचिन्तामणि.

द्राविडकर्मपद्धति.



दादिसाधनराय (Baroda O. I. No. 12225).

दादिसाधनरायदानरत्नाकर.

दादिसाधनरायतत्त्व or दादिसाधनरायप्रमाणतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. On the twelve great festivals of Viṣṇu at Jagannathapurī.

दादिसाधनराययोग by विद्यानिवास (about जगन्नाथ). N. (new series) I. p. 194.

दादिसाधनरायमीमांसा.

दादिसाधनरायविधि.

दिनकल्पलता by परशुराम in 6 उल्लास. Hultzsch's Report III p. 60.

द्विजराजोदय.

द्विजादिकपञ्चति of ब्रह्मान, the elder brother of हलायुध. About 1170-1200 A. D.

द्विभार्याग्नि.

द्विविधजलाशयोत्सर्गप्रमाणदर्शन by बुद्धिकरशुक्ल.

द्विसप्ततिभाण्ड.

द्वैततत्त्व of सिद्धान्तप्रधानन.

द्वैतनिर्णय by चन्द्रशेखर वाचस्पति, son of विद्याभूषण. Calcutta Sanskrit College mss. cat. vol. II. 79.

द्वैतनिर्णय by नरहरि; quoted by रत्नपाणि in क्षयमासादिविवेक; mentions रत्नाकर.

द्वैतनिर्णय of वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Vide sec. 98.

C. प्रकाश or जीर्णोद्धार by मधुसूदनमिश्र.

C. प्रदीप or कादम्बरी by मोकुलनाथ (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 488).

द्वैतनिर्णय by शङ्करभट्ट. About 1580-1600; on doubtful points of धर्म. Vide Annals of Bhandarkar Institute vol. III part 2 pp. 67-72.

द्वैतनिर्णय m. in व्रतराज by विश्वनाथ as composed by his grandfather. Latter half of 17th century.

द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट or द्वैतपरिशिष्ट by केशवमिश्र; m. by रत्नपाणि; in two परिच्छेद; dwells at great length on भाण्ड. Vide Mitra's Notices V. p. 186.

द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट by दामोदर, son of शङ्करभट्ट. About 1600-1640 A. D.

द्वैतनिर्णयपद्धिका m. in द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट.

द्वैतनिर्णयसंग्रह by चन्द्रशेखर वाचस्पति, son of विद्याभूषण.

द्वैतनिर्णयसिद्धान्तसंग्रह by भातुभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट (whose द्वैतनिर्णय is summarised herein). About 1640-1670 A. D.

द्वैतविषयविवेक by वर्धमान, son of भवेश. About 1500 A. D.

द्वैतनिर्णयसूत्र m. in दायभागतत्त्व of रघु.

द्वैतानुष्ठायनिर्णय or शंखेन्दु by विश्वनाथ son of कृष्णगुर्जर of नैधुप्रगोच (Baroda O. I. No. 12708). Mentions दिनकरोदयोत, कौस्तुभ. Later than 1680 A. D.

धनजयसंग्रह m. by रघु in तिथितत्त्व.

धनभागविवेक- vide भागविवेक.

धनविद्यापञ्चक.

धनुर्विद्यादीपिका m. by कमलाकर in नि. सि.

धनुर्वेदविन्नामणि by नरसिंहभट्ट.

धनुर्वेदसंग्रह alias बीरचिन्तामणि by शास्त्रधर.

धनुर्वेदसंहिता by वसिष्ठ, pr. at Calcutta in महाराजा कुलुदचन्द्र series.

धर्मकारिका (author not known).

508 कारिका compiled from various authors. Mentions नि. ति., कौस्तुभ, कालतत्त्वविवेचन and मयस्य, and so later than 1680 A. D. (vide BBRAS. cat. p. 219, No. 691).

धर्मकोश- by त्रिलोचनमिश्र m. by वर्धमान and in आद्विकतत्त्व by रघु. The work deals with व्यवहार-पद, दापभाग, कथादान etc.

धर्मचन्द्र by केशवराय son of गोविन्दराय, son of रामराय of भारद्वाजगोत्र. Based on आम्बलायनपुष्टा and its परिशिष्ट. Divided into किरण on आचार &c. Baroda O. I. No. 5860 is dated संवत् 1810.

धर्मतत्त्वकमलाकर by कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण. Divided into ten परिच्छेद on व्रत, दान, कर्मविशेष, ज्ञान्ति, पुर्त, आचार, व्यवहार, प्रायश्चित्त, छद्मधर्म, and तीर्थ. Bik. cat. p. 99.

धर्मतत्त्वकलानिधि by वृक्षचिन्त, son of नागभट्ट. His विरुद्ध are कलि-कालकर्णप्रताप, परमवैष्णव. Divided into ten प्रकाश, 7th being on आशौच. Baroda O. I. No. 4006.

धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश by शिवचतुर्धर, son of गोविन्ददीक्षित of कुपरग्राम (Kopargram on the गोदावरी). Composed in śake 1698 (नागाङ्कुरसङ्घ) i. e. 1776 A. D. at प्रतिहान on the Ganges (Allahabad). Hultzsch (Report No. III p. V.) wrongly

says that he composed it in 1746 A. D., though in his extract at p. 84, he gives नागाङ्कुरसङ्घशके as the date).

धर्मतत्त्वसंग्रह by महादेव.

धर्मतत्त्वार्थचिन्तामणि.

धर्मतत्त्वषावलोक-vide गोविन्दार्णव alias रघुतितागर.

धर्मदीप m. in आद्विकचन्द्रिका of विद्याकर.

धर्मदीपिका or रघुतिप्रदीपिका by चन्द्र-शेखर वाचस्पति. Reconciles discordant opinions on points of धर्म.

धर्मद्वैतनिर्णय-vide द्वैतनिर्णय of शाङ्करभट्ट.

धर्मनिबन्ध by रामकृष्णपण्डित.

धर्मनिबन्धन.

धर्मनिर्णय by कृष्णताताचार्य.

धर्मपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट.

धर्मपरीक्षा by मध्वराम.

धर्मप्रकाश by माधव. D. C. ms. No. 221 of 1886-92 deals with सम-यालोक i. e. व्रत in चैत्र and the other months; mentions माधवीय, वाचस्पतिमिश्र, पुराणसमुच्चय. Later than 1500 A. D.

धर्मप्रकाश or सर्वधर्मप्रकाश by शाङ्करभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट and पार्वती. Latter half 16th century. Says that he follows the works of मेधातिथि, अपराक, विज्ञानेश्वर रघु-वर्धसार, कालादर्श, चन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि, माधव, नृसिंह, विश्वलीलित. Refers to his own शास्त्रदीपिकाप्रकाश. For a part of it on संस्कार vide I. O. cat. vol III p. 482 No. 1564.

धर्मप्रदीप or -दीप m. by स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (आशीचकाण्ड p. 63), प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of शूलपाणि, शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०, कालादर्श etc.

धर्मप्रदीप by गङ्गाभट्ट.

धर्मप्रदीप by जनकप; N. (new series) II. p. 46 (on गौत्र only).

धर्मप्रदीप by वर्धमान.

धर्मप्रदीप of भोज-vide p. 279 of the text. Composed between 1400 and 1600 A. D.

धर्मप्रदीपिका com. on अभिमन्युहस्ताति (q. v.) by सञ्जयण्य son of वेङ्कटेश.

धर्मप्रहृति by नारायणभट्ट; m. by शङ्करभट्ट in द्वैतनिर्णय, by शुद्धिचन्द्रिका of नन्दपण्डित and in व्यवहारमयस. Treats of daily duties (āhnikā), śauca, gharbādhāna and other संस्कारs, गौत्रनिर्णय, श्राद्ध, आशीच, दान, प्रायश्चित्त, तिथिनिर्णय, स्थालीपाद. Mentions माधवीयकालनिर्णय, मदनपारिजात, प्रयोगपारिजात, महार्णव, अनन्ताचार्य, कालादर्श, नारायणहृति on आश्वलायन; m. by नन्दपण्डित in श्राद्धकल्पलता. I. O. ms. (vide cat. p. 480 No. 1560) is dated संवत् 1659 (1602-3 A. D.). So between 1400-1600 A. D. Vide p. 420 above.

धर्मप्रश्न (आपस्तम्बीय) - part of आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र.

धर्मविन्दु.

धर्मबोधन.

धर्मभाष्य m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 747).

H. D. 72.

धर्ममार्गनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. 11821).

धर्मरत्न - a digest by जीमूतवाहन of which the कालविवेक and दासभाग are parts.

धर्मरत्न by वैद्यभट्ट, son of भट्टारकभट्ट. Divided into दीधितिस on आह्निक and other subjects.

धर्मरत्नाकर by रामेश्वरभट्ट; On धर्मस्वरूप, तिथिमासलक्षण, प्रतिपदादिषु विहित-कृत्यविधान, उपवास, दृग्मादिनिरूपण, संक्रान्ति, अजुत, आशीच, श्राद्ध, वेदाध्ययन, अनध्याय etc.

धर्मविहृति m. in मद्. पा. (p. 772) on the constitution of परिवर्द्ध, संस्कारमयस and प्रायश्चित्तमयस. मद्. पा. 753 quotes a धर्महृति (on प्रायश्चित्त). It seems probable that both are identical and are the same as धर्मभाष्य above.

धर्मविवेक by चन्द्रशेखर; explains and illustrates सीमांस्तान्पायस.

धर्मविवेक by विश्वकर्मन्, son of दामोदर and हीरा and grandson of भीम. Deals with fasts and festivals in 8 काण्डs; quotes कालमाधय, मदनरत्न, हेमाद्रिसिद्धान्तसंग्रह. Between 1450-1525 A. D. Vide Ulwar cat. extract 320 for detailed contents where the ms. is dated संवत् 1583.

धर्मविवेचन by रामहज्जण्यशास्त्रिन, son of रामशङ्कर.

धर्मशास्त्रकारिका.

धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्ध by फकीरचन्द्र.

धर्मशास्त्रसंग्रह-collection of स्मृति texts on श्राद्ध; BBRAS. cat. p. 219 No. 692.

धर्मशास्त्रसंग्रह by बालशर्मण्यगुण्ड, son of वेद्यनाथ and लक्ष्मी. I. O. cat. p. 458. Vide sec. 111. About 1800 A. D.

धर्मशास्त्रसर्वस्व by भट्टोजि. About 1600-1650 A. D.

धर्मशास्त्रमुधानिधि of दिवाकर. Composed in 1686 A. D. Vide आचारांक above.

धर्मसंहिता or धर्मस्मृति-m. by कालविवेक of जीवत.

धर्मसंग्रह by नारायणशर्मन्.

धर्मसंग्रह by हरिश्चन्द्र.

धर्मसंप्रदायदीपिका by आनन्द.

धर्मसार by पुन्योत्तम (ms. copied in 1607, vide Hp. cat. p. XV).

धर्मसार by प्रभाकर-m. in आचारमयूख. Earlier than 1600 A. D.

धर्मसारसमुच्चय- same as चतुर्विंशति-स्मृतिधर्मसारसमुच्चय.

धर्मसारसुधानिधि m. in आचारमयूख of दिवाकर काल and in com. on चतुर्विंशतिमत by भट्टोजि (vide BBRAS cat. p. 216).

धर्मसिन्धु or धर्मसिन्धुसार by काशीनाथ alias बाबा बाण्डे. Vide sec. 112.

धर्मसिन्धु by मणिराम.

धर्मसुबोधिनी by नारायण. Compiled from विज्ञानेश्वर, माधव and मदन-राव.

धर्मसेतु by तिमल of पराशर gotra on व्यवहार. Refers to विज्ञानेश्वर.

धर्मसेतु by रघुनाथ. A vast work.

धर्मानामाहुष्यिभ्योक्त by कृष्णपण्डित.

C. by रामचण्डित.

धर्मधर्मप्रबोधिनी of प्रेमनिधि ठाकुर, son of इन्द्रपति ठाकुर. He hailed from माहिष्मती in the territory of मितामसाह but compiled the digest in Mithila in संवत् 1410 (1353-54 A. D.). Contains twelve chapters on आदिक, पूजा, आर्य, आशौच, शुद्धि, विवाह, religious benefactions, आपद्धर्म, optional feasts, pilgrimages, प्रायश्चित्त, कर्म-विपाक and duties common to all classes. Vide N. vol. VI. pp. 18-20. M. M. Chakravarti (JASB. for 1915 pp. 392-393) says that संवत् 1410 must be taken to be fake, since विक्रम era was not in use in मिथिला. But this is not very convincing.

धर्मधर्मव्यवस्था.

धर्मधर्मबोध by रामचन्द्र.

धर्मसूत m. by वर्धमान in तत्त्वासूतसारो-द्धा. Probably धर्मसूत may not be a work at all, but may refer in general to works on धर्म.

धर्मसूतमहोदधि by रघुनाथ, son of अनन्तदेव.

धर्मान्मोधि- same as अनुपविलास.

धर्माण्व of पीताम्बर, son of काश्यपाचार्य. Vide Bik. cat. p. 383 (on तिथिनिर्णय), which ms. is dated 1681 A. D.

धर्मनिबन्ध m. in अन्वयेष्टिपद्धति of नारायण, by रघु and in निर्णयासूत.

धर्मसंग्रह m. in कालविवेक of जीवत-राहन, कालसार of मद्राधर (धर्म-निबन्ध and धर्मसंग्रह are probably the same).

धान्याच्छादिदानतत्त्व (on gifts of  
heaps of corn). N. (new series)  
II. p. 88.

एवजोच्छ्राय - from पूर्णकमलाकर.

नक्षकालनिर्णय.

नक्षत्रयोगदान.

नक्षत्रविधान.

नक्षत्रशान्ति by बौधायन (D. C. No.  
97 of A 1882-83).

नयमशिमालिका.

नयमशिकाभास्करचर्य or आश्विनचर्य-  
6th परिशिष्ट of कात्यायन Vide  
under आश्विनचर्य.

C. by कर्क.

C. आश्वकाशिका by कृष्णमिश्र, son  
of विष्णुमिश्र; composed in 1448-9  
A. D.

C. आश्वकचर्यप्रपञ्चति by अनन्तदेव.

नवग्रहदान.

नवग्रहमन्त्र- attributed to वसिष्ठ.

नवग्रहयज्ञ (Baroda O. I. 2279).

नवग्रहपञ्चांग (Baroda O. I. 6887).

नवग्रहयोगविधि.

नवग्रहशान्ति- vide under वसिष्ठी.

नवग्रहशान्तिपद्धति by शिवराम, son of  
विश्वाम for सामवेद followers. I. O.  
ms. (cat. p. 570) copied in संवत्  
1806 (1749 A. D.).

नवग्रहस्थापना BBRAS. cat. vol. II.  
p. 243.

नवग्रहहोम.

नवनीतनिबन्ध by रामजी. Is it same  
as निबन्धनवनीत ?

नवधूर्तिप्रतिष्ठाविधि.

नवमलदान.

नवमलमाला by प्रह्लादभट्ट.

नवरात्रकृत्य.

नवरात्रनिर्णय by गोपालन्यास.

नवरात्रप्रदीप by नन्दपण्डित (pr. in सर-  
स्वतीमन्त्र series No. 23).

नवविधैकदीपिका by वरदराज.

नवाक्षभाष्यनिर्णय by गौरीनाथचक्रवर्ति  
(Baroda O. I. 10219).

नवाक्षविधि.

नवधर्मप्रदीप by कृपाराम, pupil of जय-  
राम and patronised by बिलोकचन्द्र  
and कृष्णचन्द्र, Zamindars of  
Bengal in the 2nd half of 18th  
century. N. (new series) vol.  
II. p. 92.

नागदेशाष्टिक m. in शुद्धकमलाकर. Ear-  
lier than 1600 A. D.

नागदेशीय-m. in आचारमयूख; seems to  
be the same as नागदेशाष्टिक.

नागप्रतिष्ठा by बौधायन.

नागप्रतिष्ठा by शौनक.

नागचलि by शौनक.

नागशलिसेंस्कार.

नागार्जुनीयधर्मशास्त्र on आचार, espe-  
cially स्त्रियधर्म.

नागशास्त्रार्थनिर्णय by वर्धमान, son  
of भवेश. About 1500 A. D.

नान्दीमुखनिरूपण by हृदयनाथ.

नान्दीमुखआश्वप्रयोग.

नान्दीआश्वपद्धति by रामवृत्त मण्डन,  
son of गणेश्वर. First half of 14th  
century.

नारदस्मृति (ed. by Dr. Jolly).

C. by अमहाय, as amended by कन्याणभट्ट.

C. by रमानाथ.

नानदीय- m. in the समयमण्डल and other मण्डल. Probably the नारद-पुराण.

नारायणधर्मसारसंग्रह.

नारायणपद्धति m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व and मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०.

नारायणप्रद्योतनसूत्र.

नारायणचलिपद्धति by दाम्भ्य (Baroda O. I. 11497).

नारायणचलिप्रयोग by दामलाकर, son of रामरुण.

नारायणभट्टी. The same as प्रयोगरत्न and ज्योतिषपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट.

नारायणमिश्रीय.

नारायणग्रन्थि-m. in आचारमण्डल. Probably the com. on भास्कराचार्यसूत्र by नारायण.

नारायणस्मृति m. by अवरार्क.

नित्यकर्मपद्धति (Baroda O. I. ms. No. 603 dated संवत् 1547 i. e. 1490-1 A. D.).

नित्यकर्मपद्धति by श्रीधर, son of प्रभाकरनाथ for माध्यन्दिनशास्त्र, based on कान्यायन. Also called श्रीधरपद्धति. D. C. ms. No. 228 of 1886-92. D. C. Ms. No. 119 of 1884-85 is dated संवत् 1434 i. e. 1377-8 A. D.

नित्यकर्मप्रकाशिका by कुलनिधि.

नित्यकर्मलता of धीरेन्द्रपक्षीभूषण, son of पक्षीभर.

नित्यदानादिपद्धति by शामजित् त्रिपाठिन्. Quotes महार्णव.

नित्यस्नानपद्धति by कान्हदेय (Baroda O. I. 4011).

नित्याचारपद्धति by गोपालानन्द.

नित्याचारपद्धति of विद्याकर बाजपेयिन्, son of शम्भुकर (pr. in B. I. series). For वासननेयशास्त्र. Between 1350-1500 A. D.

नित्याचारप्रदीप by नरसिंह बाजपेयिन् of कौत्सवंश, son of मुरारि and grandson of धराधर and pupil of विष्णेश्वर; migrated to काशी. Family came from उत्तराल; quotes कल्पतरु, प्रथमसार, माधवार्णव. A very large work. Later than 1400 A. D. (pr. in B. I. series, 2 parts pp. 1-725). Ulwar cat. extract 322.

नित्यादर्श m. by कालादर्श of आदित्यभट्ट.

नित्यानुष्ठानपद्धति by बलभट्ट.

निबन्धचूडामणि by पशोपर (Bik. cat. p. 322). Contained at least 62 प्रकाश and dealt with शाश्वत.

निबन्धन m. by सरस्वतीविलास.

निबन्धनवनीत by रामजित्. Divided into four आचार्यान्तः सामान्यतिथि-निर्णय, व्रतविशेषनिर्णय, उपायमकाल and श्राद्धकाल. Mentions अनन्तभट्ट, हेमाद्रि, माधव and निर्णयार्थ as his authorities. D. C. Ms. No. 102 of 1882-83 was copied in संवत् 1673. Between 1400-1600 A. D.

निबन्धनराज Vide under समयप्रकाश.

निबन्धशिरोमणि by मृदुहि (Baroda O. I. 4012 and 9212). A huge work on संस्कार, astrological

- information about चार, नक्षत्र etc., अनुपनीतधर्म, कर्मविपाक-
- निबन्धसर्वारव** by महादेव, son of श्रीपति. Vide under प्रायश्चित्ताध्याय. A निबन्धसर्वारव is m. in तुसिहप्रसाद.
- निबन्धसार** by बच्चि, son of श्रीनाथ. A huge work in three अध्याय on आचार, व्यवहार and प्रायश्चित्त. D.C. Ms. 123 of 1884-86 is dated संवत् 1632; m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति.
- निबन्धसिद्धान्तबोध** by गङ्गाशम्भ.
- निर्णयकौस्तुभ** by विश्वेश्वर m. by रघु-नन्दन and शङ्कर in संस्कारभास्कर.
- निर्णयचन्द्रिका** by अङ्गरभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट.
- निर्णयचिन्तामणि** by विष्णुशर्मन महा-याज्ञिक at the instance of श्रीराज-जालमदास, son of चिदूर, a वैद्य of the योभिलगोत्र (Stein's cat. p. 308 contains the portion on मन्त्रमास).
- निर्णयतत्त्व** by नागदेवज्ञ, son of शिव (C. P. cat. No. 2598); he is author of आचारप्रदीप, which is quoted in आचारमयूख. Earlier than 1450 A. D. (Ulwar cat. No. 1256).
- निर्णयतराणि.**
- निर्णयदर्पण** by गणेशाचार्य (C. P. cat. No. 2599).
- निर्णयदर्पण** by शिवानन्द, son of तारा-पति ठक्कर. On श्राद्ध and other rites.
- निर्णयदीप** m. in नि. नि., आचारमन्त्र of लक्ष्मण.
- निर्णयदीपक** by अचल द्विवेद, one of the three sons of वत्सराज and pupil of भट्टचन्द्राक्षक. He was from वृद्धपुर and of मडोड subsection of नागर-ब्राह्मण and was also styled भागव-तेज. He wrote also कर्गवेदीकमहारुद्र-विषय before this work. The work deals with श्राद्ध, आशीर्च, छेलिप, तिथिनिर्णय, उपनयन, विवाह, इतिहास. The work was finished in संवत् 1575 शिवशुक्लपक्षादशी (i. e. in 1518 A. D.); quotes विश्व-रूपचिन्ता, दीपिकाविवरण, निर्णयसूत, याम्य, दृष्टान्तमुत्तर, आचारतिलक. Vide Ulwar cat. extract No. 323. It has the verse वेत्तम केचिदिह (मालतीमाधव) in his introductory verses; pr. at Nadiad, 1897.
- C. देवजानी m. in निर्णयसिन्धु, विधानपारिजात. Between 1520-1600 A. D.
- निर्णयदीपिका** by वत्सराज m. in नि. सि. and श्राद्धमयूख. Probably same as निर्णयदीपक by अचल.
- निर्णयपीपूष** m. in स्मृतिसारोच्चार of विश्वम्भर.
- निर्णयप्रकाश.**
- निर्णयप्रदीपिका** m. in श्राद्धकल्पलता of मन्दपण्डित.
- निर्णयचिन्तु** by अनन्तदेव son of महादेव, on तिथि.
- निर्णयचिन्तु** by बुद्धण.
- निर्णयभास्कर** by नीलकण्ठ (C. P. cat. No. 2600).
- निर्णयभास्कर** ms. dated संवत् 1725 माघ (1669 A. D.) in Peterson's 6th Report p. 10.



निर्णयमञ्जरी by सङ्गाधर.

निर्णयरत्नाकर by गोपीनाथभट्ट.

निर्णयशिरोमणि m. by निर्णयदीपक and by अनन्त in स्मृतिकौस्तुभ. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

निर्णयशैली m. by वि. वि.

निर्णयसंग्रह by प्रतापभट्ट

निर्णयसंग्रह by मधुसूदन

निर्णयसमुदाय.

निर्णयसार by क्षेमकर.

निर्णयसार by गोस्वामी (C. P. cat. No. 2602).

निर्णयसार by नन्दराममिश्र son of दीपचन्द्रमिश्र. In 6 परिच्छेदs on तिथि, आश्व etc. Composed in विक्रम 1836 (1780 A. D.).

निर्णयसार by भट्टरायण (Baroda O. I. 8670). Later than 1612 A. D. and earlier than 1700 A. D.

निर्णयसार by रामभट्टाचार्य

निर्णयसार by लालमणि.

निर्णयसारसंग्रह (Baroda O. I. 4015).

निर्णयसिद्धान्त by महादेव (probably the same as author of कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्त).

निर्णयसिद्धान्त by रघुराम (This work is probably the same as कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्त).

निर्णयसिन्धु of कमलाकरभट्ट, composed in सेवत् 1668 (1612 A. D.). Vide sec. 106; pr. in Ch. S. series and at Nir. P.

C. रत्नमाला or दीपिका by कृष्णभट्ट आर्जु.

निर्णयानन्द m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

निर्णयासुत by अल्लाह (or -ट) नाथसूरि, son of सिद्धलक्ष्मण, at the direction of prince सूर्यसेन who ruled एकचक्रपुर on the Jumna. Gives a genealogy of the ब्राह्मण (चातुर्वर्ण ?) kings of एकचक्रपुर. The introductory verses (which vary to some extent in different mss.) enumerate authorities on which he relies viz. मिताक्षरा, अपरार्क, अर्णव, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, धवल, वराणसमुच्चय, अमन्तभट्टीयसुहावरीशेष्ट, रामकौतुक, संवत्सरप्रदीप, देवदासीय, रूपनारायणीय, विद्याभट्टपद्धति, विश्वरूपनिबन्ध. One verse occurring in some mss. mentions हेमाद्रि, कालादर्श, चिन्तामणि. But हेमाद्रि's कालनिर्णय p. 34 mentions a निर्णयासुत. The work is mentioned in निर्णयदीपक, आश्वक्रियाकौमुदी. So the work is earlier than 1500 A. D. and certainly later than 1250. There are four sections on व्रततिथिनिर्णय, आश्व, इत्यशुद्धि and आशौच (pr. by Ven. P.).

निर्णयासुत of गोपीनारायण, son of लक्ष्मण, under सूर्यसेन (Calcutta Sanskrit Col. mss. vol. II, p. 78). Seems to be the same as निर्णयासुत of अल्लाह, though गोपीनारायण causes some misgiving. The Bik. cat. p. 426 also refers to गोपीनारायण and सूर्यसेन.

निर्णयासुत by रामचन्द्र. N. vol XI preface p. 4.

निर्णयासुत (वाश्राव्य) m. in the शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु.

निर्णयार्थ by बालकृष्णदीक्षित.

निर्णयार्थप्रदीप m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

निर्णयोद्धार (also styled तिथिनिर्णयो) by राघवभट्ट. Mentions निर्णयसिन्धु and स्मृतिदर्पण. So later than 1650 A. D. (Ulwar cat. extract 326). Vide तिथिनिर्णय of राघवभट्ट.

निर्णयोद्धारखण्डनमण्डन by पञ्जेश (Baroda O. L. 5247). Dilates upon certain doubts raised about the निर्णयोद्धार of राघवभट्ट.

नीतिकमलाकर by कमलाकर.

नीतिकल्पतरु by क्षेमेन्द्र.

नीतिगर्भितशास्त्र by लक्ष्मीपति.

नीतिचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र.

नीतिदीपिका.

नीतिप्रकाश by कुलमुनि.

नीतिप्रकाश by वैशम्पायन (ed. at Madras by Dr. Oppert, 1882). Also called नीतिप्रकाशिका. जनमेजय was instructed by वैशम्पायन at तक्षशिला in eight chapters on राजधर्मोपदेश, धनुर्वेदविवेक, स्वर्गोपनिषद्, मुक्ताशुषनिरूपण, सेनानयन, सैन्ययोग and राजत्याग. Enumerates the founders of राजशास्त्र.

C. तत्त्वपिबुति by सीताराम, son of नन्दगुण्ड of कौण्डिन्यगोत्र.

नीतिप्रदीप ascribed to वेतालभट्ट.

नीतिभाजनभाजन—dedicated to भोजराज (Mitra's Notices vol. II. p. 33).

नीतिमञ्जरी by वाक्षिबेदिन, son of लक्ष्मीधर, son of अत्रि, son of मुकुन्दद्विवेदिन of आनन्दपुर. In अष्टक chapters corresponding to the

eight astakas of the R̥gveda) and 200 verses, illustrating moral maxims by Vedic examples. Vide Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 116. Composed in संवत् 1550 (1494 A. D.). He was a young man when he composed the work and could repeat the Veda in eleven ways.

C. पुत्रदीपिका by author.

C. वेदार्थप्रकाश by author.

C. by देवराज.

नीतिमञ्जरी by शम्भुराज. A fragment called दण्डनीतिप्रकरण (Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 141 b).

नीतिमण्डप by नीलकण्ठ (pr. at Benares and by J. R. Gharpure and by Gujarati P. Bombay).

नीतिमादा by नारायण.

नीतिराज attributed to बरकाचि.

नीतिरत्नाकर of कृष्णदत्तवर्णिमतमहापात्र, grandfather of मदाधर, author of कालसार. About 1450 A. D.

नीतिरत्नाकर or राजनीतिरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर. Vide sec. 90; pr. by Mr. K. P. Jayasval.

नीतिरत्ना by क्षेमेन्द्र m. in ओचित्य-विचारचर्चा of the author. 2nd and 3rd quarters of 11th century.

नीतिवाक्यावृत of सोमदेवद्विज, pupil of नेमिदेव and younger brother of महोदधेव. Printed with com. in Bombay in the Maneckchand Digambar Jaina granthamālā. In 32 sections on धर्म, अर्थ, काम, अरिपराजर्ग, विद्यावृद्ध, मानवीशिकी,

- अयी, चार्ता, दण्डनीति, मग्निन, पुनो-  
हित, मेनापति, दृत, चार, विचार,  
न्यसन, सत्ताङ्गराज्य (स्वामि &c.),  
राजरक्षा, दिवसानुष्ठान, सदाचार, व्यव-  
हार, विवाद, पादगुण्य, युद्ध, विवाह,  
प्रकीर्ण. Aufrecht notes that he is  
quoted by महिनाथ on किराता-  
स्तुनीय.
- C. (anonyms). Very valu-  
able as regards quotations from  
numerous स्मृतिस and works on  
politics.
- नीतिविलास by ब्रजराजशुद्ध.
- नीतिविवेक by कुरुणाशङ्कर.
- नीतिशास्त्रसमुच्चय.
- नीतिसमुच्चय.
- नीतिसार attributed to घटकर.
- नीतिसार attributed to शुक्राचार्य (pr.  
by Jivananda).
- नीतिरत्नसंज्ञ by मधुसूदन.
- नीतिमुक्ताः लि by अण्वा राजपेदिन.
- नीराजनप्रकाश by जयनारायण तर्कपञ्चा-  
नन.
- नीलवृषोत्सर्ग by अमरभट्ट.
- नीलोत्सर्गपद्धति.
- नीलोद्वाहपद्धति on the ceremony of  
वृषोत्सर्ग in भाद्र. I. O. ms. (cat.  
p. 578) is dated संवत् 1648  
(1591-92 A. D.).
- नृत्तप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.
- नृत्तप्रतिप्रतिष्ठा by नारायणभट्ट (based  
on आश्वलायनश्रुतिपरिशिष्ट). Ba-  
roda O. I. 8876 A.
- नृसिंहअयन्तीनिर्णय by गोपालदेशिक.
- नृसिंहपरिचर्या m. in नि. सि. and स्मृति-  
कोशम् of अमर.
- नृसिंहपरिचर्या by कृष्णदेव son of रामा-  
चार्य. Stein's cat. p. 222.
- नृसिंहपुत्रपद्धति by वृन्दावन.
- नृसिंहप्रसाद of दलपतिराज son of बल्लभ.  
Vide sec. 99.
- नृसिंहाश्विमहोदधि m. in आचाररत्न.
- नृसिंहानन्दनपद्धति by ब्रह्मावहावन्दनाथ.
- नैमिनिकप्रयोगगन्ताकर by प्रेमनिधि.
- नीकादान.
- न्यायदीपिका of अभिनवधर्मभूषणाचार्य.
- न्यायरत्नमालिका-or न्यायमातृका. Vide  
व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूतबाहन.
- न्यासपद्धति by त्रिविक्रम.
- पञ्चकविधान.
- पञ्चकविधि (rites performed for per-  
sons who died when the moon  
was in any तक्षत्र from धनिष्ठा to  
रेवती).
- पञ्चकशान्तिविधि by मधुसूदनगोस्वामी.
- पञ्चकालादिषादीप on वैष्णव daily duties.
- पञ्चकोशसंन्यासाचार.
- पञ्चकोशयात्रा by शिवनारायणानन्दतीर्थ.
- पञ्चगव्यमेलनप्रकार.
- पञ्चगौडमाह्वयजाति.
- पञ्चविंशच्छ्लोकी (भाद्रपद्धति).
- पञ्चदशकर्मवृ (according to शौनका-  
रिका) on fifteen of the principal  
संस्कारः.
- पञ्चद्विचिह्नजाति.
- पञ्चमहायज्ञप्रयोग.

पञ्चमावस्थाविधि-attributed to शङ्कराचार्य; treats of fifth stage called परमहंस where a संन्यासी gives up even his दुण्ड and कनण्डल and wanders about alone like a child or lunatic. N. vol. X. p. 329.

पञ्चमीवर्णनपावन.

पञ्चमशर्माविधि.

पञ्चविधान (i. e. संस्कार, अधिवास, उद्घासन, पञ्चाग्निसाधन, जलवासविधि).

पञ्चसंस्कार in 8 अध्यायः. (Baroda O. I. 12355).

पञ्चसंस्कारदीपिका by विजयीन्द्रभट्ट, pupil of सुरेन्द्र; a manual of वैष्णव rites in accordance with the doctrines of मध्वाचार्य (तापः दुण्डं तथा नाम मन्यो यागश्च पञ्चमः । अमी हि पञ्च संस्काराः परमैकान्त्यहेतवः ॥).

पञ्चसंस्कारविधि for all श्रीवैष्णवः.

पञ्चसूत्रीविधान from जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम.

पञ्चाग्निकारिका m. in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका.

पञ्चायतनपद्धति by दिवाकर, son of भास्वान्न महर्षि (on पञ्चायतन of सूर्य, शिव, गणेश, दुर्गा and विष्णु); vide सूर्यादिपञ्चायतनप्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

पञ्चायतनपूजा.

पञ्चायतनप्रतिष्ठापद्धति by दिवाकर, son of महर्षि. Probably same as पञ्चायतनपद्धति.

पञ्चायतनसार m. in पूर्णदिनकरोद्घोत.

पण्डितपरितोष m. by हेमाद्रि in चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि as refuting मोहिन्द्रराज (III. 2. 481). Vide p. 314 above.

पण्डितसर्वस्व of हलायुध m. in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व and in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व (Jivānanda, vol. I. p. 531).

पतितन्यासविधि by दिवाकर.

पतितसंस्कर्गप्रायश्चित्त by an assembly of pandits under king Sarfoji of Tanjore (Hultzsch's Report III. pp. XII and 120).

पतिसहस्रमन्त्रविधेयनिर्गमप्रकाश.

पद्मचन्द्रिका by वृषाराम.

पदार्थादर्श of रामेश्वरभट्ट m. in नि. सि. and शुद्धकमलाकर.

पद्धतिरत्न by रुधिरारण्य (Baroda O. I. 2393).

पद्मनाभतिलक.

पद्मन्यास m. by कालविवेक of जीमूत.

परभूजातिनिर्णय.

परभूषण by नीलकण्ठसूरि.

परभूषण by बाबदेव आढले.

परभूषण by गोविन्दराय (Mitra's Notices X p. 296). About 1740-49 A. D. during reign of Shahu, grandson of Shivaji; when Balaji Bajirao was Peshwa गोविन्दराय was राजलेश्वर and a favourite of Shahu; refers to बाबदेव आढले as a hypocrite and a Karhāḍa Brāhmaṇa.

परमहंसपरिव्राजकधर्मसंग्रह by विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती-same as एतियर्गसंग्रह (pr. by आनन्दाश्रम Press).

परमहंससंन्यासपद्धति.

परमहंससंन्यासपासन by शङ्कराचार्य; BB-RAS. cat. vol. II. p. 246.

परमहंससंन्यासविधि.

परशुरामकाविका m. in मद्रकल्पद्रुम by हो-  
रिभट्ट. 1035. cat. p. 431.

परशुरामकाविका m. in मद्रकल्पद्रुम of  
अनन्तदेव.

परशुरामपकाश or-निबन्ध by खण्डेराय,  
son of नारायणपण्डित, who was  
धर्माधिकारी at वाराणसी. This is a  
digest in two उल्लास on आचार  
and श्राद्ध compiled at वसुनादुरी on  
the गोमती by order of परशुराम-  
मिश्र (प्रभु), son of होरिलमिश्र (or  
होरिलमिश्र), who is styled शाकही-  
पीपडुलाचरित. The work is men-  
tioned in आचारार्क and स्तुत्यर्थ-  
सागर, and mention माधवीय and  
मदनपाल. Between 1400-1600  
A. D.

परशुरामप्रताप by सावारी or साम्बारी  
प्रतापराज, son of पण्डित पद्मनाभ of  
जामदग्न्यवन्तगोत्र and pupil of भट्ट  
कर्म and a protégé of विजयामाह.  
Seems to have contained at least  
आह्निक, ज्ञातिविवेक, दान, प्रायश्चित्त,  
शंस्कार, राजनीति and श्राद्ध. Vide  
Viśrambag collection (in Deccan  
College) II. No. 243-246 and  
Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 131 a.  
A huge work. Baroda O. I.  
5887 is राजयत्नभकाण्ड which is  
like मानसोद्धार in subject matter.  
C. श्राद्धकाण्डदीपिका or श्राद्धदीप-  
कलिका of बोधदेवपण्डित. Quotes  
हेमाद्रि, कालादर्श.

परशुरामपद्धति by भार्गवशाम (vide वर्ण-  
जातिमङ्गलमाला).

परशुरामपद्धति-Vide sec. 35 (printed  
several times; B. S. series ed.

the best; pr. also in Jivananda  
Sm. part II pp. 1-52).

C. by माधवाचार्य vide. sec. 92  
(pr. B. S. series).

C. by गोविन्दभट्ट, m. in मलमासतत्त्व  
of रघु० (p. 787 of Jivananda).  
Earlier than 1500 A. D.

C. विद्वन्मनोहरा by नन्दपण्डित. Vide  
sec. 105. (I. O. cat. vol. III. p.  
377 No. 1301 gives a summary);  
pr. in Benares in 'The Pandit',  
New series, vol. 29-32.

C. by वैद्यनाथ पादशुद्ध, son of  
महादेव and बेणी and pupil of  
नागोनि.

C. हितधर्म by कामेश्वरपण्डित; men-  
tions माधवीय; Palmleaf ms. No.  
6956 in Baroda O. I.

परिभाषाविवेक by वर्धमान, son of भवेश,  
of शिवपञ्चक family. About 1460-  
1500 A. D. On नियम, नैमित्तिक,  
and काम्य कर्म, कर्माधिकारी, प्रवृत्त and  
निवृत्त कर्म, आचमन, स्नान, पूजा, श्राद्ध,  
मधुपर्क, दान, धुम, &c

परिशिष्टदीपकलिका of क्षुरपाणि m. in  
शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०. This is probably  
a commentary on a ग्रन्थपरिशिष्ट  
(such as छन्दोग०).

परिशिष्टप्रकाश m. in शुद्धितत्त्व and  
एकादशीतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. Probably  
the same as छन्दोगपरिशिष्टप्रकाश  
q. v.

C. by हरिराम.

परिशिष्टसंग्रह.

परिशेषसंग्रह-part of चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि.

परीक्षातत्त्व-same as विमर्शतत्त्व of रघु०.

वरीक्षापद्धति by शङ्खदेव. On ordeals.

Names विश्वरूप, वज्रपार्श्व, मिताक्षरा  
शुक्लपाणि. Later than 1450 A. D.

वर्णपुरुष or वर्णपुरुषविधि (cremation of  
effigies of persons who died  
abroad).

वर्णकुलशौचविधि (about resorting to  
the order of संन्यास).

वर्षकालनिर्णय.

वर्षतदानपद्धति.

वर्षनिर्णय by गणपति रावल, son of हरि-  
शङ्कर and grandson of रामदास,  
who was औदीच गुर्जर and honoured  
by गौदापीश मनोहर. Discourses  
on the proper time for new and  
full moon sacrifices and corres-  
ponding obsequial offerings.  
Names कालविवेचन, निर्णयसिन्धु,  
निर्णयभास्कर, मदन; composed in  
संवत् 1742 (नेत्राभोधिराधरापरमिति-  
मिमे श्रीविक्रमाकै शके) i. e. 1685-  
86 A. D.

वर्षनिर्णय by मुरारि.

वर्षनिर्णय by रघुनाथ वाजपेयिन्, son of  
माधव. Between 1550-1625 A. D.

वर्षनिर्णय a portion of धर्मसिन्धु.

वर्षसंग्रह.

वलपीपचलता by मदनमनोहर, son of मधु-  
सूदन; in 7 chapters on the cano-  
nical use of various kinds of  
flesh.

वल्लभ—a work on politics m. in the  
राजनीतिरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर. Ear-  
lier than 1300 A. D.

वल्लीपतन prognostications derived  
from the falling of a house  
lizard.

वल्लीपतनफल.

वल्लीपतनविचार.

वल्लीपतनशान्ति.

वल्लीशरटकादभासादिशकुन.

वल्लीशरटयोः फलाफलविचार.

वल्लीशरटयोः शान्ति.

वल्लीशरटविधान.

वपित्रोरोगपरिहारप्रयोग.

वपित्रोरपणविधान—rite in आवण of  
casting new threads around an  
image and hence taking them  
to wear.

वशुपतिदीपिका m. in शुद्धिकौमुदी (pp.  
206, 210). Probably same as  
वशुपति's दशकर्मदीपिका.

वशुपतिनिवन्ध m. in आन्ध्रकृतकौमुदी (p.  
503). Probably the same as the  
आन्ध्रपद्धति of वशुपति, brother of  
हलायुध. About 1170-1200 A. D.

पाकवज्ञनिर्णय or -पद्धति by चन्द्रशेखर  
alias चन्द्रचूड, son of उमापति  
alias उमाशङ्कर or उमणभट्ट, son of  
धर्मेश्वर alias धर्माभट्ट. Between  
1575-1650 A. D.

पाकवज्ञपद्धति by अनन्तमित्र.

पाकवज्ञपद्धति by वशुपति.

पाकवज्ञप्रयोग by शम्भुभट्ट, son of बाल-  
कृष्ण. Follows आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र. I.  
O. cat. pp. 99-100 (ms. dated  
संवत् 1749 i. e. 1692-93 A. D.).  
Flourished between 1660-1710  
A. D.

पाथालजातिविवेक.

पाणिग्रहणादिकृत्यविवेक by मधुरानाथतर्क-  
वार्नीज. (N. vol. IX, p. 244 says  
that author is रघुनाथ while the

colophon extracted has मधुरा-  
नाथ ).

पारस्करयुग्यकारिका alias कातीययुग्यसूत्र-  
प्रयोगविवृति by रेणुकाचार्य, son of  
महेशहरि and grandson of सोमेश्वर  
of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र. Composed in  
śake 1188 i. e. 1266 A. D. ( I.  
O. cat. vol. I p. 67 ).

पारस्करयुग्यपरिशिष्टपद्धति by कामदेव-  
दीक्षित on शाण्डादिप्रतिष्ठा ( pr. in  
Gujarati P. ).

पारस्करयुग्यसूत्र ( also called कातीय-  
युग्यसूत्र ) in 3 काण्डs ( pr. by Sten-  
zler in 1876 at Leipzig and in  
Kashi S. series with several com-  
mentaries and by the Gujarati  
Press, Bombay, with several  
commentaries and translated in  
S. B. E. vol. 29 ).

C. असूतश्याख्या m. by नन्दपण्डित in  
his शुद्धिचन्द्रिका. Earlier than  
1550 A. D.

C. अर्धभास्कर by भास्कर, pupil of  
रायवेङ्गधारण्य.

C. प्रकाश by वेदमिश्र, son of विश्व-  
रूप दीक्षित; used by his son मुरारि-  
मिश्र.

C. संस्कारमणपति by रामकृष्ण, son  
of कोनेर, son of प्रयागभट्ट ( 4 खण्डs  
pr. in Ch. S. series ). He was of  
भारद्वाजगोत्र and was patronised  
by विजयसिंह; he compiled it in  
विश्वामण्डलपत्तन on the यमुना river;  
mentions कर्क, हरिहर, गदाधर, हला-  
युध, काशिका and दीपिका. He wrote  
आन्ध्रमणपति also. Vide I. O. cat.  
p. 562 for his आन्ध्रसंग्रह. About  
1750 A. D.

C. सज्जनवल्लभा by जयराम, son of  
बलभद्र of भारद्वाजगोत्र, residing in  
Mewad. Names उवट, कर्क, and  
स्वल्पार्धसार and is m. by गदाधर.  
Ulwar cat. extract 39 gives संवत्  
1611 ( 1554-5 A. D. ) as the date  
( probably of copying ). Between  
1200-1400 A. D. ; pr. at Gujarati  
Press and in Kashi S. series.

C. ( भाष्य ) by कर्क. m. by त्रिकाण्ड-  
मण्डन, हेमाद्रि and हरिहर. Earlier  
than 1100 A. D. ( pr. in Gujarati  
P. ed. ).

C. ( भाष्य ) by कामदेव ( on परि-  
शिष्टकण्डिका ). Pr. at Gujarati P.

C. by गदाधर, son of वामन.  
Names कर्क, जयरामभाष्य, भर्तृपञ्च,  
मदनपारिजात, हरिहर. About 1500  
A. D. ; pr. in Kashi S. series and  
in Gujarati P. edition.

C. by भर्तृपञ्च m. by जयराम in  
his भाष्य.

C. ( on पारस्करयुग्यमन्त्रs ) by  
मुरारिमिश्र, son of वेदमिश्र; ms.  
( in Stein's cat. p. 252 ) dated  
संवत् 1430 ( 1373 A. D. ).

C. by वागीश्वरीदत्त.

C. by वासुदेवदीक्षित; m. by हरिहर  
and रघुनन्दन in पञ्चवेदिशास्त्रतत्त्व.  
Contains पद्धति of all rites. Ear-  
lier than 1250 A. D.

C. by विश्वनाथ, son of नृसिंह, 2  
नागराजगण of the काश्यपगोत्र;  
compiled at Benares by लक्ष्मीचर,  
great-grandson of अनन्त, who  
was uncle of विश्वनाथ, in संवत्  
1692 माघ ( i. e. 1635 A. D. ).



Names कर्क, हरिहर, कालनिर्णयदी-  
पिका. Therefore विन्वनाथ flouri-  
shed about 1550 A. D. Vide Ul-  
war cat. extract 42 (pr. in Gu-  
jarati P. ed.).

C. by हरिशर्मन् m. in प्रायश्चित्तस्य  
(Jivananda vol. I. p. 531.)

C. (भाष्य and पद्धति) by हरिहर  
(pr. in Gujarati P. and Kashi  
S. series). Names कर्क, कल्पतरु-  
कार, रेणु, वासुदेव. विज्ञानेश्वर and is  
m. in भाद्रकृपाकौमुदी of गोवि-  
न्दानन्द (p. 118). Between  
1275-1400 A. D. Vide sec. 84.  
गुणनन्दन in his पञ्चवेदिभाद्रतत्त्व  
(Jivananda vol. II, p. 188)  
mentions both हरिशर्मन् and हरि-  
हर in the same sentence as ex-  
plaining a passage of कान्यायन-  
सूत्र.

पारस्करसूत्रसूत्रपद्धति by कामदेव.

पारस्करसूत्रसूत्रपद्धति by भास्कर. Vide  
above.

पारस्करसूत्रसूत्रपद्धति by वासुदेव. Vide  
above.

पारस्करमन्त्रभाष्य by सुरारि. Vide above  
under पारस्करसूत्रसूत्र.

पारस्करभाद्रतत्त्ववृत्तचर्चग्रह by उदयक  
(Stein's cat. p. 17).

परिजात-numerous works on dha-  
rma have this ending, e. g. मद्-  
नपरिजात, प्रयोगपरिजात, विधान-  
परिजात.

परिजात-vide sec. 75.

परिजात of भाद्रतत्त्व. B. O. mss. cat.  
vol. I No. 257 and JBORS. for  
1927 parts III-IV p. VII.

पार्थिवलिङ्गपूजा- founded on लीलापन-  
सूत्र, बृहद्वासिष्ठ, लिङ्गपुराण. (I. O.  
cat. p. 585).

पार्थिवलिङ्गपूजाविधि (two different  
works in Stein's cat. p. 95).

पार्षणघटभाद्रप्रयोग by देवभद्र.

पार्षणचन्द्रिका by मन्पाणिशर्मा, son of  
मंगोली सञ्जिवेश्वरशर्मा. On various  
kinds of भाद्र and particularly  
पार्षणभाद्र, according to the  
उन्देश school.

पार्षणत्रयभाद्रविधि (Stein's cat. p. 95).

पार्षणप्रयोग- part of भाद्रतत्त्व.

पार्षणभाद्र (आश्वलायनीय).

C. प्रदीपभाष्य by नारायण.

पार्षणभाद्रपद्धति.

पार्षणभाद्रप्रयोग for उन्देश.

पार्षणभाद्रप्रयोग for वाजसनेयिष्य by  
देवभद्र.

पार्षणस्थालीपाकप्रयोग (part of प्रयोग-  
रत्न of नारायणभट्ट).

पार्षणादिभाद्रतत्त्व-vide भाद्रतत्त्व of  
रघु.

विण्डवितृपञ्चप्रयोग (हिरण्यकेशीय) by  
चन्द्रचूडभट्ट, son of उमापति.

विण्डवितृपञ्चप्रयोग by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट alias  
गामाभट्ट; vide Bilk. cat. 136.

विण्डवितृपञ्चप्रयोग from the प्रयोगरत्न  
of हरिहर.

वितामहसृति vide sec. 44.

विन्दयिता of अभिरुद्र. Vide sec. 82  
(pr. in संस्कृतसाहित्यपरिषद् series,  
Calcutta).

वितृपद्धति of गोपाळाचार्य. Mentions  
शूलपाणि. Later than 1450 A. D.

पितृभक्ति by श्रीदत्त. Vide sec. 89, p. 364; for students of यजुर्वेद.

C. by मुनि. About end of 15th century.

पितृभक्तिरङ्गिणी alias आश्वकल्प by वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Vide sec. 98 p. 399.

पितृमेधप्रयोग--by a follower of कपर्दि-  
कारिका ( N. vol. X. p. 271 ).

पितृमेधभाष्य ( आपस्तम्बीय ) by गार्ग्य-  
गोपाल.

पितृमेधविवरण by रङ्गनाथ.

पितृमेधसार by गोपालयज्वन.

पितृमेधसार by वेङ्कटनाथ, son of रङ्ग-  
नाथ.

पितृमेधसारसुपीविलोचन ( a cont. ) by a  
वेदिकसार्धभौम. Probably the same  
as वेङ्कटनाथ above.

पितृमेधसूत्र.

by गौतम.

C. by अनन्तयज्वन, son of कृष्ण.

by भरद्वाज.

by हिरण्यकेशिन.

आपस्तम्बीय ( प्रश्न 31-32 of कल्प ).

C. by कपर्दिस्वामिन् ( pr. at Kum-  
bhakonam, 1905 ).

पितृसांस्कारिकआश्वकप्रयोग.

पितृहितकरणी m. in पितृभक्ति of श्रीदत्त.  
About 1300 A. D.

पितृपशुसंखण्डन by टीकाकारधर्मन N. ( new  
series ) vol. III. p. 116.

पितृपशुसंखण्डनमीमांसा or पितृपशुमीमांसा  
by नारायणपण्डित, son of विश्वनाथ  
and pupil of नीलकण्ठ. N. vol. X. p.  
312. Recommends पितृपशु in sac-  
rifices instead of a goat; ms.  
dated संवत् 1785 i. e. 1728 A. D.

पितृपशुसंखण्डन by टीकाकारधर्मन of  
गार्ग्यगोत्र ( Baroda O. I. No.  
2436 ). This is probably the  
same as पितृपशुसंखण्डन above.

C. ( contained in Baroda Ms. ).

पितृपशुसंखण्डनव्याख्यानार्थदीपिका by रत्नपाल.

पितृपशुमीमांसाकारिका by नारायण, son  
of विश्वनाथ

इंसचनादिकालनिर्णय.

पुण्याहवाचनप्रयोग by पुरुषोत्तम.

पुत्रक्रमदीपिका by रामभद्र on the rights  
of partition and inheritance of  
the twelve kinds of sons.

पुत्रप्रतिग्रहप्रयोग--ascribed to शौनक (Pe-  
tersen's 6th Report No. 122 ).

पुत्रपरिग्रहसंशयोद्देशपरिच्छेद ( Stein's cat.  
p. 95 ).

पुत्रस्वीकारनिरूपण.

पुत्रस्वीकारनिर्णय of रामपण्डित, son of  
विश्वेश्वर, of the यन्त्रगोत्र. Men-  
tions विज्ञानेश्वर, चन्द्रिका, कालादर्श,  
वरदराज. Later than 1400 A. D.

पुत्रीकरणमीमांसा of नन्दपण्डित. Same  
as दत्तकमीमांसा above. Vide sec.  
105.

पुत्रोत्पत्तिपद्धति.

पुनःसन्धान ( on rekindling of the  
householder's fire ).

पुनरुपनयन Second initiation of a  
brāhmana, when first vitiated by  
partaking of forbidden food.

पुनरुपनयनप्रयोग by विशाकर, son of  
महादेव.

उत्तरविवाहमीमांसा by बालकृष्ण (Baroda O. I. No. 9026).

उत्तरविवाहविधि.

पुरावरणकौमुदी by मुकुन्द, son of माधवाचार्य बभ्रु.

पुरावरणकौमुदी of अहोबिल, disciple of ईशानेन्द्र and नृसिंहेन्द्र. Composed in Benares.

पुरावरणचन्द्रिका m. in वर्षकृत्यकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द and by रघु० in तिथितत्त्व and आद्विकृतत्व.

पुरावरणचन्द्रिका by परमहंस देवेन्द्राश्रम, disciple of विष्णुपेन्द्राश्रम. (N. vol. VII p. 163). D. C. Ms. No. 33 of 1898-99 is dated संवत् 1751.

पुरावरणचन्द्रिका by माधव पाठक.

पुरावरणचन्द्रिका by विष्णुपेन्द्राश्रम.

पुरावरणदीपिका by काशीनाथ, son of जयरामभट्ट.

पुरावरणदीपिका by चन्द्रोदयर.

पुरावरणदीपिका by रामचन्द्र.

पुराविवाहविधि m. in तिथितत्त्व by रघु०.

पुराणसमूह m. by हेमाद्रि. निर्णयामृत, नि. नि., हैतुनिर्णय. Earlier than 1200 A. D.

पुराणसर्वस्व by गोवर्धनपाठक, compiled under Bengal Zamindar श्रीमन्व in śake 1396 (1474-5 A. D.).

पुराणसर्वस्व by पुरुषोत्तम. (Mitra's Notices vol. I p. 188).

पुराणसर्वस्व by इलायूध, son of पुरुषोत्तम. On 730 interesting points; composed in 1474 A. D. (Vide Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. pp. 84-87).

पुराणसार m. in पराशरमाधवीय. नृसिंह-ध्वजाद, आद्विकृतत्व. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

पुराणसार by prince रुद्रधर्म, son of राघवराय, of नवहृदय. N. vol. X. pp. 62-65.

पुराणमारसंग्रह.

पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणि of विष्णुभट्ट आठवले, son of रामकृष्ण. A very large work on काल, संस्कार etc. Relies upon हेमाद्रि and माधव principally; pr. by Nir. P. and by Anan. P.; ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 1666) dated śake 1706 (1784-5 A. D.).

पुरुषार्थप्रबोध by बल्लानन्दभारती, pupil of रामराजसरस्वती. Very large work in three parts, each having 4, 5 and 6 chapters respectively on religious efficacy of भस्म, रुद्राक्ष devotion to रुद्र &c.; composed in 1476 (probably śake) at Malavli village on the river Asanasi. Names विद्यारण्य and is m. in श्रद्धाकमलाकर. Vide BBRAS. cat. pp. 220-222 No. 699. Pr. at Chidambaram, 1907.

पुरुषार्थप्रयोधिनी.

पुरुषार्थरत्नाकर by रङ्गनाथसूरि, pupil of कृष्णानन्दसरस्वती; in 15 तरङ्ग on पुराणप्रामाण्यविवेक, त्रिवर्गतत्त्वविवेक, मोक्षतत्त्वविवेक, वर्णादिधर्मविवेक, नाम-कीर्तनादि, प्रायश्चित्त, अधिकारि, तत्त्व-पदार्थविवेक, मुक्तगतविवेक.

पुरुषार्थसुधानिधि by सायणाचार्य (according to some mss. such as Baroda O. I. No. 7101 and by विद्यारण्य according to others). On धर्म, अर्थ, काम and मोक्ष.

पुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रतत्त्व of रघु०. On the famous shrine of जगन्नाथ in Orissa. Vide sec. 102.

पुष्पोत्तमप्रतिष्ठापकार Vide Peterson's 6th Report, No. 95.

पुलक्यस्तुति Vide sec. 45 p. 228.

पुलहस्तुति m. in स्तुतिचन्द्रिका and माधवाचार्य.

पुष्टिमर्मावाहिक by वज्रराज (for वज्र-भाष्यार्थ sect).

पुष्पचिन्तामणि.

पुष्पमाला by रुद्रधर. On the flowers and leaves appropriate to the worship of deities.

पुष्पसारसुधानिधि m. in the अहल्या-कामधेनु.

पुनर्मालिका by भवानीप्रसाद.

पुजापद्धति by आनन्दतीर्थ son of जनार्दन.

पुजापद्धति or पद्ममाला by जयतीर्थ pupil of आनन्दतीर्थ (Baroda O. I. 8685).

पुजापद्धति by रामचन्द्रभट्ट, son of विष्णुभट्ट उत्तमलकर; Baroda O. I. No. 10471 copied in Śake 1733 i. e. 1813-1 A. D.

पुजापाल m. in आह्निकचन्द्रिका.

पुजाप्रकाश by मित्रमित्र (part of श्री-मित्रोदय) Vide sec. 108.

पुजाप्रदीप by गोविन्द m. in दीक्षातत्त्व by रघु.

पूजापूनाकर by चण्डेश्वर. Vide sec. 90.

पूर्णचन्द्र by रिपुजय. On प्रायश्चित्त.

पूर्णकमलाकर by कमलाकरभट्ट. Vide sec. 106.

पूर्णप्रकाश-a section of the प्रतापनार-सिंह of रुद्रदेव.

पूर्णमाला by रघुनाथ.

पुनोदयोत by विन्ध्येश्वरभट्ट- part of दिनकरोदयोत q. ५.

पुनोदयोत- (daily duties from स्नान to पूजा) for वैष्णवस.

पृथगुद्धार.

पृथ्वीचन्द्र- probably same as पृथ्वी-चन्द्रोदय; m. in विधानपारिजात.

पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय m. by हेमाद्रि (चतुर्वर्ग- III. 1. 182), द्वैतनिर्णय of शङ्करभट्ट, विधानपारिजात, नि. सि. Earlier than 1250 A. D.

पृथ्वीप्रेमोदय by प्रेमनिधिशर्मन्, son of उमापति of भारद्वाजगोत्र and sur-named वन्त. D. C. Ms. No. 126 of 1884-86 was composed in मन्दपञ्चसंमिलशके (1659 i. e. 1737-38). It deals with भवणा-कर्म, प्रायश्चित्त &c.

पृथ्वीरहस्य m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

पृथ्वीस्तुति m. in मिताक्षरा (on वा. III. 18).

पैठनसिस्तुति-vide sec. 24.

पैतृकतिथिनिर्णय by रुद्रधर.

पैतृमेघिक by वज्रराज, son of यलुभट्ट of the भरद्वाजगोत्र. According to भारद्वाजीपञ्च and कर्पारिन्. Hul-tsch R. I. No. 58.

पैतृमेघिकसूत्र by भारद्वाज in two प्रश्न- (each in 12 कण्डिकास).

प्रकाश-several works end in प्रकाश e. g. सर्वधर्मप्रकाश of शङ्करभट्ट, पर-शुरामप्रकाश, परिशिष्टप्रकाश.

प्रकाश-vide sec. 74.

प्रक्रियाजनटीका by वैद्यनाथदीक्षित.

प्रथेतास्तुति-vide sec. 46.

प्रजापतिस्मृति-vide sec. 47; pr. Anan.  
Sm. pp. 90-98.

प्रजापद्धति on राजनीति.

प्रजापालन.

प्रजावकल्प ascribed to हौनक. On the nature and mystic import of ओङ्कार.

C. by हेमाद्रि.

प्रजावकल्प by जानन्दीर्य.

प्रजावकल्प (from स्कन्दपुराण).

C. प्रकाश by गङ्गाधरसरस्वती, pupil  
of रामचन्द्रसरस्वती.

प्रजावर्षण by वेङ्कटाचार्य.

प्रजावर्षण by श्रीनिवासाचार्य.

प्रजावरीशिष्ट m. by रघु० in आद्विक-  
तत्त्व.

प्रजावर्चनचन्द्रिका by सुकुन्दलाल.

प्रजावोपासनविधि by गोपीनाथपाठक, son  
of अग्निहोत्रिपाठक and grandson  
of काशीपाठक.

प्रजापतारसिंह of रुद्रदेव, son of तोरो  
नारायण, of भारद्वाज गोत्र; compos-  
ed at प्रतिहान (modern Paithan  
on the Godavari) in śake 1632  
i. e. 1710-11 A. D. An extensive  
digest divided into प्रकाशः on  
संस्कार, पूर्व, अन्वेष्टि, संप्राप्त, वृत्ति,  
वास्तुशान्ति, पाकपक्ष, प्रायश्चित्त, कुण्ड,  
उत्सर्ग, नातिषिक्क. Vide BBRAS.  
cat. p. 222 Nos. 700-703.

प्रजापमार्तण्ड or प्रौढप्रजापमार्तण्ड attri-  
buted to प्रजापकृद् गजपति, king of  
उत्कल, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of  
कपिलेश्वर of the solar race. In 5  
प्रकाशः. Vide sec. 100 and N. vol.

H. D. 74.

X. pp. 222-225; m. in समयमण्डल  
and भास्वमण्डल.

प्रजापमार्तण्ड by रामकृष्ण, son of माधव;  
composed at the bidding of king  
प्रतापकृद् गजपति (Stein's cat. p. 96).  
Probably the same as above.

प्रजापकृद्निबन्ध m. in द्वैतनिर्णय by  
शङ्करभट्ट (probably the same as  
प्रजापमार्तण्ड).

प्रजापार्क by विश्वेश्वर of the शाङ्ख्य-  
गोत्र and surnamed महाशब्द, son  
of रामेश्वर, son of गङ्गाधर, son of  
रत्नाकर; based on his ancestor's  
जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम and composed by  
order of king प्रताप, grandson of  
जयसिंह (Ulwar cat. extract 328).

प्रतिग्रहप्रायश्चित्तप्रकार.

प्रतिमादान.

प्रतिमाप्रतिष्ठा by नीलकण्ठ.

प्रतिमासंग्रह m. in दानरत्नाकर of खण्डे-  
श्वर.

प्रतिष्ठाकल्पलता by बन्दाधन शुद्ध.

प्रतिष्ठाकौमुदी by शङ्कर.

प्रतिष्ठाकौस्तुभ.

प्रतिष्ठाचिन्तामणि by गङ्गाधर.

प्रतिष्ठातत्त्व or देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व by रघुनन्दन;  
vide sec. 102.

प्रतिष्ठादर्पण by वसुधाधर, son of गोपाल,  
son of नारायण (ms. in Bhadkam-  
kar collection dated śake 1706  
i. e. 1784-5 A. D.).

प्रतिष्ठादीधिति from the स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of  
अनन्तदेव.

प्रतिष्ठानिर्णय of गङ्गाधर.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by अनन्तभट्ट alias बाणभट्ट.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by त्रिविक्रमभट्ट, son of  
रघुसूरी; N. vol. V. p. 157, ms.  
copied in संवत् 1785 ).

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by नीलकण्ठ.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by महेश्वरभट्ट हर्षे.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by राधाकृष्ण.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by झङ्करभट्ट.

प्रतिष्ठाप्रकाश by हरिप्रसादशर्मद.

प्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग of कमलाकर.

प्रतिष्ठाप्रमुख by नीलकण्ठ; vide sec.  
107; ( pr. by J. R. Gharpure ).  
Styled प्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग also ( vide  
Ulwar cat. extract 330 ).

प्रतिष्ठारत्न.

प्रतिष्ठार्कपद्धति by दिवाकर.

प्रतिष्ठाविवेक of उमापति.

प्रतिष्ठाविवेक of शूलपाणि ( sec. 95 ).

प्रतिष्ठासंग्रह.

प्रतिष्ठासमुच्चय m. in देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व of  
रघुनन्दन.

प्रतिष्ठासागर of बल्लालसेन m. in his  
दानसागर. Vide sec. 83.

प्रतिष्ठासार by रामचन्द्र m. in शान्ति-  
मयूख.

प्रतिष्ठासारदीपिका by पाण्डुरङ्ग टकले,  
son of चिन्तामणि, in पञ्चवटी;  
composed in śake 1702 (1780-81  
A. D. ); Baroda O. I. No. 333.

प्रतिष्ठासारसंग्रह m. by हेमाद्रि ( दानखण्ड  
p. 134 ), कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि and दान-  
मयूख.

प्रतिष्ठेन्दु by व्यम्बक, son of नारायण  
भाटे. ( Baroda O. I. 11089 b ).

प्रतिष्ठोद्घोत- ( part of दिनकरोद्घोत ) by  
दिवाकर and his son, रिखेश्वर alias  
तागाभट्ट.

प्रतिसरयन्धप्रयोग ( rules for tying of  
a string as a charm on the wrist  
at weddings and other festive  
occasions ).

प्रतीताक्षरा com. of नन्दपण्डित on the  
मिताक्षरा; sec. 105.

प्रत्यवरोहणप्रयोग, part of प्रयोगरत्न of  
नारायणभट्ट.

प्रथिततिथिनिर्णय by नागदेवज्ञ.

प्रदीप occurs as the last part of the  
names of several works such as  
आचारप्रदीप, कृत्यप्रदीप, समवप्रदीप,  
संक्षेपप्रदीप.

प्रदीप vide sec. 80.

प्रदीपदानपद्धति vide महाप्रदीप.

प्रदीपिका m. in गणेश's दण्डविवेक and  
in सरस्वतीविलास. Earlier than  
1450 A. D.

प्रदीपनिर्णय by विष्णुभट्ट ( from पुरुषार्थ-  
चिन्तामणि ).

प्रदीपपूजापद्धति by बल्लभेन्द्र, pupil of  
बासुदेवेन्द्र.

प्रपञ्चसार m. by वर्षक्रिपाकौस्तुभ, आह्निक-  
तत्त्व of रघु. Seems to be a work  
of the तन्त्र class, earlier than  
1450 A. D.

C. व्याख्यान, quoted by देवनाथ  
in तन्त्रकौस्तुभ. Earlier than 1550  
A. D.

C. by गीर्वाणयोगीन्द्र.

C. by ज्ञानस्वरूप.

प्रपञ्चसारविवेक or भवसारविवेक by  
गङ्गाधर महादकर, son of सदाशिव.  
In 8 उल्लास; ms. dated संवत् 1840  
(1783-4 A. D. ); vide N. vol. X.  
162. On आह्निक, भगवत्पूजा,  
भाष्यतथ्यम्, moral maxims.

वपञ्चासुतसार by एकराज (or Ekoji) of Tanjore, who reigned from 1676 to 1684 A. D. Some fragments on नीति and पुजा are recovered (Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 141 b).

प्रपञ्चगतिदीपिका by तातादास; mentions विज्ञानेश्वर, चन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि, माधव, सार्वभौम, वेण्णाथदीक्षित.

प्रपञ्चदिनचर्चा (according to रामानुज school).

प्रपञ्चलक्षण.

प्रपञ्चौर्ध्वदिहिकविधि.

प्रभाकराश्रितिक by प्रभाकरभट्ट.

प्रमाणदर्पण.

प्रमाणपत्र by वृत्तिह or नरसिंह ठाकुर, divided into परिच्छेद on आचार &c.

प्रमाणसंग्रह.

प्रमाणसारप्रकाशिका.

प्रमेयमाला.

प्रयागकृत्य (part of त्रिस्थलीसेतु).

प्रयागप्रकरण or प्रयागप्रचट्टक (from त्रिस्थलीसेतु).

प्रयागसेतु m. in स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव (same as part of त्रिस्थलीसेतु).

प्रयोगकौस्तुभ by गणेशपाठक.

प्रयोगचन्द्रिका by वीरराघव.

प्रयोगचन्द्रिका by श्रीनिवासशिष्य, brother of सीताराम.

प्रयोगचन्द्रिका in 18 खण्डs. From पुंमवन to भास्व; follows आपस्तम्बसूत्र, mentions ऋणभुषण, पञ्चाग्निकारिका, जयन्तकारिका, कपर्दिकारिका, दशनिर्णय, ब्राम्हणकारिका, सुधीविलो-

चन, स्मृतिरत्नाकर. (Madras Govt. Sanskrit mss. cat. vol. VII. p. 2798 No. 3713).

प्रयोगचिन्तामणि (part of रामकल्पद्रुम) by अनन्तभट्ट.

प्रयोगचूडामणि (ms. in Bhadkamkar collection) on स्वस्तिक, पुण्याहवाचन, ग्रहपूजा, स्थालीपाक, दूधरजोदर्शन-ज्ञानि, वर्षाधान, सीमन्तोन्नयन, पृथ्वी-पूजा, नामकरण, चौल and other संस्कारs, उपनयन, विवाह.

प्रयोगचूडामणि (Mitra's Notices, vol. IV, p. 22).

प्रयोगचूडामणि m. by रघुनन्दन.

प्रयोगतत्त्व of रघुनाथ, son of भातुजि of शाण्डिल्यगोत्र, composed at Benares in 25 तत्त्वs on ordinary religious rites (संस्कारs), परिभाषा, स्वस्तिवाचन, ग्रहमन्त्र &c.; composed in Śaka 1577 (1656 A. D.).

प्रयोगतिलक by वीरराघव (Baroda O. I. 9806).

प्रयोगदर्पण by नारायण, son of चावम्भट्ट. Deals with domestic rites according to R̥gveda ritual. Names उज्ज्वला of हरदत्त, हेमाद्रि, चण्डेश्वर, श्रीधर, स्मृतिरत्नावलि. Later than 1400 A. D.

प्रयोगदर्पण by पद्मनाभदीक्षित, son of गोपाल, son of नारायण; deals with देवप्रतिष्ठा, मण्डपपूजा, तोरणपूजा &c.

प्रयोगदर्पण by रघुनाथधुरि.

प्रयोगदर्पण by रामानाथविद्यावाचस्पति on daily religious duties of householders; quotes हेमाद्रि.

प्रयोगदर्पण by वीरराघव.

प्रयोगदर्पण by वैदिकसार्वभौम.



प्रयोगदर्पण *Ann. N. (new series) vol. II p. 190*. On the last rites of a man, his cremation and श्राद्ध. Mentions श्रीधर (author of स्तुत्यर्थसार) as much removed from him.

प्रयोगदीप (to शाङ्गयनगृह्य) by दयाशङ्कर.

प्रयोगदीपिका by मञ्जनाचार्य.

प्रयोगदीपिका by रामकृष्णभट्ट.

प्रयोगदीपिकावृत्ति.

प्रयोगपञ्चरत्न m. in चातुर्मास्यप्रयोग.

प्रयोगपञ्चति

of गङ्गाधर (चौधायनीय).

of शिगम्यकोविद, son of वेङ्कट मञ्जनाचार्य (for आपस्तम्बीय). This is called शिङ्गाभट्टीय.

of दानोदरगार्ग्य; based on कर्कोपाध्याय, गङ्गाधर, हरिहर and follows पारस्करगृह्य. Also styled संस्कारपञ्चति.

of रघुनाथ, son of रुद्रभट्ट अवाचित (आश्वलायनीय).

of हरिहर (in 2 काण्डs on domestic religious rites); attached to com. on पारस्करगृह्य.

प्रयोगपञ्चति 10 कात्यायनश्राद्धसूत्र.

प्रयोगपञ्चतिसुबोधिनी by शिवराम.

प्रयोगपारिजात by नरसिंह (vide I. O. cat. p. 415 No. 1396). Mentions हेमाद्रि, विद्यारण्य, प्रसाद (which the editor of I. O. cat. takes to be सुसिंहप्रसाद). This is most probably the same as the next below and प्रसाद means probably no more than

the commentary प्रसाद of विठ्ठल on the प्रक्रियाकौस्तुभ of रामचन्द्र. Vide I. O. cat. p. 166 for प्रसाद com. and Bhandarkar Report 1883-84 p. 59 for pedigree.

प्रयोगपारिजात by सुसिंह a native of कर्णाटक, of the कौण्डिन्यगोत्र. Has five काण्डs on संस्कार, वाक्यज्ञ, आधान, आह्निक, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय. Portion on संस्कार printed at Nir. Press (1916). Speaks of 25 संस्कारs; mentions कालदीप and कालप्रदीप (on same page), कालदीपभाष्य, क्रियासार, कलप्रदीप, विश्वादर्श, विश्वरत्न, श्रीधरीय, स्तुतिभास्कर; criticizes हेमाद्रि and माधव; composed between 1360 and 1435 A. D. It is this work probably that is mentioned in सुसिंहप्रसाद (दानसार), धर्मप्रवृत्ति (संस्कार portion) and प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट ms. (Bik. cat. p. 439) is dated संवत् 1495 (1438-39 A. D.).

प्रयोगपारिजात by पुरुषोत्तमभट्ट son of देवराजार्ग्य.

प्रयोगपारिजात by रघुनाथ वाजपेयिव.

प्रयोगपारिजातसारावलि m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति.

प्रयोगपदीप by शिखप्रसाद.

प्रयोगमञ्जरीसंहिता by श्रीकण्ठ (Baroda O. I. No. 12959).

प्रयोगमणि by केशवभट्ट, son of अभयकर नारायण.

प्रयोगमुक्तावलि by मिमिक्षुरि (?) तिर्विलि; D. C. ms. No. 102 of 1871-72. Quotes विश्वरत्न, प्रयोगपारिजात, सुसिंह, जाचरमण्य. Later than 1650 A. D.

प्रयोगसूत्रावलि by श्रीराधक.

प्रयोगरत्न or स्मार्तानुष्ठानपद्धति by अनन्त, son of विश्वनाथ ; deals with 25 संस्कार according to आश्वलायन, and स्वस्तिनाथन, पुण्याहवाचन, स्वादीपाक, परिभाषा, प्रार्थनाश्च. (I.O. cat. vol. III. p. 315).

प्रयोगरत्न ( द्विरण्यकेशीय ) by अनन्तदेव, son of चिन्मनाथ ; vide Peterson's 5th Report No. 126. Probably same as above.

प्रयोगरत्न by काशीदीक्षित, son of सदाशिव.

प्रयोगरत्न by केशवदीक्षित, son of सदाशिव.

प्रयोगरत्न by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट ( pr. by Nir. P. ) for आश्वलायनीय. Vide sec. 103.

प्रयोगरत्न by प्रेमनिधि.

प्रयोगरत्न by सुमिहभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट, according to आश्वलायन and शौनक ; quoted in चतुर्विंशति-मन्त्रव्याख्यान of भट्टोजि ; between 1500-1600 A. D.

प्रयोगरत्न by भट्टोजि ( C. P. cat. No. 3131 ).

प्रयोगरत्न or स्मार्तप्रयोगरत्न of महेश, son of महादेव वैशम्पायन ; composed at Kāsi on संस्कार, शान्ति and आहुति ; pr. in śaka 1798 ; eulogises मातृ-दत्त ; ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 1626) dated 1841 सेवन i. e. 1787-8 A. D.

प्रयोगरत्न by महादेव ( द्विरण्यकेशीय ).

प्रयोगरत्न by वासुदेवदीक्षित, son of आपदेव.

प्रयोगरत्न by हरिहर.

प्रयोगरत्न by रघुनाथ भवदत्त ( BBR-AS. cat. vol. II p. 183 ).

प्रयोगरत्नाकर by श्रीपट्टण्णाचार्य.

प्रयोगरत्नमाला by वासुदेव, son of आपदेवभट्ट, व चित्तपावन ब्राह्मण ; on विष्णुवादिसर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठा, mentions निर्णयमिच्छु. Between 1620 and 1760 A. D. Also called वासुदेवी and प्रतिष्ठास्नमाला.

प्रयोगरत्नमाला by उरुचोत्तम विद्यावागीश.

प्रयोगरत्नसंस्कार by प्रेमनिधि.

प्रयोगरत्नसंग्रह m. by संस्कारमण्डल.

प्रयोगरत्नाकर -vide प्रयोगदीप of दयाशङ्कर above.

प्रयोगरत्नाकर by वसुधन्तभट्ट ( for मैत्रायणीय ). Baroda O. I. 8365.

प्रयोगरत्नावली by परमानन्दधन, pupil of विद्यानन्दभट्टोदरस्वामी ( probably on śrauta rites only ).

प्रयोगरत्नाथ by विहल, son of महादेव.

प्रयोगसंग्रह by रामनाथ.

प्रयोगसागर by नारायण आरड. Later than 1650 A. D. ; called also सहा-प्रियासागर.

प्रयोगसार ( W. and K. cat. II p. 97 ) in 8 काण्ड.

प्रयोगसार by कृष्णदेव स्मार्तवागीश, son of नारायण. This is also called कृत्यतत्त्व or संवत्सरप्रयोगसार.

प्रयोगसार by केशवस्वामिन ( बौधायनीय ). On Vaidic sacrifices. Names नारायण and भवस्वामी and is m. by त्रिकाण्डमस्तुत. About 1100 A. D.

प्रयोगसार by गङ्गाभट्ट ( आपस्तम्बीय ).

प्रयोगसार by देवभट्ट पाडक, son of बलभट्ट ( कान्वापनीय ). Refers to गङ्गा-

धर्माटक, भर्तृहरि, वासुदेव, रेणु, कर्क, हरिश्चामी, माधव, वज्रनाभ, गदाधर, हरिहर, रामचन्द्रि of अनन्त. Deals with श्रौत matters.

प्रयोगसार by नारायण, son of लक्ष्मीधर. Same as शुद्धाग्निसागर or प्रयोगसागर.

प्रयोगसार by निजानन्द.

प्रयोगसार by बालकृष्ण, a दाक्षिणात्य, residing in गोकुलग्राम.

प्रयोगसार by विष्णुधरभट्ट alias गागाभट्ट, son of दिनकर. On पुण्याहवाचन, गणपतिपूजन &c.

प्रयोगसार by शिवप्रसाद.

प्रयोगसागरवर्ति m. in धर्मपत्राणि.

प्रयोगसारपीयूष of कुमारस्वामि विष्णु; on परिभाषा, संस्कार, आह्निक, प्रायश्चित्त.

प्रयोगसागरसमुच्चय.

प्रयोगदर्श by कनकसभाषित, son of वैद्यनाथ, of मौद्रहगोत्र. It is a com. on his own श्रौतिकमञ्जरी.

प्रवरकाण्ड (आश्वलायनीय) pr. by P. Chentsalrao in गोत्रप्रवरनिबन्ध-कदम्बक (Mysore, 1900).

C. by नारायण (pr. in the above).

प्रवरसण्ड (आपस्तम्बीय).

C. by कर्पटिस्वामिन (pr. by Chentsalrao in गोत्रप्रवरनिबन्धकदम्बक, Mysore, 1900, pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1914).

प्रवरसण्ड (वैश्वानस in one प्रश्न).

प्रवरगण- a work on प्रवर in शार्ङ्गल-विक्रीडित verses. Vide BBRAS cat. p. 22; No. 707; breaks off in verse 25).

प्रवरदर्पण by कमलाकर; also called गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय (pr. in गोत्रप्रवरनिबन्ध-कदम्बक edited by P. Chentsalrao, Mysore 1900).

प्रवरदीप or प्रवरप्रदीप m. in प्रवरदीपिका प्रवरदीपिका by कृष्णशेखर; mentions प्रवरमञ्जरी, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका. Later than 1250 A. D.

प्रवरनिर्णय- from the विश्वादर्श.

प्रवरनिर्णय of भास्करविकाण्ठमण्डन. Calcutta S. College mss. cat. vol. II p. 69 No. 65.

C. रामनन्दिन.

प्रवरनिर्णय by भट्टोजि. Also called गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.

प्रवरनिर्णयवाक्सुधारण of विश्वनाथदेव. प्रवरमञ्जरी- vide गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी; m. in सुसिंहप्रसाद.

प्रवरविवरण m. in the प्रवरदीपिका.

प्रवरारण्य (there is a section on प्रवर in most of the श्रौतसूत्रs). प्रवरारण्य of the मानवश्रौत BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 177.

प्रवरारण्य ascribed to अगम्य. On गोत्रs and प्रवरs.

प्रवरारण्य by पद्मपति, minister of लक्ष्मणसेन; about 1170-1200 A. D.

प्रवरारण्य ascribed to भृगुदेव.

प्रवरारण्य ascribed to लौगाक्षि, the eleventh परिशिष्ट of कात्यायन.

प्रवरारण्य by विश्वनाथकवि.

प्रवरारण्य from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर.

प्रवरारण्य from स्मृतिदर्पण.

प्रवासकृत्य by गदाधर son of रामचन्द्र; composed at सप्तमतीर्थ (modern Khambayat or Cambay) in संवत्

- 1663 ( 1606-7 A.D. ). Deals with duties of *सामिनक* *ब्राह्मण*s driven to foreign lands for livelihood.
- प्रस्तावपरिजात*.
- प्रस्तावरत्नाकर* of हरिदास son of पुरुषोत्तम, under श्रीसिंह. in *महापत्तन* in संवत् 1614 ( 1557-8 A. D. ). A work in verse on various subjects including नीति, ज्योतिः-शास्त्र.
- प्रह्लादसंहिता* m. in *आचाररत्न* of लक्ष्मण ( follows *चलभमत* ).
- प्राचीनचडशीति* ( as opposed to *अभिनवचडशीति* ) vide under *चडशीति*.
- प्रातःकृत्य*.
- प्रातःपूजाविधि* by नरोत्तमदास ( for the followers of चैतन्य ).
- प्रायश्चित्तकदम्ब* or *निर्णय* by गोपाल-न्यायप्रधानन. Points out differences between रघुनाथ, नारायण, जगन्नाथतर्कप्रधानन. N. vol. X, p. 119.
- प्रायश्चित्तकदम्बसारसंग्रह* by कार्शनाथ-तर्कालङ्कार. Mentions views of शूलपाणि, मदनपारिजात, नव्यद्वैतनिर्णय-कृष्णचन्द्रशेखर. N. ( new series ) I, pp. 233-35.
- प्रायश्चित्तकमलाकर* by कमलाकरभट्ट.
- प्रायश्चित्तकल्पतरु*— portion of *कृत्यतरु*.
- प्रायश्चित्तकाण्ड*— 2nd part of वैद्यनाथ's *स्थितिसुक्ताफल*.
- प्रायश्चित्तकारिका* by गोपाल; based on the *वैष्णवसूत्र*; flourished before सायण.
- प्रायश्चित्तकुतुहल* by कृष्णराम.
- प्रायश्चित्तकुतुहल* by मुकुन्दलाल.
- प्रायश्चित्तकुतुहल* by रघुनाथ, son of गणेशभट्ट and pupil of अन्नदेव. Stein's cat. p. 96, Hultzsch's Report III p. 36. On both श्रीत and स्मार्त प्रायश्चित्त. About 1660-1700.
- प्रायश्चित्तकुतुहल* by रामचन्द्र; modelled on प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of शूलपाणि. N. X, p. 197.
- प्रायश्चित्तकौमुदी* alias प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of कृष्णदेव स्मार्तवागीश.
- प्रायश्चित्तकौमुदी* alias प्रायश्चित्तविवेक-टिप्पणी of रामकृष्ण.
- प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका* by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of रामेश्वर surnamed *काल*.
- प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका* by मुकुन्दलाल.
- प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका* by रमापति of the भैराल sect.
- प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका* by राधाकान्तदेव.
- प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका* by विश्वनाथभट्ट; m. by दिवाकर in his प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका and in स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तोद्धार.
- प्रायश्चित्तचिन्तामणि* by वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Vide sec. 98.
- प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व* of रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102; pr. by Jivananda.
- C. by कार्शनाथ तर्कालङ्कार ( pr. at Calcutta in 1900 ).
- C. by राधामोहनगोस्वामी ( pr. at Calcutta 1885 in Bengali characters). He was a friend of Colebrooke and a descendant of अज्ञैत, an associate of चैतन्य.
- C. आदर्श by विश्वराम मिश्रान्तवागीश.

प्रायश्चित्तदीप m. in प्रतापनारसिंह of रुद्र-  
देव. Earlier than 1700 A. D.

प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका by भास्कर.

प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका by राम.

प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका by श्लोकनाथ, son of  
वैद्यनाथ (from his सकलागमसंग्रह).

प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका by वाहिनीपति.

प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण by भवदेवभट्ट. Vide  
sec. 73. Also called-प्रकरण.

प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण by रिपुञ्जय (pr. in  
Bengali characters at Calcutta  
1883).

प्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय by अनन्तदेव.

प्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायप्रधान.  
Summary of शुभनन्दन's work.

प्रायश्चित्तपटल.

प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति by कामदेव. Ms. copi-  
ed in 1669 A. D. (Aufrecht's  
Oxf. cat. 293 a).

प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति by जम्बुनाथमभाषीश,  
son of हेमाद्रि; in four पटलs.

प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति by रामचन्द्र, son of  
सूर्यदास.

प्रायश्चित्तपारिजात by गणेशमिश्र महामहो-  
पाध्याय.

प्रायश्चित्तपारिजात by रत्नराज. Men-  
tions कामधेनु. (N. vol. VI, p.  
300).

प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण (Stein's cat. pp. 96,  
310).

प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण by भट्टोजि.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण by भवदेव बालवलभी-  
मुजङ्ग. Sec. 73.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण by रामकृष्ण.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रकाश of प्रद्योतनभट्टाचार्य, son  
of बलभट्ट.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप m. by स्मृतिकौस्तुभ (on  
लिपि).

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by केशवभट्ट.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by गोपालसूरि. (Bik cat.  
p. 137 says so, but it appears  
that गोपालसूरि is a भाष्यकार on  
बौधायनश्रौत, whom the author  
follows on श्रौतप्रायश्चित्त.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by देवमणि of पन्थपंश,  
composed in śaka 1675 (Baro-  
da O. I. 1490).

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by राजचूडामणि, son of  
रत्नखेट श्रीनिवासदीक्षित.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by रामशर्मन्.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by वरदापीशयज्वर, pu-  
pil of वेङ्कटापीश.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by वाहिनीपति.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by शङ्करमिश्र, son of  
भवनाथ. He was गुरु of वर्धमान,  
flourished in 2nd and 3rd quar-  
ters of 15th century).

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका by अनन्तदेव, son of  
आपदेव. Vide sec. 109.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका by भास्कर (Same as  
प्रायश्चित्तशतहृयी) on प्रायश्चित्तs in  
श्रौत rites.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by अनन्तदीक्षित.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by इषम्बक (N. vol. X.  
164), based on आश्वलायन.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by दिवाकर. Vide un-  
der स्मार्त प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by बालशास्त्री कामलकर.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोगरत्नमाला-mentions स्मृत्य-  
र्थसार, त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, प्रदीप, केशवी-  
कार.

प्रायश्चित्तमञ्जरी of बाबुभट्ट, son of महादेव केळकर. Stein's cat. p. 96, gives विरचनकाल as śaka 1736.

प्रायश्चित्तमनोहर of सुरारिमिश्र, son of कृष्णमिश्र, and pupil of रामभट्ट and केशवमिश्र.

प्रायश्चित्तमयूख of नीलकण्ठ; vide sec. 107. Pr. by Mr. J. R. Gharpure.

प्रायश्चित्तमार्तण्ड of मार्तण्डमिश्र (Mitra's Notices vol. VII, p. 7, No. 2252 dated śaka 1544 i. e. 1622-23 A. D.).

प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तावली by दिवाकर, son of महादेव (part of his धर्मशास्त्रमुपाधि).

अनुक्रमणी to above by वेणनाथ, son of author.

प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तावली by रामचन्द्रभट्ट.

प्रायश्चित्तरत्न by कमलाकरभट्ट m. in सूत्र-कमलाकर.

प्रायश्चित्तरत्नमाला by रामचन्द्रदीक्षित.

प्रायश्चित्तरत्नाकर by रत्नाकरमिश्र.

प्रायश्चित्तरहस्य by दिनकर m. in स्मृति-रत्नावली.

प्रायश्चित्तवारिधि by भवानन्द.

प्रायश्चित्तविधि by भास्कर.

प्रायश्चित्तविधि by माधव अप्पयदीक्षित; mentions हेमाद्रि and माधव.

प्रायश्चित्तविधि from वसिष्ठस्मृति.

प्रायश्चित्तविधि attributed to शौनक.

प्रायश्चित्तविधिनिर्णय by अनन्तदेव.

प्रायश्चित्तविधिनिर्णय by भट्टोजि.

प्रायश्चित्तविधिनिर्णय by पद्मोपरभट्ट.

Il. D. 75.

प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of छलपाणि. Vide sec. 95 (Baroda O. l. 10849 dated संवत् 1501 i. e. 1444-45 A. D.); pr. by Jivananda.

C. तत्त्वार्थकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द son of गणपतिभट्ट. Vide sec. 101 (pr. by Jivananda).

C. कौमुदी or टिप्पणी by रामकृष्ण.

C. निगूढार्थप्रकाशिका. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 114.

प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of श्रीनाथ. About 1475-1525 A. D.

प्रायश्चित्तविवेकोद्घोष- (part of मदन-रत्न). Sec. 94.

प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासंक्षेप by चिन्तामणि-न्यापालङ्कारभट्टाचार्य (N. vol. IV No. 1580). He wrote also व्यवस्थासंक्षेप on तिथि, उद्वाह, आद्य, दाय, शुद्धि. Ms. dated śaka 1611.

प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासंग्रह by मोहनचन्द्र.

प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासार by अश्वतनाथ.

प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी by भास्कर in 4 प्रकरण m. in नि. ति., प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल of रघुनाथ, भाविप्रकाशितप्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण. Earlier than 1550 A. D.

C. by वेङ्कटेश बानपेययाजी; ms. dated संवत् 1641 (1584-5 A. D.) in Stein's cat. p. 311.

प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयीकारिका by गोपाल-स्वामिन् (बोधायनीय).

प्रायश्चित्तश्लोकपद्धति by गोविन्द.

प्रायश्चित्तसंक्षेप by चिन्तामणिन्यापालङ्कार. Probably the same as प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासंक्षेप above.

प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह by कृष्णदेव स्मार्तबागोश N. (new series) I p. 239.

- प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह by देवराज (This is in Hindi, prepared for महाराज जेत-मिंग of Benares). 1770-1781 A.D.
- प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह by नारायणभट्ट; mentions झूलपाणि, रघुनन्दन, स्मृतिताम्रसार. So later than 1600 A.D. Defines प्रायश्चित्त as 'पापक्षयमात्रकाम-नाजन्यकृतिविषयः पापक्षयसाधनं कर्म प्रायश्चित्तम्'.
- प्रायश्चित्तसदोदय of सदाराम, son of देवेश्वर.
- प्रायश्चित्तसमुच्चय by त्रिलोचनशिष्य.
- प्रायश्चित्तसमुच्चय by भारकर.
- प्रायश्चित्तसार by अम्बकभट्ट मोह.
- प्रायश्चित्तसार by दलपति (part of सुसिंहप्रसाद). Vide sec. 99.
- प्रायश्चित्तसार by (भट्टोजि ?) दीक्षित m. in जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम.
- प्रायश्चित्तसार by श्रीमदाडवाङ्मुकुन्ददीक्षित m. in प्रतापनारसिंह (vide BBRAS. cat. p. 224).
- प्रायश्चित्तसार by हरिराम.
- प्रायश्चित्तसार from स्मृतिसार of पाद-वेन्द्रविद्याभूषण. N. (new series) I. p. 240. Ms. dated 1613 (1691 A.D.).
- प्रायश्चित्तसारकीर्तुदी of बनमालिन् (N. vol. IX p. 58).
- प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह by आनन्दचन्द्र N. (new series) vol. III. p. 126.
- प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह by नामोजिभट्ट. Vide sec. 110.
- प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह by रत्नाकरमिश्र.
- प्रायश्चित्तसाररत्नि (portion of बृह-कारदीपयुगल).
- प्रायश्चित्तसुधानिधि of सावण, son of मावण and brother of माधवाचार्य. Vide sec. 92.
- प्रायश्चित्तसुचोधिनी by श्रीनिवासमाधिन (आपस्तम्बीय).
- प्रायश्चित्तसेतु by सदाशङ्कर.
- प्रायश्चित्तोद्घाट 3rd chap. of निबन्ध-सर्वस्व of महादेव, son of महाज-सहस्रमल्लभीषति. (I. O. cat. vol. III p. 555).
- प्रायश्चित्तानुक्रमणिका by वैष्णवाथदीक्षित.
- प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखर by काशीनाथ, son of अनन्त, (also called प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग-सारसंग्रह) composed for बालकृष्ण; pr. in Bombay in 1863 and 1882. Vide sec. 112.
- प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखर by नामोजिभट्ट, son of शिवभट्ट and सती. Vide sec. 110; ms. (N. vol. V p. 23) is dated संवत् 1848 i. e. 1781-82 A. D.
- प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखरसारसंग्रह by नामोजि, son of शिवभट्ट and सती. (I. O. cat. vol. III p. 555).
- प्रायश्चित्तोद्घोत by दिनकर (part of दिनकरोद्घोत).
- प्रायश्चित्तोद्घोत by मदनसिंहदेव (part of मदनरत्न). Vide sec. 94.
- प्रायश्चित्तोद्धार by दिवाकर, son of महा-देव, surnamed काल. Also called स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्त and स्मार्तनिष्कृतिपद्धति (vide Baroda O. I. 1334, 1543, 1663).
- प्रायश्चित्तौषसार by आनन्दचन्द्र. Of- fences classified under 4 heads, heinous, gross, venial and slight, and their expiation.



शाखावर्षाधिका m. by जटमल्लविलास.  
Earlier than 1500 A. D.

शाखादप्रतिष्ठा by लुहरि, surnamed  
षण्डरपुर. Based on the प्रतिष्ठामय्य  
and मन्व्यपुराण; ms. in Bhadkam-  
kar collection copied in Śake  
1714 (1792-3 A. D.); names  
नि. सि.; रामबाजपेय.

शाखादप्रतिष्ठा by भागुणिमिश्र.

शाखादप्रतिष्ठादीधिति (part of राजधर्म-  
कौस्तुभ) by अजन्तदेव. Vide sec. 109.

शाखादशिवप्रतिष्ठाविधि by कमलाकर.  
Sec. 106.

श्रेतकृत्यनिर्णय.

श्रेतकृत्यादिनिर्णय Anon.

श्रेतदीपिका by गोपीनाथ भग्नहोत्रि.

श्रेतप्रदीप by कृष्णमिश्राचार्य.

श्रेतमञ्जरी- vide Hp. cat. XVII (ms.  
dated 1707 A. D.).

श्रेतमञ्जरी or श्रेतपद्धति by शादुमिश्र. Ul-  
war cat. No. 1403.

श्रेतमुक्तिदा by क्षेमराम.

श्रेतश्राद्धव्यवस्थाकारिका by स्मार्तवागीश.

श्रीहप्रतापमार्तण्ड or कालनिर्णयसंग्रह by  
प्रतापहरदेव. Vide प्रतापमार्तण्ड.

कलप्रदीप m. in प्रयोगपरिज्ञात of लुक्तिह.  
(probably a purely astrological  
work).

कलाभिषेक.

वधुस्मृति m. in परा. मा.

बलेदेवाह्निक compiled from the महा-  
भारत.

बहिन्यामनुष्य.

बहिर्भातुका.

बहिर्यागपुजा.

बहुचकारिका m. in नि. सि.

बहुचकर्मप्रयोग (according to शाकल)  
N. vol. X. p. 5.

बहुचयुद्धकारिका by शाकलाचार्य. Vide  
Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 14 b.  
This is the same as the above;  
m. in समयमय्य.

बहुचयुद्धपरिशिष्ट m. in हेमाद्रि, रघु०,  
नि. सि.

बहुचक्राद्विप्रयोग.

बहुचक्रोदशकर्ममन्त्रविवरण.

बहुचक्रमन्त्रावधारितभाष्य.

बहुचक्राह्निक by कमलाकर, son of राम-  
कृष्ण. Refers to his प्रायश्चित्तसूत्र.

बाह्यरायणस्मृति m. in प्रायश्चित्तमय्य and  
in com. on नीतिवाक्यावृत.

बाह्यस्वयम्भूतविधान.

बाह्यस्वयम्भूति m. by हेमाद्रि.

बाह्यस्वयम्भूति on मूर्त for गर्भाधान,  
पुंसवन, उषनयन and other संस्कार  
and on portentous phenomena.  
The बागमित्रोदय (लक्षणप्रकाश p.  
356) quotes बाह्यस्वयम्भूति on  
elephants in prose and verse.

बाह्यस्वयम्भूत (pr. in Punjab S.  
series). Also called नीतिसर्वस्व.

बालबोधक of आनन्दचन्द्र. In 16 श्लोक  
on प्रायश्चित्त.

बालमरणविधिकर्तव्यता.

बालभट्ट by लक्ष्मीदेवी; pr. (आचार, व्यव-  
हार and प्रायश्चित्त) by J. R. Ghar-  
pure and vyavahara portion is

translated by him. Vide sec. III.

बालाकौट्य m. in तृप्तिद्वयसाद (ज्ञानसार).

बालावबोधपद्धति on शास्त्रतत्त्वप्रकाश.

बाणलक्ष्मि m. by मिताक्षरा (on पा. III. 58. ).

बुद्धिप्रकाश m. by रघुनन्दन.

बुधबुधन by शम्भुराज (son of the great Shivaji). 1680-1689 A. D. On politics &c, pr. in Govt. Oriental series, Poona, 1926.

बुधस्मृति a small treatise of about one page in print in prose. D. C. mss. No. 207 of A 1881-82 and 145 of 1895-1902. Defines धर्म as अयोऽयुःशुद्धिः; and summarises rules on उपनयन, विवाह, गर्भाधान and other संस्कार, पञ्चमहायज्ञ, पाकपञ्च, हविर्पञ्च, सोमयाग, rules common to all, duties of the four वर्ण, दानप्रस्थे and दत्ति, राजधर्म. हेमाद्रि in चतुर्वर्ण (III. 2. 746) quotes some sūtras on उपनयन and it is m. in प्रायश्चिनमस्य. I. O. cat. vol. III p. 386 (No. 1323) sets out the whole स्मृति. Vide sec. 25.

C. by हरिराम.

बुधाष्टमी.

बुधाष्टमीव्रतकालनिर्णय.

बुधाष्टमीव्रतोपायन Stein's cat. p. 96.

बृहज्जातिविशेष by गोपीनाथकवि (Baroda O. L. 9705).

बृहदारण्यकश्रुति (pr. Jivananda Sm., part II. pp. 53-309).

बृहन्संहिता by व्यास.

बृहदयम pr. in Ānan. Sm. pp. 99-107.

बृहद्वत्ताकर of वामनभट्ट.

बृहद्भानुमार्तण्ड m. by रघु० in मलमास-तत्त्व and संस्कारतत्त्व.

बृहद्वसिष्ठस्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा, हलायुध, मद्. पा.

बृहद्विष्णुस्मृति.

बृहद्व्यास m. by मिता०.

बृहस्पतिशान्ति (from संस्कारकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव).

बृहस्पतिस्मृति-vide sec. 37; pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 644-651 and Ānan. Sm. pp. 108-111.

C. m. by हेमाद्रि (परिशेषसङ्घ, काल० p. 309).

वैजवाय (or-वि) वृद्ध m. by कुमारिलभट्ट in तन्त्रवार्तिक on मीमांसासूत्र (I. 3. 11) in the words 'आश्वलायनकं सूत्रं वैजवायिकृतं तथा'.

वैजवायस्मृति m. by अपराक (in verse about शुभवृत्तिज्ञा and सपिण्डन).

वैजवाययन m. by हेमाद्रि.

वैषणभट्टीय.

C. by माधवमुनि.

वैषायनसूत्र Pr. in Mysore G. O. L. series, ed. by Dr. Shamaśāstri; divided into 4 प्रश्न of वृद्ध, two प्रश्न of वृद्धसूत्रपरिभाषा, 5 प्रश्न of वृद्धशेष, 3 of विदुमेवसूत्र and one of विदुमेवशेषसूत्र. It is the वैषायनसूत्रशेषसूत्र (II. 6) that contains a passage about पुत्रव्रतिग्रह (adoption) that resembles closely a passage of वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र.

C. वृषणव्याख्या by अष्टावक्र.

- C. भाष्य (called शिष्टिभाष्य). Hul-  
tzech II No. 668.
- बौधायनगृह्यकारिका by कनकसभाषित.
- बौधायनगृह्यवद्धति by केशवस्वामिन्.
- बौधायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट (ed. by Harting).
- बौधायनगृह्यप्रयोगमाला by राम, son of  
खौण्ड or खाउण्ड. Ulwar cat. ex-  
tract 21; refers to प्रयोगसार.
- बौधायनगृह्यप्रायश्चित्तसूत्र.
- बौधायनहति on गृह्य ritual.
- बौधायनधर्मसूत्र—vide sec. 6; pr. Ānan.  
Sm. pp. 425-484 and Mysore  
G. O. L. series
- C. by भोविन्दस्वामिन् (Mysore  
G. O. L. series).
- C. अमल by परमेश्वरपरिव्राजक.
- बौधायनसंग्रह.
- बौधायनस्मार्तप्रयोग by कनकसभाषित.  
Hultzsch R. II. No. 672.
- बौधायनस्मृति.
- बौधायनाह्निक by विद्यापतिभट्ट.
- बौधायनीयपरिशिष्ट m. in आह्निकतत्त्व by  
रघु०.
- ब्रह्मधर्मस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (on वा.  
III. 268), अवतारक, स्मृतिच०
- ब्रह्मचारिव्रतलोपप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग BBRAS.  
cat. vol. II. p. 246.
- ब्रह्मदत्तभाष्य m. in शुद्धितत्त्व by रघु०  
as quoted by कल्पतरु. So earlier  
than 1100 A. D. It appears to  
be a com. on शाङ्खायनगृह्य.
- ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका (com. on सन्ध्यामन्त्र)  
of वनमालिमिश्र son of महेशमिश्र.
- ब्रह्मवज्रविमोचन by नरसिंह
- ब्रह्मसंस्कारमञ्जरी by नारायणठक्कुर. Re-  
fers to मुरारिभाष्य, उषट्भाष्य, पार-  
श्वरगृह्यभाष्य. N. (new series)  
p. 250.
- ब्रह्मौदनप्रायश्चित्त by श्रीनिवासदीक्षित  
(Baroda O. I. 6789 d).
- ब्राह्मणपद्धति.
- ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व by हुताबुध; (sec. 72).  
pr. at Calcutta in 1893 and at  
Benares.
- ब्राह्मवचनस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (वा. III.  
257).
- भक्तिजगण्वि by रघुनन्दन. Probably  
different from the famous रघु-  
नन्दनभट्टाचार्य. N. (new series)  
I. p. 251.
- भक्तिप्रकाश by वैद्यरघुनन्दन in 8  
उदयोत्तर.
- भक्तिमार्गमार्ग्यादा by विदुलेश्वर.
- भक्तिमार्गसंग्रह (for शाङ्ख्य).
- भक्तिरत्नाकर by a son of शिवदास.
- भक्तिरामासुतसिन्धु by सनातन; compos-  
ed in Śake 1463 (1541-42 A.D.);  
m. in भक्तिजगण्वि.
- C. दुर्गासङ्गमनी by जीव.
- भक्तिरसार्णव by कृष्णदास.
- भक्तिरहस्य by सोमनाथ.
- भक्तिवर्धिनी by बह्मभाचार्य.
- भक्तिविशेक by श्रीनिवास (for रामा-  
सुक्त).
- भक्तिहंस by विदुलेश.
- भक्तिहेतुनिर्णय by विदुलेश.  
C. by रघुनाथ.

भगवत्स्मृति m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and आचारमण्डल.

भगवद्दर्शनविधि by रघुनाथ.

भगवद्भक्तिनिर्णय or भगवद्भक्तिविवेक by अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव. Vide sec. 109.

भगवद्भक्तिरत्नावली by विष्णुपुरी composed at Benares. The author was a मैथिल.

C. काशिमाला by author. Composed in Śaka 1553 Phālguna (1634) A.D. Bhandarkar's Report for 1887-91 p. LXXX.

भगवद्भक्तिरसायन by मधुसूदनसरस्वती.

भगवद्भक्तिचिन्ताम by गोपालभट्ट, pupil of प्रबोधानन्द, in 20 vilāsas on religious ceremonies of वैष्णव : m. in कादम्बर of गदाधर.

C. (with text pr. at Calcutta in 1815).

भगवन्तभास्कर or स्मृतिभास्कर by नीलकण्ठ, divided into twelve मण्डल. Vide sec. 107 (the whole published at Benares in 1879-80).

भट्टकारिका m. in निर्णयसिन्धु.

भरद्वाजस्मृति-Vide sec. 27.

C. by बालभट्ट.

भर्तृसहस्रनामविधि.

भद्रादसंग्रह m. in नि. सि. (on जन्म-नक्षत्रफल). Probably a purely astrological work.

भद्रदेवनिबन्ध m. in प्रायश्चित्तमण्डल. Probably the प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण of भद्रदेवभट्ट. Vide p. 303 above.

भस्मकरोमप्रकाश.

भस्मवादावली.

भागविवेक or धनभागविवेक by भट्टराम-जित, son of श्रीनाथ.

C. मितवादिनी by author. Relies on मितालसरा.

भारद्वाजगार्हपत्यविनिययप्रतिषेधवादार्थ on the prohibition of intermarriage between persons of the भारद्वाज and गार्हपत्य gotras.

भारद्वाजश्रुति ed. by Dr. J. W. Salomons at Leyden.

C. by कपर्दिभस्मामिन.

C. श्रुत्यप्रयोगवृत्ति by भट्टरङ्ग.

भारद्वाजभ्रातृकाण्डव्याख्या.

भारद्वाजसंहिता vide भारद्वाजस्मृति.

भारद्वाजस्मृति.

C. by वैद्यनाथ पायगुण्ड, son of महादेव and वैष्णो and pupil of नागोजि. Vide sec. 111.

भारद्वाजीयभाष्य m. by भास्कर in विक्रमण्डमण्डन (it is probably कपर्दिभाष्य on भारद्वाजश्रुति) and by हरिहर in पारस्करश्रुतिसूत्रभाष्य.

भार्गवाचनचन्द्रिका m. by भट्टोजि in तिथिनिर्णय.

भार्गवाचनदीपिका m. in नि. सि. and रामकाण्डम.

भार्गवाचनदीपिका by सावान्जी (or-म्बा) alias व्रतापराज. Ufwar cat. extract 648.

भाविप्रायश्चित्त or भाविप्रकाशितप्रायश्चित्त-प्रकरण. Ano; mentions माधवाचार्य. BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 197.

भाष्यसंग्रह m. in निर्णयदीपक.

भाष्यार्थसंग्रह m. by हेमाद्रि ( III. 1. 1360, where a verse in उपजाति metre is quoted in which कवर्दिन् is named ), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका ( on आशीषः, कालनिर्णय of माधव. Between 1000-1200 A. D. ).

भास्कराद्विक.

भिक्षुतरु by श्रीकण्ठतीर्थ, pupil of महादेवतीर्थ, on the duties of ascetics, and on those entitled to take to संन्यास. N. ( new series ) vol. I. p. 260.

भीमपराक्रम m. in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द, in भास्कराचार्य ( टोडरानन्द ), in तिथितरु ( seems to be an astrological work ).

भुक्तिदीपिका ( on the question, when food may be taken before an eclipse ).

भुक्तिप्रकरण by कमलाकर.

भुजबलभीम of भोजराज. Vide pp. 278-279 above ; m. in आश्वविषेक of कुलवाणि, टोडरानन्द. An astrological work.

भुतशुद्धि Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. No. 538.

भुतशुद्ध्यादिप्राणप्रतिष्ठा Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. 537.

भूपालकृत्यसमुच्चय m. in कृत्यरत्नाकर ( p. 499 ) of चण्डेश्वर. Probably a work of भोज धर्मेन्द्र.

भूपालपद्धति m. in कुण्डाकृति.

भूपालवल्लभ by परशुराम. An encyclopaedia of Dharma, astrology, poetics &c. m. in नि. मि. ; निर्माण-दीपक, सादामिण्यमिद्वान्त्याख्या.

भूप्रतिमादान.

भृगुस्मृति m. by विष्णुरूप, कालविषेक of जीवतः. मिताक्षरा, अपराधः.

भैरवार्चपात्रिजात by जगन्निह.

भैरवार्चपात्रिजात by श्रीनिवासभट्ट, pupil of सुन्दरराज, and son of श्रीनिकेतन.

भट्टवैष्णवसंघटन by श्रीधर.

भकरन्दप्रकाश by हरिकृष्ण सिद्धान्त. On आश्वि, संस्कार ; ms. ( Bik. cat. p. 416 ) is dated संवत् 1725 ( 1668-9 A. D. ).

भङ्गलनिर्णय by गणेश, son of केशव देवराज. On the rites to be performed at उपनयन, विवाह &c.

भञ्जग. Occurs as the last component of many works, e. g. गोविन्दपञ्चमञ्जरी, स्मृतिमञ्जरी ( of गोविन्दराज ).

भट्टप्रतिष्ठातरु of रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102.

भट्टाम्नायादिविचार ( on religious practices in the seven principal mathas of the शंकराचार्य school ). N. vol. X. 256 and Stein's cat. p. 312.

भट्टोत्सर्ग of कमलाकर ( C. P. cat. Nos. 3771-72 ).

भट्टोत्सर्ग of माध्विदेव ( C. P. cat. No. 3770 ).

भणितमञ्जरीचन्देदी.

भण्डपकृत्यतापुजापद्धति by शिवरामशुद्ध.

भण्डपकुण्डमण्डन of नरहरिभट्ट सप्तर्षि. C. प्रकाशिका ( by author ).

भण्डपकुण्डसिद्धि by विद्वल दीक्षित, son of बरहर्मा ; composed at काशी in A.D. 1341 ( 1619-20 A. D. ).

C. चिद्वृत्ति by author ; mentions कुण्डलीकुटी, कुण्डरत्नाकर, प्रतिष्ठासार-संग्रह, प्रयोगसार, रामबाजपेयी.

मण्डपनिर्णय m. in उभयसर्गमयसूत्र.

मण्डपप्रकरण.

मण्डपोद्घासनप्रयोग by a son of धरणीधर.

मण्डलकारिका (Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. No. 647).

मण्डलदेवतास्थापन (Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. No. 648).

मत्तपरीक्षा.

मतोच्चार by शङ्करपण्डित.

मधुरासेतु by अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव ; m. in स्मृतिकौस्तुभ. Sec. 109.

मदनपारिजात attributed to मदनपाल (composed by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट). Vide sec. 93.

मदनमहार्णव Vide महार्णव.

मदनरत्न or मदनरत्नप्रदीप attributed to मदनसिंहदेव. Vide sec. 94. Ulwar cat. extract 336 for समयोद्घोत ; Baroda O. I. No. 1035 on छांदी is dated संवत् 1551 (1494-5 A.D.). This last refers to भट्टविश्वनाथ श्रीमालिगुर्जर as the author.

मधुपर्कनिर्णय.

मधुपर्कपद्धति.

मध्यमाङ्गिरसस्मृति m. in मितालसरा (पा. III. 243, 247, 257, 260).

मध्याह्निक.

मनुस्मृति or मानवधर्मशास्त्र. Vide sec. 31 (vide p. 157 for editions of commentaries).

C. मन्वर्षसूक्तावली by कुल्लूकभट्ट. Vide sec. 88. He was a native of बालेन्धी i. e. Rājshāhi in Bengal.

C. मन्वाशायलुत्तापिणी by गोविन्दराज (pr. by V. N. Mandlik). Vide sec. 76.

C. मन्दिनी by मन्दिनाचार्य. A late writer. (pr. by V. N. Mandlik).

C. मन्वर्षविवृति by नारायणसर्वज्ञ. Between 1100-1300 A. D. (pr. by V. N. Mandlik).

C. मन्वर्षचन्द्रिका by राघवानन्द-सरस्वती. Later than 1400 (pr. by V. N. Mandlik).

C. सुस्तचोपिनी by मणिरामदीक्षित son of गङ्गाधर (vide Stein's cat. p. 98).

C. by असहाय. Vide sec. 58.

C. by उदयकर m. in वि. र. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

C. by उपाध्याय. m. in मेधातिथि भाष्य.

C. by कल्लू m. in मेधातिथिभाष्य.

C. by कृष्णनाथ.

C. by धरणीधर m. by कुल्लूकभट्ट. Between 950-1200 A. D.

C. by भागुरि m. by वि. र. ; vide p. 157.

C. (भाष्य) by मेधातिथि; vide sec. 63 (pr. by V. N. Mandlik and by J. R. Gharpure).

C. by यज्वल, m. by मेधातिथि.

C. by रामचन्द्र (pr. by V. N. Mandlik).

C. by रुचिदत्त.

C. anonymous (Kashmirian); portions pr. by Dr. Jolly.

मन्वकामलाकर by कमलाकर.

मन्त्रकोश m. in आचारमूख.

मन्त्रकोश by आशादित्यत्रिपाठिन in 20 परिच्छेदs. Ulwar cat. extract 651.

मन्त्रकौमुदी by अनिरुद्धभट्ट महामहोपाध्याय, said to be a दाक्षिणात्य. In four कण्डs explains मन्त्रs of सामवेदग्रन्थसूत्र; ms. (N. vol. X. p. 122) dated śake 1717 i. e. 1795 A. D.

मन्त्रतन्त्रप्रकाश m. by रघु० in एकादशीतत्त्व.

मन्त्रप्रकाश m. by रघु० in दीक्षातत्त्व.

मन्त्रप्रश्नभाष्य by हरदत्त. Vide under एकाग्रिकाण्डमन्त्रव्याख्या.

मन्त्रसूक्तावली m. in श्रुतिरत्न by मलमासतत्त्व by रघु०.

मन्त्ररत्नदीपिका m. in अहम्यः कामधेन.

मन्त्रसारसंग्रह m. in सदाचारचन्द्रिका.

मन्त्रसारसंग्रह of शिवराम.

मन्त्रचित्रक or मेघमाला or रत्नमाला attributed to नारद. Deals with indications of prospective rain, famine etc. from the appearance of the atmosphere &c.; m. in अमृतसागर of बल्लालसेन.

मन्त्रचित्रक by भट्टशुक in 7 kāṇḍas. (Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. 1919-22 p. 4404).

मरणकर्मपद्धति (ascribed to the षष्ठ-वेदग्रन्थसूत्र).

मरणसामयिकनिर्णय on rites and expiations to be performed at time of death (Bik. cat. p. 420).

मरीचिरसूति- vide sec. 48.

मर्षादासिन्धु m. in द्रव्यशुद्धिर्विपिका of पुरुषोत्तम.

M. D. 76.

मलमासकार्यकार्यनिर्णय.

मलमासतत्त्व or मलिम्लुचतत्त्व of रघु-नन्दन; pr. by Jivananda.

C. by काशीराम बाचस्पति, son of राधावल्लभ and grandson of राम-कृष्ण.

C. by मधुरगनाथ.

C. दिप्पती by राधामोहन.

C. by हुन्दावन.

C. by हरिराम.

मलमासनिरूपण.

मलमासनिर्णय by दशपुत्र.

मलमासनिर्णय by बृहस्पति, son of भव-देव (Baroda O. I. No. 12851).

मलमासनिर्णय by यशोधर, son of मर-सिंह.

मलमासनिर्णयतन्त्रसार by बाह्यदेव.

मलमासहस्य by बृहस्पति, son of भवदेव, composed in śake 1603 (1681-2 A. D.).

मलमासविचार Ano.; composed in 1579 A. D. (Bik. cat. p. 417). The date seems to be rather 1679 (1600 शके).

मलमासाद्यमर्षणी Ano.

मलमासार्थसंग्रह by गुरुपसादशर्मन्; N. (new series) vol. I. p. 279.

महागणपतिपूजापद्धति.

महादाननिर्णय by king भैरवेन्द्र of मिथिला, with the help of बाचस्पतिमिश्र; ms. (Hp. cat. pp. XII, 36 and 122) dated ज. सं 392 (i. e. 1511 A. D.). The pedigree is given as भवदेव, his son हरसिंहदेव, his son भैरवेन्द्र,



styled रूपनारायण here, though हरिनारायण elsewhere; vide also Ulwar cat. No. 1413 where this work appears to be styled महादानप्रयोगपद्धति.

महादानपद्धति by रूपनारायण (I. O. cat. p. 550. No. 1715 must be taken as dated in śake 1452, i. e. 1530 A. D., as the cyclic year विक्रति agrees). Also called महादानप्रयोगपद्धति; m. by वाचस्पति in वृत्तनिर्णय, by कमलाकर, in दानमयूख.

महादानपद्धति by विश्वेश्वर.

महादानवाक्यावली of रत्नपाणिमिश्र, son of गंगोलिसत्रीविश्वरामिश्र; mentions a work called इतिहाससमुच्चय.

महादानानुक्रमणिका.

महादीपदानविधि.

महादेवपरिचर्याप्रयोग (बौधायनीय) by शिखरन्वामिश्र, pupil of रघुरामतीर्थ. N. vol. X. p. 239.

महादेवीय m. by निर्णवायुत.

महाप्रदीपरत्नपद्धति N. (new series) I. p. 280.

महाप्रयोगसार m. by रघु० in आङ्गिक-तत्त्व.

महाप्रवरनिर्णय.

महाप्रवरभाष्य by गुरुनोत्तम m. in his मोक्षप्रवरमञ्जरी.

महाकद्रकर्मकलापपद्धति.

महाकद्रजपट्टोमपूजापद्धति.

महाकद्रन्यासपद्धति by बलभद्र.

महाकद्रपद्धति- see कद्रकल्पद्रुम.

महाकद्रपद्धति by अचलदेव द्विवेदिव, son of वासराज (acc. to शांसायन). About 1518 A. D.

महाकद्रपद्धति by अनन्तदीक्षित, son of विश्वनाथ, surnamed यज्ञोपवीत; quotes प्रयोगरत्न of नागयणभट्ट. So later than 1575 A. D. (also called महाकद्रप्रयोगपद्धति).

महाकद्रपद्धति by काशीदीक्षित m. in कद्रकल्पद्रुम.

महाकद्रपद्धति by नारायण (acc. to आम्बालापन).

महाकद्रपद्धति by परशुराम, son of कर्ण (acc. to सामवेद); m. by छत्रकमलाकर. Composed in 1459 A. D.

महाकद्रपद्धति by बलभद्र.

महाकद्रपद्धति by मालजित् (or मालजी) son of तिगलभट्ट, son of रत्नभट्ट; of श्रीरथल, in गुर्जरदेश. The work is also called कद्रार्चनमञ्जरी and the author was also called वेदाङ्गनाथ. About 1627-1655 A. D. (Ulwar cat. No. 1415).

महाकद्रपद्धति by रामचन्द्राचार्य (for गोभिलीय). Baroda O. I. 1250.

महाकद्रपद्धति by विष्णुशर्मन्.

महाकद्रपद्धति by वेदाङ्गनाथ, son of तिगलभट्ट. Same as the work of मालजी.

महाकद्रयज्ञपद्धति.

महार्णव or महार्णवप्रकाश m. by हेमाद्रि (vol. III. part 1, pp. 183, 1440) and by आर्द्धविवेक of क्षुलपाणि. This is also called स्तुतिमहार्णव or -प्रकाश. Vide p. 308 above.

महार्णव (कर्मविपाक) attributed to मान्धातु, a son of मदनपाल. Vide sec. 93 pp. 382-83.

महार्णव by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट, son of योग-  
भट्ट (? वेदिभट्ट). Vide sec. 93.  
(N. vol. VII p. 121). Same as  
महार्णव attributed to मान्धातु.

महार्णवप्रताप.

महालयप्रयोग.

महालयआक्षेपवृत्ति.

महाविष्णुपूजापद्धति by अक्षयदानन्द,  
disciple of अक्षयदानुवृत्ति.

महाविष्णुपूजापद्धति by चैतन्यगिरि.

महाशान्ति in two अध्याय (of 18 and  
25 sections) on expiatory and  
propitiatory rites.

महाशिवरात्रिनिर्णय.

महाशिवरात्रिनिर्णय by कृष्णराम of  
कादमीर.

महादमीनिर्णय.

महिषीदान.

महिषीदानमन्त्र.

महेश्वरधर्माधर्म.

मांसनिर्णय by इण्डि.

मांसपीयूषजला by रामभट्टाक्षय (C. P.  
cat. No. 4143).

मांसभक्षणदीपिका by वेणीराम शाकदी-  
पितृ.

मांसमीमांसा by नारायणभट्ट, son of  
रामेश्वरभट्ट m. in नि. नि.

मांसविवेक by भट्टदामोदर. Tries to  
prove that the directions about  
offering of flesh do not apply to  
the present age.

मांसविवेक or मांसतत्त्वविवेक by विश्व-  
नाथन्यायवज्रकट. Composed about  
1634 A. D.; pr. in सरस्वतीभवन se-  
ries. Styled also मांसतत्त्वविचार.

मायोपावन.

माण्डूक्यसूक्ति m. in कालविवेक ०  
ओम् ०, हेमाद्रि, दानमयूख.

मातुलसुतापरिणय.

मातुगोत्रनिर्णय by नारायण.

मातुगोत्रनिर्णय by लौगाक्षि भास्कर, son  
of सुब्रह्म, son of रुद्रकबोद्ध. (Ba-  
roda O. L. No. 1463). On the  
question of मातुगोत्र being prohi-  
bited in marriage to माध्यन्दिनीय  
माध्वणः.

मातृवर्णीय com. on हिरण्यकेशिहृत् m.  
in नि. नि.

मातृसौप्तिकारकआक्षेपयोग.

मातृस्थानाप्रयोग.

मात्रादिआक्षेपनिर्णय by कोकिल.

माधवप्रकाश or सदाचारचन्द्रोदय. Vide  
आचारचन्द्रोदय above.

माधवीयकालनिर्णय. Vide कालनिर्णय of  
माधव above.

माधवीसारोद्धार by रामकृष्णदीक्षित, son  
of नारायण. An abstract of बरा-  
हारमाधवीय for महाराजाधिराज लक्ष्म-  
णचन्द्र. Vide Stein's cat. p. 309  
for extract. About 1575-1600  
A. D.

माधवोद्गास m. by रघु in देवप्रतिष्ठा-  
तत्त्व (p. 509).

माध्यन्दिनीयाचारसंग्रहदीपिका by वज्रनाभ.

मानवसूक्तम् (ed. by Knauer and  
and in the G. O. series with  
com.) in two parts called  
पुरुषः.

C. (भाष्य) by अष्टावक्र; mentions  
याज्ञवल्क्य, गौतम, पराशर, वैजनाथ,

शबरस्वामी, भट्टकुमार, and भट्टभट्टा-  
चक्र himself. In the Intro. to  
2nd वृक्ष he says he composed  
when 100 years (of what era?)  
were completed.

मानवगृहपरिशिष्ट (BBRAS cat. p.206  
No. 657).

मानवधर्मशास्त्र- vide under मनुस्मृति.

मानवधर्माधिकार्य m. by हेमाद्रि.

मानसागरीपद्धति of मानसिंह (C. P.  
cat. No. 4116).

मानसोल्लास of सोमेश्वर. Vide अभिल-  
षितार्थचिन्तामणि above.

मार्कण्डेयस्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (on वा.  
III. 19) and स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

मार्तण्डदीपिका m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

मार्तण्डार्चनचन्द्रिका by मुकुन्दलाल.

मालवदर्शन m. in दानरत्नाकर of चण्डे-  
श्वर. It is probably only a refer-  
ence to some view of भोज and  
not to a work of that name.

मासकृत्य.

मासतत्त्वविवेचन Anon. On the months  
and appropriate feasts, fasts  
and religious rites in each.  
(Bik. cat. p. 421).

मासदर्पण.

मासनिर्णय by भट्टोजि.

मासमीमांसा by गोकुलनाथ महामहो-  
पाध्याय. On 4 kinds of months,  
चान्द्र, सौर, शासन and नाक्षत्र, and  
on the various religious rites  
and festivals of each of the  
twelve months of the year.

मासादिनिर्णय by वृण्णि.

मानिकभातुनिर्णय by रामकृष्ण father  
of कमलाकर; m. in ति. सि.

मासिकभातुपद्धति by गोपीनाथभट्ट.

मासिकभातुपयोग (आपस्तम्बीय) by  
रघुनाथभट्टसंज्ञादत्तवर्षाति.

मासिकभातुमानोपन्यास by मोनि मल्लारि-  
दीक्षित.

मिताक्षरा com. on मीतमधर्मसूत्र by  
हरदत्त. Vide sec. 86.

मिताक्षरा com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति by  
मधुरानाथ.

मिताक्षरा com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति by  
विज्ञानेश्वर; also called चन्द्रमिताक्षरा.  
Vide sec. 70.

C. प्रमिताक्षरा or प्रतीताक्षरा by  
नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

C. चालम्बुती alias लक्ष्मीपाख्यान  
by लक्ष्मीदीक्षी. Vide sec.  
111; pt. in Ch. S. series  
(संस्कार) and by J. R. Gharpure  
(संस्कार, प्रायश्चित्त and व्यवहार).

C. सुयोगिनी by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट.  
Vide sec. 93 p. 285. (स्यवहार  
text pr. by Mr. Gharpure and  
tr. by him).

C. मिताक्षरासार by मधुसूदन गो-  
स्वामी.

C. by मुकुन्दलाल.

C. by रघुनाथ बाजपेयी (vide  
Peterson's 6th Report p. 11).

C. सिद्धान्तसंग्रह by राधामोहन-  
शर्मा.

C. by हलायुधभट्ट.

C. उपान्यासदीपिका by निर्द्वि-  
जमहोपाध्याय, son of देवराजभट्ट,  
on व्यवहार.

मिताक्षरासार (summary of विश्वाने-  
श्वर's work) by मयाराम.

मिथिलेशाह्निक by रत्नपाणिशर्मा, son of  
गंगोलीसजीवेश्वरशर्मा; composed  
under prince छत्रसिंह of मिथिला.  
Speaks of the daily religious  
duties according to सामवेद such  
as शौचविधि, दन्तधावन, स्नान,  
सन्ध्याविधि, तर्पण, जपपत्र, देवपूजा,  
भोजन, मांसभक्षण, दण्डशक्ति, गार्हस्थ्य-  
धर्म. N. vol. VI. pp. 30-32.  
He wrote also मिथिलेशाह्निक  
describing महेशचक्र and his nine  
descendants, महेश having got  
राज्य from Delhi king. N. vol.  
VI. p. 48.

मीमांसाफल by इन्द्रपति, son of अचि-  
पति and रुक्मिणी; applies rules  
of मीमांसा to धर्मशास्त्र matters  
such as एकादशीव्रत, आश्व, उत्सर्ग.  
N. vol. V. p. 281-82. His  
teacher was गोपालभट्ट.

मुक्तिलेखप्रकाश by भास्कर son of  
आपातिभट्ट; divided into प्रकाश  
on seven holy places अपोष्ठा,  
मथुरा, माया &c. (Baroda  
O. I. 12386). He quotes  
vedic passages like मितासिते सरिते  
(for प्रयाग), अष्टचक्रा नवद्वारा देवानां  
पुरयोष्ठा (तैत्तिरीयारण्यक), वागधरं  
प्रथमजा (ते. ब्रा.) for अवन्तिका and  
गोपालतापनी, तुसिंहपूर्वतापनीय and  
रामतापनीय for मथुरा, माया and  
काशी respectively.

मुक्तिचिन्तामणि by राजपति दुर्धरोत्तमदेव.  
On religious duties on a pil-  
grimage to जगन्नाथपुरी. About  
1500 A. D.

मुद्रालसृष्टि (Palm-leaf Ms. No.  
11950 Baroda O. I.) on मौनादि-  
विधि, दाय, अशौच, प्रायश्चित्त.

मुद्राविवरण.

मुनिमतमणिमाला by वामदेव.

मुष्टरूपकल्पादिपद्धति by हनुमन्-  
शर्मा. Quotes मुद्रितसूत्र. N. (new se-  
ries) vol. III. p. 152.

मुद्रतंकुषाभरण.

मुद्रतंकुषाभरण by जीतलदीक्षित.

मुद्रतंकुषाभरण m. by महादेव in मुद्रत-  
दीपक (Earlier than 1650 A. D.).

मुद्रतंकुषाभरण by केदार.

मुद्रतंकुषाभरण by विठ्ठलदीक्षित, son of  
हनुमन्, of कल्याणगोत्र; composed  
in 1628 A. D.

C. मन्त्र by author.

मुद्रतंकुषाभरण by दुःस्वभाजन.

मुद्रतंकुषाभरण by राजपतिरावल, son of  
हरिदास, composed in 1685 A. D.

C. by परमहंस, son of नीलाराम.

C. by परमहंसमिश्र.

मुद्रतंकुषाभरण.

मुद्रतंकुषाभरण by राजपति. About  
1610 A. D.

मुद्रतंकुषाभरण by रामदीक्षित, son of  
अनन्त and younger brother of  
नीलकण्ठ, composed at Benares  
in 1600-01 A. D.; m. in संस्कारमण्डल  
of सिद्धेश्वर, pr. at Bombay in  
1902; (vide Ulwar cat. extract  
543 which shows that नीलकण्ठ  
was a Pandit in Akbar's court).  
His ancestors came from विदर्भ.

- C. प्रमिताक्षरा by author ; pr. at Benares 1848.
- C. कामधेनु.
- C. by नीलकण्ठ.
- C. वीरूषकर्णिका.
- C. वीरूषधारा by गोविन्द, son of नीलकण्ठ, composed in 1603 A.D. Pr. at Bombay in 1873. गोविन्द was nephew of author.
- CC. by रघुदेवज.
- C. चन्द्राद्वयी.
- सहर्तचिन्तामणि by वेङ्कटेशभट्ट.
- सहर्तचिन्तामणिसार.
- सहर्तचिन्तामणिमार्गिका.
- सहर्तचूडामणि by शिवदेवज, son of श्री-कृष्णदेवज of भारद्वाजगोत्र.
- सहर्तचूच by केशव देवज, son of कम-लाकर ; m. in संस्कारकौस्तुभ.
- C. by author.
- C. by कृशराम.
- C. by गणेशदेवज, son of केशव-देवज ; composed about 1540 A.D.
- C. by महादेव m. in सहर्तदीपक.
- सहर्तदर्पण m. in मार्तण्डवल्गुभा.
- C. वीपिका ( Madras Govt. mss. cat. No. 1870, 1874 ).
- सहर्तदर्पण by लालमणि, son of जगन्नाथ, son of गङ्गाराम of अलकौट to the south of प्रयाग. Ulwar cat. ex-tract 544.
- सहर्तदर्पण by विद्यामाधव.
- C. by माधवभट्ट.
- सहर्तदीप by जयानन्द.
- सहर्तदीप by a son of शिवदेवज.
- सहर्तदीपक by नामदेव.
- सहर्तदीपक by महादेव, son of काहुजि ( कान्हजित ? ). Vide Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. p. 336a.
- C. by author composed in śake 1583 ( 1661 A. D. ). Mentions दोडरानन्द.
- सहर्तदीपक by रामसेवक, son of दिवीवन.
- सहर्तदीपिका m. in काठविधान acc. to नि. सि.
- सहर्तदीपिका attributed to चादरायण.
- सहर्तनिर्णय.
- सहर्तपदवी.
- सहर्तपरीक्षा by देवराज.
- सहर्तधूपण or मञ्जीर by रामसेवक त्रिवे-दिन ( N. vol. XI preface p. 4 ).
- सहर्तधूपणटीका by रामदेव.
- सहर्तधैर्य by गङ्गाधर, son of धैर्य-देवज.
- सहर्तधैर्य by वीनद्याल वाठक.
- सहर्तमञ्जरी by पद्मनन्दपण्डित in 4 सुच्छन्दs and 101 verses. Vide Ulwar cat. extract No. 545; com-posed in संवत् 1726 ( 1670 A.D. ).
- सहर्तमञ्जरी by हरिनारायण.
- सहर्तमञ्जवा.
- सहर्तमणि by विश्वनाथ.
- सहर्तमाधवीप ascribed to सायण or माधवाचार्य.
- सहर्तमार्तण्ड by केशव.
- सहर्तमार्तण्ड by नारायणभट्ट, son of अनन्त. Composed in śake 1493 Phālguna (i.e. about March 1572 A. D. ) near Devagiri in 160 verses.

*List of works on Dharm literature*

- C. मारुणहृत्तुभा by author ; pr. ( with text ) in Bombay, 1861.
- महर्तुमाला by रघुनाथ, son of सरस, of the शाण्डिल्यशौच and श्विनपावन subcaste ; pr. at Ratnagiri in 1878.
- महर्तुमुक्तामणि.
- महर्तुमुक्तावली by काशीनाथ.
- महर्तुमुक्तावली by देवराज.
- महर्तुमुक्तावली by भास्कर.
- महर्तुमुक्तावली by योगीन्द्र ( vide Ulwar cat. extract 546 ).
- महर्तुमुक्तावली by लक्ष्मीदास, son of गोपाद ; composed in 1618 A. D.
- महर्तुमुक्तावली by श्रीकण्ठ.
- महर्तुमुक्तावली by हरिभट्ट.
- महर्तुमरचना by दुर्गासहाय.
- महर्तुमूल by ईश्वरदास, son of ज्योतिषराय ( also called महर्तुमूलकार ).
- महर्तुमूल by गोविन्द.
- महर्तुमूल by रघुनाथ.
- महर्तुमूल by शिरोमणिभट्ट.
- महर्तुमूलमाला by श्रीपति ; m. by रघु०.
- C. by author.
- महर्तुमूलकार by हरिनन्दन.
- C. by author.
- महर्तुमूल by विश्वनाथ.
- महर्तुमूलजीय.
- महर्तुमूलजपमाला
- महर्तुविधाननार m. in कालमाधव.
- महर्तुविवरण.
- महर्तुवृत्तशत.
- महर्तुशिरोमणि by धर्मेश्वर, son of रामचन्द्र.
- महर्तुसंग्रह m. in संस्कारमण्डल of सिद्धेश्वर and सं.कौ. Earlier than 1650 A. D.
- C. by लक्ष्मीपति.
- महर्तुसंग्रह by क्षेमराम.
- महर्तुसंग्रह by रघुनाथाचार्य ( ? ). Is it not the same as the next ?
- महर्तुसंग्रह by रघुवीर, son of विठ्ठल दीक्षित, son of कृष्ण, at Benares ; composed in Śaka 1557 i. e. 1635-36 ( vide N. vol. I. p. 109 ).
- महर्तुसार ( vide Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 79 a ).
- महर्तुसार by भानुदास.
- महर्तुसारिणी.
- महर्तुसिद्धि.
- महर्तुसिद्धि by नागदेव.
- महर्तुसिद्धि by महादेव.
- महर्तुसिन्धु by मधुसूदनमिश्र pr. at Lahore.
- महर्तुस्कन्ध by बृहस्पति.
- महर्तुसूत m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व by रघु०.
- महर्तुसूत by सुन्दरदास कोकिल.
- C. प्रभा by author.
- महर्तुसूतकार by गङ्गाधर, son of धैरव. Composed in Śaka 1554 माघ 15 ( 1633 A. D. ). Vide Stein's cat. p. 343 for extract.
- महर्तुसूतकार by जयराम.
- महर्तुसूत.
- महर्तुसूत- a treatise on सङ्ख्ययुक्त्याख्या, तान्त्रिक्याख्या, तिथियुक्त्याख्या, एकोद्दिष्टकाल-व्यवस्था, आश्विनव्यवस्था, गोवपादिपाव-विधान, व्यवहारदापादिपञ्चमस्था, विवाह

नक्षत्रादि. Vide N. vol. II p. 49 and N. (new series) vol. II pp. 146-7.

मूर्तिप्रतिष्ठा- N. (new series) I. p. 293.

मूर्तिप्रतिष्ठापन.

मूलनक्षत्रशान्ति (rites for averting the evil effects of birth on a day when the moon is in the Mula constellation).

मूलनक्षत्रशान्तिप्रयोग attributed to शौनक.

मूलभट्टप्रयोग by मूलभट्ट.

मूलशान्ति attributed to शौनक.

मूलशान्तिनिर्णय Vide Stein's cat. p. 99.

मूलशान्तिविधान.

मूलशान्तिविधि by मधुसूदन गोस्वामी.

मूलादिशान्ति.

मूलपरिरूपण of गोपाल (C. P. cat. No. 1321).

मूल्यासंग्रह or मूल्याध्याय by बाबुभट्ट, contains summary of fines ordained in lieu of various gifts at various ceremonial rites, when one is unable to give the gifts. Names गोपालभाष्य. Ms. dated Śaka 1756 (N. vol. X, p. 238).

मूल्याध्याय (in 5 1/2 verses) attributed to कात्यायन. Deals with substitution of money for gifts of cows and other property. Vide BBRAŚ. cat. vol. II p. 171 for text.

C. by कामदेवदीक्षित. N. (new series) vol. III preface p. IV.

C. by गोपालजी.

C. by विट्ठल, son of बालकृष्ण, surnamed वेणुज and resident of श्रीपुर. Mentions मीलकण्ठ and his son. Later than 1670 A. D.

मूर्तिहास्वान.

मृग्युज्ज्वरपृति m. in हेमाद्रि दानखण्ड pp. 764-65, 784 and in दानमयूख.

मृग्युमहिषीदानविधि (gift of a she-buffalo at the time of death of a person).

मैत्रायणीपयुष्ठापदार्थानुक्रम.

मैत्रायणयुष्ठापपद्धति (on 16 संस्कारs according to मैत्रायण school). The chap. called प्रथमपुरुष.

मैत्रायणीपयुष्ठापनिर्दिष्ट m. by हलायुध, हेमाद्रि, म. पा.

मैत्रायणीयौर्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति- Vide क्रियापद्धति.

मोक्षकल्पतरु (a part of कल्पकल्पतरु or कल्पतरु) by लक्ष्मीधर. Sec. 77.

मोक्षेश्वरनिबन्ध m. by मदाधर in com. on पारस्करब्रह्मपरिशिष्ट. This is probably the same as the प्रज्ञानदोष-वृत्ताप्रकरण of ब्रह्मार्क, son of मोक्षेश्वर (Bik. cat. pp. 325-326).

मोहचूडोत्तर or मोहचूडोत्तर; m. in हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 883 as मोहचूडोत्तर), नि. सि.

यजुर्वेदभा or कर्मसंग्रह by विट्ठलदीक्षित or विट्ठलेश. son of बलुभाचार्य and younger brother of गोपांनय, in 5 काण्डs on आह्निक, संस्कार, आवसथ्याधान (consecration of यज्ञ fire) according to यजुर्वेद. Vide Ulwar cat. No. 1280.



यजुर्विवाहपद्धति.

यजुर्वेदिहोतृचरितच of रघु०. Vide sec. 102.

यजुर्वेदिहोतृचरितच of रघु०. Vide sec. 102.

यजुर्वेदीयश्राद्धविधि of होण्डू. Vide under श्राद्धविधि.

यजुःशास्त्राभेदतत्त्वनिर्णय by बाणपुराण टकले (Baroda O. I. 374). His सिद्धान्त is that wherever the word यजुर्वेद occurs by itself तैत्तिरीयशास्त्रा is to be understood and not ह्ययजुः०.

यज्ञपार्ष्वसंग्रहकारिका m. in गदाधरभाष्य on पारस्कर.

यज्ञाग्निहोतृविग्रह by रामसेवक.

यज्ञसिद्धान्तसंग्रह by रामप्रसाद.

यज्ञोपवीतनिर्णय.

यज्ञोपवीतपद्धति by रामदत्त, son of गणेश्वर (for वाजसनेयिशास्त्रा).

यज्ञिकौरविधि by मधुसूदनानन्द (Baroda O. I. 5015).

यज्ञिसननादिप्रयोग by श्रीदौलपेदकोटीर-लक्ष्मण; mentions यतिधर्मसमुच्चय.

यतिधर्म by पुरुषोत्तमानन्दसरस्वती, pupil of पूर्णानन्द.

यतिधर्म Ano.

यतिधर्मप्रकाश by बाबूदेवाश्रम (Baroda O. I. 12289).

यतिधर्मप्रकाश by विश्वेश्वर. Same as संग्रह below.

यतिधर्मप्रबोधिनी by नीलकण्ठपतीन्द्र.

यतिधर्मसंग्रह Ano (N. vol. IX. p. 278). First speaks of आचार्यपरम्परा from शाङ्कराचार्य, of मठाभ्यास and then of यतिधर्म.

B. D. 77.

यतिधर्मसंग्रह by विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती, pupil of सर्वज्ञ विश्वेश (pr. by आनन्दाश्रम, Poona).

यतिधर्मसमुच्चय by यादवप्रकाश in 11 parvas for वैष्णवस.

यतिधर्मसमुच्चय by रघुनाथभट्टाचार्य.

यतिधर्मसमुच्चय by विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती, pupil of सर्वज्ञ विश्वेश; ms. (N. vol. VIII. p. 293) dated संवत् 1668 (1611-12 A. D.). Also called यतिधर्मसंग्रह (same as above).

यतिनित्यपद्धति by आनन्दाश्रम (Baroda O. I. 5017).

यतिपत्नीधर्मनिरूपण by पुरुषोत्तमानन्द-सरस्वती, pupil of पूर्णानन्द.

यतिमरणोपयुक्तशसंग्रह.

यतिलिङ्गसमर्पण in 3 स्कन्धः.

यतिवन्दनविधेय.

यतिवन्दनशतदृष्टी.

यतिवन्दनसमर्पण.

यतिवृत्तभा or संन्यासपद्धति of विश्व-कर्मन्. On संन्यास, the four kinds of यतिः, viz. कुटीचक, वृद्धक, ईश, परमहंस and their duties. N. vol. X. 175. Mentions विधानमाला.

यतिसंस्कार (a part of प्रतापनारसिंह).

यतिसंस्कार (on the funeral rites and श्राद्ध for यति performed by his son). N. vol. X. p. 10.

यतिसंस्कारप्रयोग by रायम्भट्ट.

यतिसंस्कारप्रयोग by विश्वेश्वर. N. vol. I p. 173.

यतिसंस्कारविधि (two different works) Vide Stein's cat. p. 99.

यतिसंस्कारविधिनिर्णय (I. O. cat. p. 523 No. 1647).

यतिसंस्कारोपपत्तिनिर्णय.

यतिसन्ध्याचारिक by सुरेश्वर, pupil of शङ्कर. N. vol. X. p. 9.

यतिसिद्धान्तनिर्णय by सच्चिदानन्द-सरस्वती.

ययनुष्ठान.

ययनुष्ठानपद्धति by शङ्करानन्द.

ययन्तकर्मपद्धति by रघुनाथ.

ययाचारसंग्रहीययतिसंस्कारप्रयोग by विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती (N. vol. I p. 174).

ययाचारसप्तविधुता.

ययाराधनप्रयोग.

ययाहिक (Baroda O. 1. 8563).

यमस्मृति. Vide sec. 49; pr. Jivānanda Sm. part I pp. 560-567 and Anan. Sm. pp. 112-116.

यज्ञाजीय by यज्ञाजि son of यदुभट्ट.

On funeral rites, सविषहीकरण etc. Relies on आश्वलायनसूत्र, भारद्वाजसूत्र, भाष्य thereon and on शौनक.

यशवन्तभास्कर by भास्कर or हरिभास्कर, son of आपाजिभट्ट, son of हरिभट्ट, son of वृक्षोत्तम; patronised by यशवन्तदेव, son of इन्द्रमणि, king of Bundelkhand, Bik. cat. p. 508 contains संवत्सरकृत्यप्रकाश out of this work. N. vol. IV p. 269 has same, हरिभट्ट hailed from आम्बवेश्वरपुरी and was of काश्यपगोत्र and आपाजिभट्ट dwelt in काशी. About 1676.

यशवन्तपद्धति- vide sec. 34.

C. by अपराकै; vide sec. 79.

C. by कुलमणि शुद्ध.

C. by देवदोष m. in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु.

C. by धर्मेश्वर m. in शूलपाणि's प्रायश्चित्तविवेक (p. 529).

C. बालक्रीडा by विश्वरूप. Vide sec. 60.

CC. विभाचना.

CC. अमृतस्यन्दिनी of सोमपाजिन्.

CC. वचनमाला by pupil's pupil of सोमपाजिन्.

CC. ano.

C. मिताक्षरा by मधुरानाथ.

C. मिताक्षरा by विज्ञानेश्वर. Vide sec. 70. For com. on मिताक्षरा, vide under मिताक्षरा above.

C. by रघुनाथभट्ट.

C. दीपकटिका of शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95.

C. श्रीमित्रोदय by मित्रमिश्र. Sec. 108 (portion printed in Ch. S. series).

याज्ञिककमलाकरी (C. P. cat. No. 4414).

यात्राप्रयोगतत्त्व by हरिशङ्कर.

यात्राविवाहाद्युपाय (auspicious times for marriage, journey &c.) N. (new series) vol. II p. 149.

युक्तिकल्पतरु of भोजदेव. Deals with state administration and topics of राजनीति, such as दूत, द्रोण, कृषि-कर्म, बल, यात्रा, सन्धि, विग्रह, नगर-निर्माण, वास्तुप्रवेश, छत्र, ध्वज, वस्त्र-रागादिपरीक्षा, अन्न, शाकपरीक्षा, नौका-

- लक्षण &c. Names भोज himself as authority and उशनस, वर्म, बृहस्पति, पराशर, चान्क्य, लोहप्रदीप, शार्ङ्गधर and several others. (pr. in Cal. O. series No. 1).
- सुवर्णव (C. P. cat. No. 1418).
- सुन्दकुतूहल.
- सुन्दकौशल by रुद्र.
- सुद्विचिन्तामणि by रामसेवक त्रिपाठिन.
- सुद्वजप्रकाश by दुःसम्भजन.
- सुद्वजपाणव m. by रघु० in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व.
- सुद्वजपाणव (from अग्निपुराण chap. 123-125).
- सुद्वजयोत्सव.
- C. ano.
- C. by मधुरानाथ शुक्ल.
- C. by रामदत्त.
- सुद्वजयोत्सव by गङ्गाग्राम in five प्रकाशs.
- Ulwat cat. extract 551.
- सुद्वयात्रा m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व by रघु०.
- सुन्दरनायडी.
- रत्ननाथदेशिकाद्विक by रत्ननाथदेशिक.
- रत्नदानप्रयोग by कमलाकर.
- रत्नकरणिका by द्रोण. (Hp. cat. pp. X-XI ms. copied in संवत् 1189 i. e. 1132-33 A. D.); treats of rites for Vajrasanevins. D. C. Ms. No. 273 of 1886-92 is incomplete and contains the following topics, viz. प्रायश्चित्त, स्पृष्टास्पृष्टप्रकरण, शावाशौच, आह, गृहस्थाश्रमधर्म, दाय, कृण, व्यवहार, दिव्य, कच्छ &c.
- रत्नकोश m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 750), in मलमागतत्त्व of रघु०, दोहरानन्द.
- रत्नदीपविश्वप्रकाश.
- रत्नमाहा by शतानन्द २ m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व (vol. I. p. 596).
- रत्नमाहा m. in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०, गोविन्दार्णव, निर्णयदीपक; probably श्री-पति's work or शतानन्द's work.
- रत्नसंग्रह m. in नि. सि.
- रत्नसागर m. in नि. सि.
- रत्नाकर- vide under चण्डेश्वर sec. 90.
- रत्नाकर by गोपाळ.
- रत्नाकर by रामप्रसाद. Stein's cat. p. 100 has the portion on प्रायश्चित्त.
- रत्नाणव m. by रघु०.
- रत्नावलि m. in हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 857), by रघु० in मलमागतत्त्व.
- रथमयम्रीकादर्निर्णय.
- रात्रिसंक्रान्तिनिर्णय by रघुनाथ son of माधव.
- रसासुतिसिन्धु m. in सदाचारचन्द्रिका (probably on भास्कर).
- राघवभर्तृय m. by नि. सि.
- राजकौस्तुभ or राजधर्मकौस्तुभ (part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ) by अनन्तदेव. Vide sec. 109.
- राजधर्मसारसंग्रह attributed to तलाज-राज of Tanjore (1765-1788).
- राजनीति ano.
- राजनीति by देवीदास.
- राजनीति by भोज.
- राजनीति by बरकांत (?). Begins with the well-known verse about nine gems 'धन्यतरि: etc.' (vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 141 b).

राजनीति by हरिसेन of Benares.

राजनीतिकामधेय m. by राजनीतिरत्नाकर of बण्डेश्वर.

राजनीतिप्रकाश by मित्रमिश्र (part of धीरमिश्रोदय) pr. in Ch. S. series.

राजनीतिप्रकाश by रामचन्द्र अल्लुडीवार.

राजनीतिमयूस—same as नीतिमयूस of नीलकण्ठ.

राजनीतिशास्त्र by व्याख्य in 8 chapters and about 566 verses. W. and K. cat. II. p. 182.

राजधृषणी or लुपधृषणी (on politics) by रामानन्दतीर्थ. Names कुल्लूक's टीका on मनुस्मृति..

राजमार्तण्ड of भोज. Vide p. 278 above. D. C. Ms. No. 342 of 1879-80 is a work called राजमार्तण्ड of भोज on astrology in relation to धर्मशास्त्र and contains such topics as व्रतबन्धकाल, विवाहशुभकाल, विवाहशशिपोजनविधि, संक्रान्तिनिर्णय, दिनक्षय, पुरुषलक्षण, मेधादिलग्रकल. The Ms. is dated संवत् 1655 चैत्र (i. e. about April 1598).

C. by गणपति.

राजलासक m. in सरस्वतीविलास (Mysore ed. p. 21).

राजवल्लभ (by सूत्रधारमण्डन ?) m. in सूर्यदीपक of महादेव.

राजाभिषेक by अनन्त.

राजाभिषेकप्रयोग (from नीतिमयूस of नीलकण्ठ).

राज्याभिषेक (from टोडरानन्द).

राज्याभिषेकपद्धति (part of दिनकरो-दशोत्त).

राज्याभिषेकपद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

राज्याभिषेकपद्धति by शिव, son of विश्वकर्मानन्द.

राज्याभिषेकप्रयोग by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण. Sec. 106.

राज्याभिषेकप्रयोग by रघुनाथ सत्पादस्थपति, son of माधवभट्ट.

रामकल्पद्रुम by अनन्तभट्ट, son of कमलाकरभट्ट. Divided into ten kāṇḍas, which were in order काल, आर्य, व्रत, संस्कार, प्रायश्चित्त, शान्ति, दान, आचार, राजनीति and (gap, probably उत्सर्ग). Aufrecht says that there were seven kāṇḍas, but a ms. in Bhadkamkar collection gives ten and names them as above except the last. Flourished about 1640-1670 A. D. (Vide Bik. cat. pp. 445-447 for some of these kāṇḍas).

रामकौतुक m. in निर्णयसूत and नि. सि.

रामतत्त्वप्रकाश attributed to सायण.

रामदेवप्रसाद alias गोजप्रवरनिर्णय by विश्वनाथ or विश्वेश्वर, son of शम्भुदेव; composed in śāke 1506 (1584 A. D.).

रामनवमीनिर्णय by गोपालदेशिकार्य. Quotes नि. सि.

रामनवमीनिर्णय by विठ्ठलदीक्षित.

रामनाथपद्धति by रामनाथ.

रामनित्याचनपद्धति by चतुर्भुज.

रामनिबन्ध by शेमराम, son of श्रीमन्नन्द, son of दीक्षितबाबू. Composed in 1720 A. D. (Ulwār cat. No. 1431).

रामपुतापद्धति by क्षेमराज. (Ulwar cat. No. 1432 and extract 341).

रामपुतापद्धति by रामोपाध्याय. Stein's cat. p. 101.

रामप्रकाश.

(1) com. on कालतरवार्य by राम-  
देव.

(2) a digest of religious obser-  
vances compiled in the name  
of कृपाराम (described as गौड-  
क्षत्रकुलोद्भव), son of पादवराज  
and descendant of the royal  
family of माणिक्यचन्द्र. कृपाराम  
was himself a feudatory of  
Jehangir and Shah Jehan.  
The I. O. cat. (vol. III. p.  
502) says that the real author  
was राघवेन्द्र, son of काशीनाथ  
and father of रामदेव चिरञ्जीव.  
Relies on हेमाद्रि, माधव, and  
गौड writers. Latter half of  
17th century. Peterson (in  
Ulwar cat. No. 1433) says  
that this is a com. on the  
कालतत्त्वविवेचन. But from the  
description in the I. O. cat.  
this does not appear likely.

रामप्रसाद- vide तीर्थरत्नाकर.

रामानुजनित्यकर्मपद्धति Vide Peterson's  
6th Report p. 107.

रामार्चनचन्द्रिका m. in तिथितत्त्व and  
छादितत्त्व of रघु०, नि. ति.

रामार्चनचन्द्रिका by अच्युताश्रम.

रामार्चनचन्द्रिका by आनन्दवनपति, pu-  
pil of परमहंसपरिव्रजकाचार्यभर्मिन्हु-  
कुन्दवन in 5 पटल. (D. C. ms. 440  
of 1891-95 is dated śake 1607

i. e. 1685 A. D.). Traces गुरु-  
परम्परा from वसिष्ठ to गौडपाद,  
गोविन्द, शङ्कराचार्य, विश्वरूप, सुरेश्वर;  
in four पटल.

C. लघुदीपिका by गदाधर.

रामार्चनचन्द्रिका by कुलमणिशुक्ल.

रामार्चनदर्पण (Ulwar cat. No. 1435).

रामार्चनदीपिका.

रामार्चनपद्धति by रामानन्द.

रामार्चनस्नानकर by देशवदास m. in  
अहल्याकामधेनु.

रामार्चापद्धति by रामानुज.

राघवकुटपद्धति m. by रघुनन्दन in शु-  
द्धितत्त्व, छादितत्त्व (p. 213).

राघवसिंहप्रकाश of गदाधर.

रासयात्रापद्धति by रघु०. Vide p. 417  
above.

रासयात्राविवेक of छलपाणि. Vide sec.  
93.

रुद्रकलशस्थापनविधि by रामकृष्ण, son  
of नारायण.

रुद्रकल्प.

रुद्रकल्पतरु.

(1) ano. (Burnell's Tanj. cat.  
p. 138 a); ms. dated संवत्  
1714 (1657-8 A. D.).

(2) by a son of विश्वेश्वर.

रुद्रकल्पद्रुम or महारुद्रपद्धति by अनन्त-  
देव, son of उद्धव द्विवेदी, resident  
of Benares. Mentions हेमाद्रि,  
टोडरामन्द, प्रयोगपरिज्ञात रुद्रकारिका  
of परशुराम, नि. ति. Later than  
1640 A. D.

रुद्रचिन्तामणि or रुद्रपद्धति by शिवराम,  
son of विभ्राम; for उन्दोमः  
(Baroda O. I. 8018).

रुद्रजपसिद्धान्तशिरोमणि by रामचन्द्र-  
पाठक. A very large work. Baro-  
roda O. I. 10946 has 13 प्रकरण  
and probably there were more.

रुद्रपद्धति.

(1) by परशुराम, son of कर्ण, an  
उदीच्यब्राह्मण. Describes the  
rites connected with Śiva  
worship in the form of महा-  
रुद्र. There are in all 1028 ver-  
ses on रुद्रजपप्रशंसा, कुण्डमण्डप-  
लक्षण, षोडशप्रायश्चित्त, न्यासविधि.  
Composed in संवत् 1515  
(1458 A. D.). Also called  
रुद्रकारिका.

(2) another shorter treatise on  
same subject; introduction  
being partly identical. Com-  
posed between 1578-1643 A.D.  
(vide I. O. cat. p. 584).

(3) by अनन्तदीक्षित, son of विश्व-  
नाथ. Baroda ms. 8030 is  
dated संवत् 1809 (1752-3 A.D.).

(4) Describes रुद्रप्रयोग following  
तैत्तिरीयशाखा, though रुद्र  
is recited in all śākhās; says  
'स्मार्तरुद्रप्रयोगस्य बीधायनसूत्रमुल-  
कत्वेन बहुधादीनां च तत्र बीधायनं शा-  
स्त्रम्। रुद्रः पञ्चधा रूपं रुद्री लघुरुद्रो  
महारुद्रोतिरुद्रश्चेति एकादशगुणवृ-  
द्ध्या। सर्वथ वेधा जपुरुद्रो होमुरुद्रो-  
भिषेकरुद्रश्चेति।' I. O. ms. dated  
संवत् 1587 i. e. 1530-31 A. D.  
(vide cat. p. 580 No. 1783);  
quotes रूपनाथ often.

रुद्रपद्धति (सैत्रायणीय) Baroda O. I.  
2452.

रुद्रपद्धति by आपदेव.

रुद्रपद्धति by काशीदीक्षित, son of सदा-  
शिव. Also called रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति  
and महारुद्रपद्धति.

रुद्रपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामे-  
श्वरभट्ट. 'दक्षपुत्रेकास्तु शाखास्तु रुद्रः  
पठ्यते तथापि तैत्तिरीयशाखानुसारेण  
रुद्रः पठ्यते.'

रुद्रपद्धति by भास्करदीक्षित, son of राम-  
कृष्ण (according to शाङ्खानुष्ठानम्).

रुद्रपद्धति by रेणुक; ms. (Bik. cat.  
p. 601) dated śaka 1604 (1682  
A. D.).

रुद्रपद्धति by विश्वनाथ, son of शम्भुदेव  
and younger brother of रामदेव  
(for माध्यन्दिनीय).

रुद्रपूजापद्धति- Peterson's 6th Re-  
port p. 109.

रुद्रविधानपद्धति by काशीदीक्षित, son  
of सदाशिवदीक्षित.

रुद्रविधानपद्धति by चन्द्रचूड.

रुद्रविद्यासन्निधय by नन्दनमिश्र.

रुद्रस्नानविधि or रुद्रस्नानपद्धति by राम-  
कृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट; m. in  
शान्तिरत्न of कमलाकर. About  
1570-1600.

रुद्रप्रतिष्ठा.

रुद्रलघुन्यास- manual of formula  
intended for रुद्र worship.

रुद्रसूत्र or -योग by अद्वैतदेव, son of  
उद्धव, residing at Benares, also  
called वैविस्वमोह for वानसनेयशाखा;  
Peterson's 5th Report p. 175.

रुद्राक्षधारण.

रुद्राक्षपरीक्षा.

कद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति by नारायण, son of रामेश्वर (D. C. No. 28j of 1886-92). Seems to be same as कद्रपद्धति (4) above.

कद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति by मेरुनाथ, of the family of सर्वज्ञ. Relies on महापञ्च as the principal authority.

कद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति by डाङ्गुर, son of बलालवर m. in व्रतोपापनपद्धति ; q. v. About 1750 A. D.

कद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति or -दीपिका. Vide कद्रपद्धति above.

कद्रानुष्ठानप्रयोग by खण्डभट्ट, son of मधुरेश्वर, surnamed अयाधित.

कद्रार्चनचन्द्रिका of शिवराम.

कद्रार्चनमञ्जरी by वेदाङ्गनाथ ; vide महाकद्रपद्धति.

रूपनारायणीय (पद्धति) by उदयसिंह रूपनारायण, son of शक्तिसिंह. In the D. C. ms. No. 240 of A. 1881-82 (428 folios) a pedigree is given, which starts with भास्करकेसरी, in whose family was born मुग्धसिंह who conquered भोगिराज; his son was मदनसिंह. उदयसिंह was 13th from मदनसिंह and king of उज्जयिनी. The work deals with षोडशमहादान such as तुलापुरुष (up to folio 210), and with रूपवर्णितढागादिविधि, नवग्रहहोम, अष्टहोम, लक्षहोम, दुर्गोत्सव. Relies upon भोजराज, लक्ष्मीधर (कल्पतरु), हेमाद्रि, चण्डेश्वर, पारिजात, हरिहर, भीमपराक्रम, विद्याधर, चिन्तामणि, वर्षदीप. महादानपद्धति of रूपनारायण ; described above seems to be a part of

this; m. in जलाशयारामोत्सवपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट. Between 1450-1525 A. D.

रेणुकारिका or रेणुककारिका- vide वारस्तरगृहकारिका above. In 1266-67 A. D.

लक्षणप्रकाश by मित्रमित्र ; part of यीरमित्रोदय (on politics) ; pr. in Chowkhamba S. series.

लक्षणरत्नमालिका by नारोनिषण्डित, son of विश्वनाथ ; in five पद्धतिस on वर्णाश्रमाचार, दैव, राज, उद्योग, शरीर ; seems to be a com. on his लक्षणशतक (in one hundred verses). Vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. pp. 132 b and 164 b.

लक्षणशतक by नारोनिषण्डित.

लक्षणसंग्रह m. by हेमाद्रि in दानखण्ड p. 328, कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि.

लक्षणसमुच्चय by हेमाद्रि. On the indications and predictions from bodily signs and on Prakrits. Vide Bik. cat. p. 411.

लक्षणसमुच्चय m. by हेमाद्रि in दानखण्ड p. 823, by वि. सि.

लक्षणसारसमुच्चय- rules for the construction of शिखलङ्का in 32 sections.

लक्षहोमपद्धति.

(1) by काशीदीक्षित, son of सदाशिवदीक्षित.

(2) by गोविन्द, son of पुरुषोत्तम.

(3) by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर. Sec. 103.

लक्षणसमुच्चय m. in मुहूर्तदीपक O. महादेव.



लक्ष्मीनारायणार्चाकौस्तुभ by शिवानन्द  
गोस्वामी in five prakāśas.

लक्ष्मीसुपर्याहार by श्रीनिवास.

लघुकारिका by विष्णुशर्मेन, son of देव-  
दत्त ( for माध्यन्दिनशास्त्र ). Baroda  
O. I. 12072 dated संवत् 1552  
and No. 4055 dated 1507 संवत्.

लघुकालनिर्णय by माधवाचार्य. The  
first verse is व्याख्याय माधवा-  
चार्यो धर्मोन्पाराशरानथ and the last  
verse is व्यतिपाते च वैधव्यां तत्कालव्या-  
पिनी तिथिः । ( vide Bik. cat.  
pp. 408-409 ).

लघुचाणक्य.

लघुचिन्तामणि by श्रीरेश्वरभट्ट गोडबोले.

लघुजातिविशेष m. in शुद्धकमलाकर.

लघुनारदस्मृति m. by वि. सि., सं. कौ.

लघुनिर्णय by शिवनिधि ( Baroda O. I.  
12854 ).

लघुपद्धति or कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका by कृष्ण-  
भट्ट, son of वरुणोत्तम, son of रघु-  
नाथ ; based on कारिका and वृत्ति,  
वामनभाष्य and जयन्त. Deals with  
leading topics of आचार, व्यवहार.  
N. vol. X. p. 248 ; Baroda O. I.  
No. 1422 is dated संवत् 1592  
( 1535-6 A. D. ). It mentions  
चन्द्रिका, स्मृतिसार, स्तुत्यर्थसार.  
Between 1300-1500 A. D.

लघुपाराशरस्मृति.

लघुबृहस्पतिस्मृति.

लघुयमस्मृति m. by अपरार्क ( on प.  
I. 238 ) and by हलायुध in ब्राह्मण-  
सर्वस्व.

लघुवसिष्ठस्मृति.

लघुविष्णुस्मृति m. in अपरार्क and ब्राह्मण-  
सर्वस्व of हलायुध ; pr. Ānan. Sm.  
pp. 117-123.

लघुव्यास ( pr. Jivananda Sm. part II  
pp. 310-320 ) m. in संस्कारमूल.

लघुबाल्यस्मृति pr. in Ānan. Sm. pp.  
124-127.

लघुशातातपस्मृति pr. Ānan. Sm. pp.  
128-135.

लघुशौनकस्मृति in 114 verses ( Baroda  
O. I. 11863 ).

लघुहारीतस्मृति- m. in अपरार्क ( pr. in  
Ānan. Sm. pp. 136-141 and  
Jivananda Sm. part I. pp. 177-  
193 ).

लघुवसिष्ठस्मृति ( pr. Jivananda Sm. part  
I pp. 1-12 ) vide p. 109 above.

लघुवाल्मीकिपद्यस्मृति pr. Ānan. Sm.  
( pp. 142-181 ).

लघुवाल्मीकि.

ललितार्चनचन्द्रिका by सच्चिदानन्दनाथ,  
guru of विद्यानन्दनाथ.

ललितार्चनदीपिका.

ललितार्चनपद्धति by चिदानन्दनाथ, pu-  
pil of स्वयंप्रकाशानन्दनाथ. Prob-  
ably same as ललितार्चनचन्द्रिका.

लवणभ्रातृ ( on offerings of salt cakes  
to the deceased on 4th day after  
death ).

ललितस्मृति- vide sec. 13, p. 76 ; pr.  
Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 375-  
382 and Ānan. Sm. pp. 182-  
186 D. C. ms. 44 of 1866-68  
contains a ललितस्मृति in 6 अध्यायः  
where वसिष्ठ and other sages are  
represented as asking ललित  
about चातुर्वर्ण्यधर्म and प्रायश्चित्तः.

लिङ्गपोभट्ट.

लिङ्गसोभट्टकारिका.

लिङ्गधारणचन्द्रिका.

लिङ्गधारणदीपिका.

लिङ्गप्रतिष्ठा by अनन्त.

लिङ्गप्रतिष्ठापविधि by अनन्त ( according to चौधवर्न ). I. O. cat. vol. III. pp. 584-585.

लिङ्गप्रतिष्ठापविधि by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट.

लिङ्गार्चनचन्द्रिका by सदाशिवशुक्ल, son of महाधर, son of विष्णु, composed for pleasing king जयसिंह. He wrote आशौचस्मृतिचन्द्रिका also. First quarter of the 18th century.

लेखपञ्चाशिका on fifty forms of deeds, bonds and letters, composed in 1232 A. D. Vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83, No. 410; ms. dated संवत् 1536, i. e. 1479-80 A. D.

लेखपद्धति contains forms of mortgage-deeds, sale-deeds, treaties, cited from actual documents in the royal secretariat from 9th to 16th century of Vikrama era, published in G. O. series ( 1925 ).

लेखमुक्तामणि by हरिदास, son of बलराम in 464 verses and four songs on उद्भव ( origin of writing ), यणित, लिखन ( the art of the scribe ) and वृत्तनीति; ms. copied in 1625 A.D. ( Aufrecht's G. O. cat. ).

लोकपालाष्टदान.

H. D. 78.

लोकप्रकाश by लेखेन्द्र. Latter half of 11th century; gives specimens of letters, bonds, deeds &c.

लोकसागर m. in अहत्याकामधेनु.

लोहितस्मृति.

लौभाक्षिस्मृति sec. 50.

वह्निपुरोखकारिका by वह्निपुरोखर.

वचनसंग्रह ( Baroda O. I. No. 5507 ).

वचनसमुच्चय ( Bik. cat. p. 489 ).

वचनसारसंग्रह by श्रीशैलताताचार्य, son of सुन्दराचार्य; mentions मद्र. पा.

पटेश्वरसिद्धान्त m. in कालसार of महाधर.

वत्सस्मृति m. in कालमाधव and by मस्कारिण on गीतमधर्मसूत्र.

वपननिर्णय.

वरदत्तजीव ( Hultzsch R. I. No. 448 ).

वज्रपाहासविवेक by वैकुण्ठनाथ.

वर्णकाव्यार.

वर्णशासन.

वर्णनक्षत्रज. निमाला by भार्गवराम. On mixed castes. N. ( new series ) I. p. 332.

वर्णनक्षत्र by वैद्यनाथ दीक्षित.

वर्णनक्षत्र by वैद्यनाथदीक्षित. Probably the same as above.

वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीप or दीपिका by कृष्ण, son of गोविन्द, son of राघव of the भारद्वाजगोत्र; composed at Benares on संस्कारs, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, स्थालीपाक, लक्षहोम, फोटिहोम, तुलापुरुष वास्तुविधि, आह्निकविधि, सर्वप्रायश्चित्त मूर्तिप्रतिष्ठा &c.

वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीप by king कृष्ण who ruled over महाराष्ट्र on the banks

of the गोदावरी (vide Bik. cat. p. 489). This is a large work.

**वर्षमानपद्धति** m. in **आद्यतत्त्व** of **रघु** ( styled **नव्यवर्षमान** ).

**वर्षकृत्य** by **रघुधर**, son of **लक्ष्मीधर**; pr. at Benares in 1903; m. in **दुर्गोत्सवविवेक** of **शूलपाणि**.

„ of **राघवशर्मन्** of **चम्पहट्टि** family. Deals with **संक्रान्ति** and the festivals and **व्रत**s of the 12 months of the year.

„ by **विद्यापति**. About first half of 15th century; m. in **मलमासतत्त्व** of **रघु**.

„ by **शङ्कर**. It is also styled **सृष्टिदुर्गाकर** or **वर्षकृत्यविधय** (Bik. cat. p. 468).

„ by **हरिनारायण** (C. P. cat. No. 5017).

**वर्षकृत्यतरङ्ग** from the **कृत्यमहार्णव**.

**वर्षकृत्यप्रयोगमत** ( **माला** ) by **मोक्षराम**; ms. dated 1477 A. D. (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 312 and J. B. O. R. S. for 1927 parts III-IV p. IV).

**वर्षकौस्तुभ** or **वर्षकृत्यकौस्तुभ** by **गोविन्दानन्द**, son of **गणपतिभट्ट** ( pr. in B. I. series ). Vide sec. 101.

**वर्षदर्पण** m. in **कालनिर्णयचरित्रिका** of **दिवाकर**, in **समयमसूत्र**. Earlier than 1600 A. D.

**वर्षदीपिति** part of **स्मृतिकौस्तुभ** of **अनन्तदेव**.

**वर्षदीप** m. in **रूपनारायणीय**.

**वर्षदीपिका** m. in **कृत्यरत्नाकर** by **चण्डेश्वर**.

**वर्षभास्कर** by **शम्भुनाथ सिद्धान्तवाशीश**, composed by order of king **धर्मदेव**.

**वसन्तराजीय** alias **शकुनार्णव** by **वसन्तराजभट्ट**, son of **शिवराज** and younger brother of **विजयराज**; composed by order of **चन्द्रदेव** of **मिथिला**; m. in **अद्भुतसागर** by **बृहत्कालराज** and in **दुर्गोत्सवविवेक** of **शूलपाणि**. Earlier than 1150 A. D. C. by **भानुचन्द्रगणि** in **Akbar's** reign.

**वसिष्ठकल्प**.

**वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र** vide sec. 9; pr. in B. S. series, **Jivananda Sm.** part II, pp. 456-496 and **Anar. Sm.** pp. 187-231.

C. by **यज्ञस्वामिन्** m. in **गोविन्दस्वामिटीका** on **बौधायनधर्मसूत्र**.

**वसिष्ठसंहिता** or **महासंहिता** in 45 **अध्याय**s on **होम**, **जप**, **होम**, **वलि**, etc. on certain astrological aspects of **वसन्त**, **वार** etc. ( **Ulwār cat.** extract 582 ).

**वसिष्ठस्मृति** in ten **अध्याय**s and about 1100 verses. On the **विधान**s for **वैष्णवमाहर्णस**, **सुधर्म**, **विष्णुव्रत**, **आद्य**, **आशौच**, **विष्णु-संहिता** ( I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 392 No. 1339 ). **Baroda O. I. Ms.** No. 1885 is dated **śake** 1564.

**वसिष्ठस्मृति** or **वासिष्ठी**.

C. **वासिष्ठनाथ** by **वेदमित्र**. **राम** is said to have asked **वसिष्ठ** why he was exiled. Deals with propitiatory rites for evil aspects of

planets, लक्षहोम, कोटिहोम. Says that it was based by वसिष्ठ on माध्वमिनी शास्त्र. Vide D. C. ms. No. 245 of 1879-80. Baroda O. I. 1412 is dated संवत् 1565 (1508-9 A. D.). The com. gives only the प्रतीक of verses. It says that लक्षहोम was imparted to नारद and others by वसिष्ठ.

वसिष्ठहोमपद्धति.

वाक्यतत्त्व of सिद्धान्तपञ्चानन. On proper times for religious ceremonies. Part of दैततत्त्व.

वाक्यमीमांसा m. in मुसिहप्रभा.

वाक्यरत्नावलि m. in कालमा of यदापर.

वाग्भटस्मृतिसंग्रह m. by अग्रर.

वाग्भटीतीर्थयात्राप्रकाश by गोविन्द, son of रामभट.

वातव्याधिकर्मप्रकाश.

वाद्भयङ्ग- a work by a follower of विज्ञानेश्वर, according to योगमित्रोदय. Vide pp. 289-90 above; m. by कल्पतरु. Between 1080-1125 A. D.

वायुलक्षितिरहस्य or वायुलक्ष्यागमकृतिरहस्य by सहस्रनामवागमिनिध. Deals with कणत्रयापाकरण, जलार्च्य, संस्कार, आह्निक, आब, श्रीधर्म.

वापीरूपतट्टावादिपद्धति.

वाप्युत्तम.

वाग्भटकारिका- a large work in verse; follows वादिरहस्य mainly.

वाग्भटपद्धति m. in आद्यमौर्य (टोटग-मन्द).

वारव्रतनिर्णय.

वाराणसीदर्पण by सुन्दर, son of राघव.

वाराहयज्ञ- pr. in G. O. series in 21 खण्ड on संस्कार from ज्ञातकर्म, नामकरण to पुंसवन and on वैश्वदेव and पाकवज्ञ.

वार्तिकसार by यतीश, son of टेकचन्द्र; composed in 1785 A. D.

वार्तिककृत्यनिर्णय.

वासकर्मप्रकाश.

वासन्तीविधेय by शूलपाणि. Sec. 95.

वासिष्ठलघुकारिका.

वासिष्ठीशान्ति by महानन्द, son of विश्वनाथ (he rather revised or restored it). Vide Bik. cat. p. 490 (सत्यैर्वा दक्षिता शान्तिर्वासिष्ठी सा प्रशोधिता).

वासुदेवी or प्रयोगरत्नमाला; pr. in Bombay 1884. Quotes हेमाद्रि, कृत्यरत्नाकर, विधिक्रम, रूपनारायण, नि.सि. So later than 1620 A. D. Speaks of स्मृतिनिर्माणप्रकार, मण्डपप्रकार, विष्णुपतिष्ठा, जलाधिवास, शान्तिहोम-प्रयोग, नूतनपिण्डकारथापन, जर्ण-पिण्डकार्थ देवस्थापनप्रयोग.

वास्तुचन्द्रिका by कृष्णाशङ्क.

वास्तुचन्द्रिका by कृष्णागम.

वास्तुतत्त्व by गणपतिशिष्य; pr. at Lahore (1853).

वास्तुपद्धति or वास्तुवापन / Baroda O. I. No. 1672.

वास्तुपूजनपद्धति by सहस्रनाम.

वास्तुपूजनपद्धति by यतीशकोट.

वास्तुप्रदीप by वासुदेव m. in नि.सि.

वास्तुयागतथ by रघुनन्दन. Sec. 102.

वास्तुशिल्पावलि by जीवनाथदेवज्ञ, pr. at Benares, 1883 and Calcutta, 1885.

वास्तुशान्ति by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट. According to आश्वलायन-सूत्र; m. in शान्तिरत्न of कमलाकर-भट्ट.

वास्तुशान्तिप्रयोग- शाकलोक.

वास्तुशान्तिप्रयोग- extracted from शान्तिस्तार of दिनकर.

वास्तुशास्त्र by मय; m. in नि. सि.

वास्तुशिरोमणि by शङ्कर at the bidding of त्यामसाह son of माननेन्द्र. Ulwar cat. extract 576.

वास्तुसर्वस्वसंग्रह pr. at Bangalore, 1884.

विचारनिर्णय by गोपालस्यायनश्रीमान-भट्टाचार्य.

विजयदशमीनिर्णय.

विजयदशमीपद्धति (Ulwar cat. No. 1441 and extract 341).

विजयविज्ञान by रामकृष्ण on शौच, स्नान, सम्पत्ता, प्रज्ञावज्र, निर्विकर्णय. Relies upon भाष्य of फर्ग, हरिहर, and गदाधर.

विज्ञानमार्कण्ड m. in सुमिहप्रसाद.

विज्ञानललित m. by हेमाद्रि (भाष्यण्ड p. 109), in दानस्तार (part of सुमिहप्रसाद).

विह्वलीय m. in आश्वमेध of रामकृष्ण.

विदुरनीति- (from the उपोपखण्ड of महाभारत chapters 33-40 of the Bombay edition); pr. at Gujarati Press, Bombay.

विद्याकरपद्धति m. in निव्याचन-प्रदीप pp. 566, 571.

विद्याधर्मविज्ञान m. in उपोपखण्ड by रघु.

विद्यारण्यसंग्रह- vide स्मृतिसंग्रह.

विद्याविनोद m. in नि. सि. (may also be the name of an author).

विद्वन्मनोहरा- com. on पराशरस्मृति by मन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

विधवाधर्म.

विधवाविवाहसंखण्डन.

विधवाविवाहविचार by हरिमिश्र.

विधानसंखण्ड m. in नि. सि.

विधानसूक्त m. in विधानपारिजात of अनन्त.

विधानपारिजात of अनन्तभट्ट, son of नारायण. Composed at Benares in 1625 A. D. He styles himself काण्वशास्त्रविदां प्रियः. In five सप्तकः on स्वातन्त्र्यन, शान्तिकर्म, आह्निक, संस्कार, तीर्थ, दान, प्रकीर्णविधान and funeral ceremonies, the third dealing with आह्निक, संस्कार and काल, the fifth with आश्व, आशीच, स्वयहार and प्रायश्. Mentions देव-जामीन, दिव्योदासीय, विम्वलीसेतु (pr. B. I. series).

विधानमाला or शुद्धार्थविधानमाला by सुमिहभट्ट of अविमोच. Resided on the वनमाली near चन्द्रगिरि in बेराट-देश; m. in संस्कारकौस्तुभ and विधान-पारिजात. Earlier than 1550 A. D. There are 240 प्रकरण in the I. O. ms. (cat. p. 575 No. 1769) which was copied in संवत् 1732; pr. in Anan. P. series, 1920. (1765-6 A. D.). Baroda O. I. No. 10149 copied in संवत् 1622 (1565-6 A. D.).

- C. by विश्वनाथ, son of हरि.  
विधानमाला by लल.  
विधानमाला by विश्वकर्मन्.  
विधानरत्न by नारायणभट्ट.  
विद्यावरहृष m. in अहल्याकामपेनु.  
विधानसारसंग्रह And. Vide Bk. cat. p. 494.  
विधिपुत्रमाला ( पद्धति ) m. in पितृभक्ति of श्रीधर. Earlier than 1300 A. D.  
विधिरत्न by गङ्गाधर.  
विधिन् m. in विद्यावृद्धमण्डल, हेमाद्रि, पदोत्तराधिकार.  
विद्यावृद्धमण्डल by रामकृष्ण, son of श्रीधर, surnamed गोचर ( गोचर ? ). Composed in 1702 A. D.  
विद्यावृद्धमण्डलपद्धति.  
C. by श्रीधराचार्य. Baroda O. I. No. 5491 dated संवत् 1607 ( 1550-1 A. D. ).  
विद्युत्कण्ठध्वज- com. on सुवर्ण by वेङ्कटनाथ.  
विभक्तविभक्तनिर्णय.  
विभागतत्त्व or-तत्त्वविचार by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट. Relies on मिताक्षरा. About 1575-1600 A. D. Deals with अष्टविधन्य and सप्तविधन्य दाय, मुख्यपौत्राणां, विभागकाल, अपुत्रदायादक्रम, माता preferred to पिता as heir. The Bhadkamkar collection ms. comes up to only अष्टादश.  
विभागनिर्णय.  
विभागम् of विद्यापति ; composed under orders of दुर्जनरायण, son of हरिनिह, son of भवेश. On दाय-  
लक्षण. विभागस्वरूप, दायानर्ह, अविभाज्य, श्रीधर, द्वादशविधपुत्र, अपुत्र-यनाधिकार, संगृहविभाग. N. vol. VI. p. 67.  
विभूतिधारण.  
विमलद्वयमाला or विमलद्वयजपन्तमाला- a com. on आश्वलायनसूत्रादयः.  
विमलविधिचिन्ता by लक्ष्मीधर, son of मङ्गदेव and श्रीदेवी and pupil of अण्णहोचमारती. His grandfather was कल्याण and his grandfather was रामदेव and grand-uncle रघुदेव and great grand-father was सोढ, who was a minister of योगेश्वर of शाकम्भरी ( Sambhar ). रघुदेव was commander-in-chief and रामदेव was सामन्तिविग्रहिक of पृथ्वीराज, who was killed by तुर्कफ. रघुदेव crowned हरिराज in शाकम्भरी and रामदेव went to अण्णहोचमारती. The family originally came from आनन्दनगर. Work is divided into seven अधि-करणः ; ms. ( I. O. cat. p. 489 No. 1577 ) is dated संवत् 1582 वैशाख ( 1526 A. D. ). Deals with disputed points of sacred law, such as the persons entitled to offer आहुति to the deceased, श्रद्धा-दयश्चित्त etc.  
विमलजपन्तमालाशिक्षा.  
विमलसंग्रहकाविका m. by काळम्भार of मद्रास.  
विमलस्मृति m. by स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि.  
विमलद्वयतन्त्र ( a portion of the कल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर ) vide sec. 77.  
विमलदीप्ति by रत्नाम्बर निदान्तवागीश composed in शके 1529 ( 1604

A. D. ). He was patronised by the Rājā of Assam.

विवादचन्द्र by मिश्रसमिश्र. Vide sec. 97.

विवादचन्द्रिका by अनन्तराम ; quotes छलपाणि and स्मार्तभट्टाचार्य. Later than 1600 A. D.

विवादचन्द्रिका by रुद्रधर महामहोपाध्याय, pupil of चण्डेश्वर. In his आद्यचन्द्रिका quotes वर्धमान. On the 18 titles of law. About 1450 A.D.

विवादचिन्तामणि by व. चस्पतिमिश्र. Sec. 98 ; pr. at Bombay.

विवादताण्डुल by रामदासकर्मण्ड. Sec. 106.

विवादनिर्णय by गोपाल.

विवादनिर्णय by श्रीकर.

विवादभण्डारण by जयभ्रातृतर्कपञ्चानन. Sec. 113. Colebrooke translated two out of the several principal topics of this work. Vide N. ( new series ) vol. I. preface pp. XIII-XIV.

विवादरत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर. Vide sec. 90.

विवादवारिधि by रमापतिउपाध्याय सन्मिश्र, on the 18 titles of law.

विवादव्यवहार by गोपालप्रियान्तपागीश.

विवादसार of कुट्टक, m. in his आद्यसागर. Vide sec. 88.

विवादमारण्य compiled by सर्वोत्तमजी प्रियेदी at the instance of Sir William Jones in 1789 in nine तरङ्ग. The colophon has the rather picturesque words 'सर्वस्य मित्ररञ्जितोन्मदीपाज्ञ' etc.

( cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol. VI. p. 2407, No. 3203 ).

विवादमिश्र.

विवादार्णवमञ्जन or -मङ्गल compiled by गौरीकान्त and several other Pandits. ( D. C. ms. No. 364 of 1875-76, N. vol. IX p. 244 No. 3165 ).

विवादार्णवसेतु compiled in 1773 for Warren Hastings by वाणेश्वर and several other Pandits and translated into English by Halhed ( which translation was published in 1774 A. D. ). Divided into 21 ऊर्मि ( waves, sections ) on कृपादान and the other titles of law ( व्यवहारपद ). Pr. by the Venk. Press, Bombay. This edition shows that the work was composed at the court of Ranjit Singh of Lahore. Towards the end the names of the Pandits who compiled it are given. Vide N. vol. X p. 115-116 and N. ( new series ) I pp. 339-341 where the verses about the names of the collaborating Pandits are given, but the reference to Ranjit Singh does not occur.

विवादार्थसंग्रह.

विवाहकर्म by अग्निहोत्रि विष्णु of मथुरा.

विवाहकर्मपद्धति. Vide विवाहपद्धति.

विवाहकर्ममन्त्रव्याख्या सुबोधिनी ( Ulwar cat. No. 1452 and extract ). Relies on इरिहर.



विवाहकर्मसमुच्चय- ms. copied in 1113  
A. D. (Hp. cat. p. XI).

विवाहकौमुदी (C. P. cat. No. 5140-  
41).

विवाहचतुर्थीकर्म.

विवाहतत्त्व or उदाहृतत्व by रघुनन्दन  
Sec. 102.

C. by काशीराम.

विवाहतत्त्वार्णव m. in उदाहृतत्व (vol.  
II. p. 117) of रघु०.

विवाहद्विरागमनपद्धति.

विवाहनिरूपण by मन्दभट्ट.

विवाहनिरूपण by वैद्यनाथ.

विवाहपटल m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व of रघु०.  
Probably an astrological work  
of बराहमिहिर or of शार्ङ्गधर.

विवाहपटल by सारङ्गपाणि (शार्ङ्गपाणि?),  
son of मुकुन्द.

विवाहपटल by हरिदेवसूरि.

विवाहपटलस्तवक by सोमसुन्दरशिष्य.  
Baroda O. I. No. 133.

विवाहपद्धति or विवाहादिपद्धति गोविलीय.

विवाहपद्धति by गौरीशङ्कर.

विवाहपद्धति by चतुर्भुज.

विवाहपद्धति by जगन्नाथ.

विवाहपद्धति by नरहरि.

विवाहपद्धति by तारावणभट्ट.

विवाहपद्धति by रामचन्द्र.

विवाहपद्धति or विवाहादिकर्मपद्धति by  
रामदेव राजपण्डित, son of गणेश्वर,  
son of देवादिन्य. He was paternal  
first cousin of जगद्वेश्वर and so  
flourished about 1310-1360  
A. D. On आभ्युदयिकभाष्य, विवाह,

चतुर्थीकर्म, पुंसपन and the other  
संस्कारs up to समावर्तन. He wrote  
for वाजसनेय students.

विवाहपद्धति from the अनुपविष्टास.

विवाहपद्धतिव्याख्या by सुदृढमहर्षि.

विवाहप्रकरण- from the लघुकाशिका of  
कर्क.

विवाहरत्न by हरिभट्ट. An elaborate  
treatise on marriage in 122  
chapters.

विवाहरत्नसंक्षेप by क्षेमकर.

विवाहहन्दावन by केशवाचार्य, son of  
राणिम or राणम, in 17 chapters on  
auspicious times for marriage.  
One ms. is dated śake 1326 i. e.  
1398-99 A. D. (BBRAS. cat. part  
I p. 109 No. 322); m. in मुहूर्त-  
दीपक of महादेव, in टोडरानन्द.

C. दीपिका by गणेशदेवज्ञ, son of  
केशव, in śake 1476 i. e. 1554-5  
A. D. (BBRAS. cat. part I p.  
110 No. 334). See Bhandarkar's  
Report for 1883-84 pp. 372-373,  
where we read that गणेश first  
composed लहाराव, then भाव-  
विधि, then a com. on लीलावती,  
a com. on मुहूर्ततत्त्व.

C. by कल्याणधर्मल.

विवाहसौख्य by भीलकण्ठ (seems to be  
a portion of टोडरानन्द).

विवाहाग्निनिष्ठिप्रायश्चित्त.

विवाहादिकर्माभुष्टानपद्धति by भवदेव.

विवाहादिप्रयोगतत्त्व-ascribed to रघुनन्दन  
(N. vol. XI Preface p. 14).

विवाहादिकन्यास्वरूपनिर्णय by अनन्तराम-  
शास्त्रिन.

**विषिविधापिनारयण** of भोज on propitiation of angry deities and consecration of tanks and wells &c. Ms. (Hp. cat. pp. XIII and 65) dated ल. सं. 372 i. e. 1490-91. This is different from धरे-श्वरभोज.

**विवेकदीपदी** by रामकृष्ण. Discussion about wearing the शिखा and यज्ञोपवीत, विधि, नियम, परिसंख्या, स्नान, निलम्बधारण, तर्पण, शिवपूजा, विपुण्ड्र, प्रतिष्ठोत्सर्गभेद. N. vol. X. pp. 105-107.

**विवेकदीपक** by दामोदर. Treats of महादास; compiled under auspices of संप्रदाय; ms. (E. O. cat. p. 551 No. 1716) copied in संवत् 1638 (1582 A. D.).

**विवेकमञ्जरी.**

**विवेकमार्गदर्शन.**

**विवेकानंद** by श्रीनाथ m. in his कृत्य-तन्त्रार्णव. 1175-1525 A. D.

**विशुद्धिदर्पण** by रघुनन्दन. On आशीच of two kinds, जनमाशीच and शाकाशीच.

**विश्वदीप** m. in आचारार्क.

**विश्वदेवदीक्षितिय.**

**विश्वनाथमटी** (C. P. cat. No. 5197).

**विश्वप्रकाश** D. C. ms. No. 144 of 1884-86. For वात्सर्गन्य followers on daily duties like सन्ध्याकृत्य, कृष्णजन्माष्टमीनिर्णय, ग्रहभर्तृनिर्णय, and आशु.

**विश्वप्रकाशितादिति** of विश्वनाथ of the पराशरमत, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of त्रिविक्रम, son of नारायणचार्य.

On various ceremonies and expiations, based on आपस्तम्ब. Composed in 1544 A. D. Vide N. vol. X. pp. 233-235.

**विश्वम्भरशास्त्र** m. in शूद्रकमलाकर.

**विश्वरूपनिबन्ध** m. in कृत्यचिन्तामणि, नि. म. Vide pp. 263-364 above. Bik. cat. p. 497 No. 1967 is विश्वरूपनिबन्ध which deals with सविष्ट relationship in marriage, particularly about the girl being beyond the fifth and the seventh from the mother and father respectively.

**विश्वरूपसमुच्चय** m. in उद्गाहतरंग by रघु (vol. II p. 116).

**विश्वादर्श** by कविकान्तसरस्वती, son of आचार्यदिव्य, who styles himself गीतार्थप्रवीण. Author was devotee of विश्वेश्वर in Benares. Divided into 4 काण्ड on आचार, व्यवहार, प्रायश्चित्त and ज्ञान. 1st काण्ड has 42 खगुपरा verses and one अनुपुष्ट on daily religious duties such as शौच, दन्तधावन, कुशविधि, स्नान, मन्त्रा, होम, देवतार्चन, दान; 2nd काण्ड (on व्यवहार) has 44 verses in various metres (मालिनी, अनुपुष्ट, मन्दाक्रान्ता, &c.); 3rd (प्रायश्चित्त) has 53 verses (all खगुपरा except last which is मालिनी); 4th ज्ञानकाण्ड has 53 verses in शार्दूलविक्रीडित, शिखरिणी, अनुपुष्ट, and other metres on वानप्रस्थ, संन्यास, व्रतार्थ, काशीभाटान्ध. Author's patron seems to have been धन्य or धनवान, son of शाराहुन, at

- काशी. Refers to सुज, धोरेश्वर, मेधातिथि and विज्ञानेश्वर. M. by हेमाद्रि ( III 2. p. 102, which occurs in com. on विश्वादर्श III. 37) and by स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (आशीष, Mysore ed. p. 164 'पतिव्रता स्वल्प-दिनेषुगच्छेद्या स्त्री पतिं चित्पथिरोहणेन । दशाहतो मूर्तरथस्य शुद्धिः आद्यद्वयं स्या-नृधरोककाले ॥'). Later than 1100 A. D. and earlier than 1200 A. D. (This information is based on two mss. in the Bhadkamkar collection ).
- C. by author ( Vide BBRAS. cat. part 2 pp. 229-231 for fuller details ).
- विश्वामित्रकल्प- on the daily ceremonies performed by ब्राह्मणः.
- विश्वामित्रकल्पतरु.
- विश्वामित्रसंहिता by श्रीधर.
- विश्वामित्रस्मृति- vide sec. 57 p. 236.
- विश्वेश्वरनिबन्ध m. in संस्कारमण्डल. Probably the मदनपारिजात or ह्योधिनीटीका of विश्वेश्वर.
- विश्वेश्वरपद्धति by विश्वेश्वर on संन्यास m. in संस्कारमण्डल.
- विश्वेश्वरस्मृति ( Hultzs. R. 1. No. 69 ).
- विश्वेश्वरस्मृतिभास्कर ( Hultzs. R. 1. No. 144 ).
- विश्वेश्वरीयपद्धति ( or पतिधर्मसंग्रह ) by अण्डुताश्रम, pupil of चिदानन्दाश्रम. Mentions ज्ञानार्णव.
- विश्वेश्वरीस्मृति by अण्डुताश्रम.
- विषयटिकाजननशान्ति or विषनाहीजनन शान्ति ( from इन्द्रगान्धर्वसंहिता ) on B. D. 79.
- rites for averting evil consequences of being born at one of the four periods called विषय-टिका.
- विष्णुतत्त्वप्रकाश by वनमालिन. Digest of स्मार्त rites for माध्व followers.
- विष्णुतत्त्वचिन्तन by ज्ञानन्दतीर्थ.
- विष्णुतीर्थोपन्यास by सुरोत्तमाचार्य.
- विष्णुधर्ममीमांसा by वृत्तिहन्तु, son of सोमभन्तु. Ulwar cat. 1457.
- विष्णुधर्मसूत्र. Vide sec. 10. Pr. Jivānanda Sm. part I pp. 60-176.
- C. वैजयन्ती by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.
- विष्णुधर्मासूत्र m. in जटमलविलास.
- विष्णुधर्मोत्तरासूत्र m. in कालविवेक of जीवन्तवाहन.
- विष्णुपूजाक्रमदीपिका by शिवशङ्कर.
- C. by सदानन्द.
- विष्णुपूजापद्धति.
- विष्णुपूजाविधि by छुकदेव ( Baroda O. I. No. 5487 said to be author's copy is dated संवत् 1692 i. e. 1635-6 A. D. ).
- विष्णुप्रतिष्ठापद्धति.
- विष्णुप्रतिष्ठाविधिर्दर्पण of नरसिंहसोमयाजी, son of माधवाचार्य.
- विष्णुभक्तिचन्द्र m. in निर्णयदीपक.
- विष्णुभक्तिचन्द्रोदय by वृत्तिहारण or वृत्तिहाचार्य in 19 kalās; m. by सुरोत्तम in द्रव्यशुद्धिदीपिका. Deals with principal वैष्णव fasts, festivals, and ceremonies; ms. dated संवत् 1496 ( 1440 A. D. ). Bhandarkar's Report 1883-84 p. 76.

विष्णुभक्तिरहस्य m. by रामानन्द.

विष्णुसुतिप्रतिष्ठाविधि by कृष्णदेव, son of रामाचार्य (part of a larger work called विष्णुसुतानुष्ठानपद्धति or सुतिपञ्चविधपद्धति). Ms. copied in संवत् 1673.

विष्णुसुतपद्धति by अनन्तदेव, son of जगद्देव. Sec. 109. Deals with rites in honour of Viṣṇu to be performed by one who desires a son. Ulwar cat. No. 1458; Baroda I. O. 2264 dated संवत् 1604 which seems to be fake.

विष्णुहारा m. by अय्याई, दशनामर, कालविन्द of श्रीमठ.

विष्णुश्राद्ध (part of नारायणशक्ति in गोभिलराय).

विष्णुश्राद्धपद्धति alias वीरपूजापद्धति.

विष्णुश्राद्धपद्धति by नारायण son of रामेश्वर (Baroda O. I. 8171).

विष्णुसमुच्चय m. in अय्यक. मठ. पा. (p. 291).

विष्णुस्मृति- vide विष्णुपद्मसूत्र, above.

वीरनारसिंहावलोकन- vide वीरसिंहावलोकन.

वीरसिंघोदय, com. on वाङ्मयव्यवहृति by मित्रमिश्र (4 parts on आचार pr. in Chowkhamba S. series). Vide sec. 108.

वीरसिंघोदय by मित्रमिश्र. A digest divided into प्रकाशs on व्यवहार (pr. by Jivananda), परिभाषा, आह्विक, तीर्थ, पूजा, राजनीति, लक्षण, बुद्धि, समय (the first six pr. in Ch. S. series). Vide sec. 108.

वीरशौचधर्मनिर्णय.

वीरसिंहसिंघोदय (संस्कारप्रकरण) by रामन्योतिर्विह.

वीरसिंहावलोकन or -वलोकन by king वीरसिंह, son of देववर्मन्, son of कमलसिंह of तोमरवंश. On expiations for lapses committed in this life; composed in संवत् 1439 (1383 A. D.). Stein's cat. p. 189. D. C. Ms. No. 85 of 1869-70 is dated संवत् 1572. It says that the work (which is over 400 folios) is a compendium of आयुर्वेद, ज्योतिःशास्त्र and धर्मशास्त्र. It borrows from वर्ण, गौतम, शालिहोत्र, मनु, व्यास, पुराण. The work is also styled सूर्यारुण.

वृक्षोपायन.

वृत्तरत्नप्रदीपिका by बन्धुसुखेदान्तदास on proper time for breaking fast on द्वादशी.

वृत्तज्ञानसंग्रह or वृत्तज्ञानक by महेश्वर, son of ज्योतिष and father of भास्कराचार्य; m. in नि. सि., गोविन्दार्णव. An astrological work. About 1100-1150 A. D. In 11 प्रकरणs on यागाविधि, नक्षत्रविधि, संस्कार, विवाह, अग्निदान, भूपाविधि, भूपाभिषेक, यात्रा, गोचरविधि, संक्रान्ति, देवप्रतिष्ठा. Baroda O. I. No. 8173.

वृद्धगौतमसंहिता pr. in Jivananda Sm. part II pp. 497-638.

वृद्धपाराशरिसंहिता (in 12 chap.). Vide बन्धुपराशरसंहिता pp 195-96 above.

वृद्धशास्त्रात्मस्मृति- pr. in Anan. Sm. pp. 232-235.

- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता (pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 191-409 and Anan. Sm. pp. 236-356).
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता pr. in Jivananda Sm. part I. pp. 47-59.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धव.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धवविश्वामित्र at Benares.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता by नारायणभट्ट (part of प्रयोगसूत्र).
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता by कुरुक्षेत्र.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता (माध्वान्दिनीय) by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धव. Baroda O. I. 10464.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता for followers of the बृहदारण्यक sect.
- बृहदारण्यक.
- बृहदारण्यक.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता by रामकृष्ण.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता by रघु०. He wrote one for each of ऋग्वेद, यजुर्वेद, सामवेद.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता ascribed to शाल्यक with reference to कालीयशाखा.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता by नारायण, son of रामेश्वर.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता (वाचस्पतिमंत्र) for यजुर्वेद students (वाचस्पतीय).
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता by अनन्तभट्ट, son of नामदेव. Also called नीलहट्ट.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता (उद्देश्य) attributed to रघु०.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता Stein's cat. p. 104.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता by मधुसूदन गोस्वामी.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता of कान्वायन in 307 verses. Baroda O. I. ms. 9470 is dated संवत् 1592.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता by वेगराज in 1559 संवत् (रघुवंशवाक्यशशि) i. e. 1503 A. D.
- बृहदारण्यक Directions for worshipping ब्रह्म before starting on a journey. Bik. cat. p. 492.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता pr. Anan. Sm. pp. 357-371.
- बृहदारण्यक.
- बृहदारण्यक On the holidays as to Vedic studies.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता Vide sec. 15.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता by वृद्धिवाक्यपदी, son of माधवाचार्य (on 2 out of 3 प्रश्न only found yet).
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता (containing the मन्त्र required in the वेदान्तसंहितासूत्र). in 8 प्रश्न 4 प्रश्न pr. at Kumbhakonam in 1910.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता m. by काशमाधवाचार्य, नि. नि. मन्त्रमन्त्र.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिता by मुनिद, son of माधवाचार्य राजवेदपात्रिन. Hand-book of domestic rites according to वेदान्तसंहिता; pr. at Ellore 1915.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहिताकुरुक्षेत्रीयिका of वेङ्कटयोगिन, son of कुरुक्षेत्राचार्य.
- बृहदारण्यकसंहितासूत्र in 10 प्रश्न, 7 of गृह्य and 3 of धर्म. pr. at Kumbhakonam 1914 and by Dr. Caland in B. I. series with English translation (1927 text, 1929).

- C. by तुसिह वाजपेयी, son of माधवाचार्य.
- वैतयन्ती, com. on विष्णुधर्मसूत्र by नन्द-पाण्डित composed in 1623 A. D. Vide sec. 105.
- वैतरणीदान (on gift of a black cow to secure for the soul of a deceased person a safe passage over the Vaitarani river in hell).
- वैतरणीदानप्रयोग-Stein's cat. p. 104.
- वैदिकप्रक्रिया.
- वैदिकविनयध्वज.
- वैदिकाचारनिर्णय by सविदानन्द.
- वैयनाथसंग्रह.
- वैयनाथीय. Vide स्मृतिसूक्तकल.
- वैशम्पायननीतिसंग्रह- vide under नीति-प्रकाश or- प्रकाशिका.
- वैशम्पायनस्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (पा. III. 326), अपराक.
- वैष्णवचन्द्रिका by रामानन्द न्यायवागीश.
- वैष्णवदीक्षापद्धति.
- वैष्णवधर्मवर्णन (Baroda O. I. 1741) against दण्डधारण &c.
- वैष्णवधर्मपद्धति of कृष्णदेव.
- वैष्णवधर्ममीमांसा by अनन्तराम.
- वैष्णवधर्मशास्त्र in 109 verses divided into five chapters on संस्कार, गृहि-धर्म, आश्रमः, पारिव्राज्य, राजधर्म.
- वैष्णवधर्मसुरदुमन्जरी by सङ्कर्षणशरण, a follower of केशवकाव्यमौरी, who was a follower of निम्बार्क.
- वैष्णवधर्मनुष्ठानपद्धति by कृष्णदेव, son of रामाचार्य.
- वैष्णवनिर्णय Ulwar cat. No. 1466.
- वैष्णवप्राक्रिया by वेदचूडालम्बज. Men-

tions विज्ञानेश्वर. नि. सि., सुपीवि-लोचन.

वैष्णवलक्षण by कृष्णताताचार्य.

वैष्णववर्षकृत्य (Baroda O. I. 8133).

वैष्णवसदाचारनिर्णय.

वैष्णवसर्वस्व of इलापुत्र m. in his ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

वैष्णवसिद्धान्तदीपिका by रामचन्द्र, son of कृष्ण, son of मुद्गरि.

C. by विठ्ठल, son of तुसिह, son of रामचन्द्र (the author).

वैष्णवाचारसंग्रह.

वैष्णवाष्ट m. in आह्निकतत्त्व by रघु० and in नि. सि.

वैष्णवामृत by भोलानाथ. N. vol. VI. p. 185-6.

वैष्णवाह्निक (Baroda O. I. 10543).

वैष्णवोपशोभिनिर्णय. D. C. Ms. No. 160 of 1881-86 is dated संवत् 1732 (1675-6 A. D.). It mentions प्रह्लादसंहिता, रामार्चनचंद्रिका. It supports the marking of the body with चक्र by citing verses from कठशास्त्र and अथर्ववेद (एभिर्व्यसकृतमस्य चित्त्रैरङ्किता लोके सुभगा भवेत्).

व्यतिचक्रनिर्णय by रघुनाथभट्ट.

व्यतीपातजननशान्ति by कमलाकरभट्ट.

व्यतीपातप्रकरण.

व्यतीपातवतहज्य.

व्यवस्थादर्पण by जानन्दशर्मा, son of रामशर्मा. On points of स्मृति rites and rules, such as तिथिस्वरूप, मल-मास, संक्रान्ति, आशीच, आश्व, दापानधिकार, श्राद्धविभाग. N. vol. VIII p. 211.

अवस्थादीपिका by राधानाथशर्मा. N. vol. X p. 84 is confined only to आशौच.

अवस्थानिर्णय AnO. on तिथि, संक्रान्ति, आशौच, द्रव्यशुद्धि, प्रायश्चित्त, विवाह, दाय.

अवस्थाप्रकाश.

अवस्थारत्नमाला by लक्ष्मीनारायणन्यायालङ्कार, son of मदाधर. In ten मुच्छस on दायभाग, स्त्रीधन, दत्तकपुत्रस्था; mentions मिताक्षरा and विधानमाला.

अवस्थार्णव AnO.

अवस्थार्णव of रघुनन्दन (on pre-emption).

अवस्थार्णव of रघुनाथ, as order of king रायराघव.

अवस्थार्णव of रामभद्र. Vide under स्मृतितत्त्वचिन्तिर्णय.

अवस्थासंक्षेप by गणेशभट्ट.

अवस्थासंग्रह by गणेशभट्ट. Gives decisions on प्रायश्चित्त, inheritance etc.

अवस्थासंग्रह by मोक्ष. On definite conclusions about आशौच, सविष्ठीकरण, संक्रान्तिविधि, दुर्गोत्सव, जन्माष्टमी, आह्निक, देवप्रतिष्ठा, द्रव्य, दायभाग, प्रायश्चित्त. Based on रघु०.

अवस्थासार by नारायणशर्मा (I. O. cat. p. 452) on आह्निक, आशौच, तिथि, दत्तपुत्र, विवाह, आह्न. Different from next.

अवस्थासारसंग्रह by नारायणशर्मा. On law of inheritance. This is also called अवस्थासारसंक्षेप. Vide N. vol. III pp. 126-127 and I. O.

cat. p. 453 which shows that the work embraced आशौच, दायभाग and आह्न.

अवस्थासारसंग्रह by मोक्ष. Probably same as अवस्थासंग्रह.

अवस्थासारसंग्रह by रामगोविन्दचक्रवर्ती, son of मुकुन्द, on तिथि, संक्रान्ति, अनपेक्षित, आशौच etc. Vide N. vol. IV pp. 289-291; N. (new series) I. p. 349 describes him as the son of रामगोपाल of चतुर्वंश.

अवस्थामेनु by ईश्वरचन्द्रशर्मा; ms. copied in Śaka 1741 (1819-20 A. D.).

अवहारकमलाकर by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण (7th section of धर्मतत्त्व).

अवहारकल्पतरु by लक्ष्मीधर (portion of कल्पतरु). Vide sec. 77.

अवहारकोश by वर्धमान. A part of his तत्त्वामृतसारोद्धार on judicial procedure and civil and criminal law composed under राम, king of मिथिला. Latter half of 15th century.

अवहारकौमुदी by सिद्धान्तबागीशभट्टाचार्य. (Baroda O. I. 10105 dated Śaka 1535).

अवहारचण्डेश्वर m. in संस्कारमण्डल.

अवहारचन्द्रोदय (part of कीर्तिचन्द्रोदय, on judicial procedure and the विवादपद).

अवहारचमत्कार by रूपनारायण, son of भवान्दीदास, son of नाथमल्ल; composed in संवत् 1637 (1580-81) in 13 प्रकरणः (in D. C. ms. No. 199 of A 1883-85 and 14 in Mitra's Notices vol. V. p. 91, which



splits विवाह into two by on astrology in connection with गर्भाधान, पुंसवन, मीनमोक्षवन and the other संस्कारs. विवाह, यात्रा, मन्त्रमामर्णय.

अवधारयिन्तामणि by वाचस्पति. Vide above p. 400; on भाषा, उत्तर, क्रिया and निर्णय. N. III. p. 34.

अवधारतत्त्व by नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट. Sec. 107.

अवधारतत्त्व by गणुनन्दन. Vide sec. 107.

अवधारतत्त्वलोक- vide अवधारालोक.

अवधारतिलक by भट्टदेवभट्ट. Vide sec. 73 pp. 301-302.

अवधारद्वर्ण by अनन्तदेव याज्ञिक. On meaning of अवधार, plain, reply, means of proof, witnesses, documents, possession, judgment.

अवधारद्वर्ण by रामकृष्णभट्ट. On राजधर्म, भाषा, उत्तर, प्रत्यक्षकन्दन, प्राज्ञन्याय, माक्षि, लिखित, भुक्ति, जपपत्र.

अवधारदशश्लोकी Or द्वापदशक by श्रीधरभट्ट.

अवधारदीपिका (part of राजधर्मकोस्तुन).

अवधारदीपिका m. by गृह in दिव्यतत्त्व on ordeals.

अवधारनिर्णय (मौड) m. in शुद्धकमलाकर.

अवधारनिर्णय by मयाराममिश्रनौड residing at Benares, by order of जयसिंह. On judicial procedure and the अवधारद्वय. D. C. ms. 140 of 1892-95 copied in संचत 1885 ( 1798-99 A. D. ).

अवधारनिर्णय by वसुदेवराज; m. in स. वि. नि. मि.; composed about 1500 ( tr. into English by Burnell ).

अवधारनिर्णय by श्रीपति m. in ज्योतिषतत्त्व and तिथितत्त्व of गृह. Pro-

bably astrological as bearing on धर्मशास्त्र.

अवधारपद्वयाम. ( Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 vol. IV p. 4836 ). Breaks off in the midst of 8th topic ( भाषा-निरूपण ), the other seven being अवधारालोकनधर्म, प्राज्ञविशेषधर्म, स-भालक्षण, सम्भलक्षण, सम्भोपदेश, अवधारवरूप, विचारविधि.

अवधारपरिभाषा by हरिदत्तमिश्र.

अवधारपरिशीष्ट.

अवधारप्रकाश by मिश्रमिश्र ( part of धीरमित्रोदय ). Vide sec. 108.

अवधारप्रकाश by शम्भोजी ( king of Tanjore 1798-1833 A. D. ).

अवधारप्रकाश by हरिराम.

अवधारप्रदीप by कल्याणचर्मा.

अवधारप्रदीप by कृष्ण. On astrology applied to धर्मशास्त्र. ( Hp. cat. pp. XX and 253 ) m. in दिव्यतत्त्व by गृह.

अवधारप्रदीप by पद्मनाभमिश्र. On judicial procedure.

अवधारप्रदीपिका m. by वर्धमान.

अवधारमयस by नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107 ( pr. by the Bhandarkar O. Institute Poona, by J. R. Gharpure, Bombay and by V. N. Mandlik ).

अवधारमानुका Or न्यायमानुका Or जीसुत-वाइन. Vide sec. 78 p. 321.

अवधारमाधय- ( the third part of पराक्षरमाधय ).

अवधारमाला by वसुदेवराज, 18th century. Much used in Malabar.

व्यवहारमालिका (Baroda O. I. 6373).

व्यवहारमन्त्र by भातुनाथदेवज्ञ, son of चन्दनानन्द of the भौआलवंश.

व्यवहारमन्त्र by चण्डेश्वर. Sec. 90 p. 367.

व्यवहारमन्त्राली.

व्यवहारशिरोमणि of नारायण, pupil of विज्ञानेश्वर; vide pp. 292-293. Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol. III. part 1 C. p. 3938 No. 2750.

व्यवहारसमुच्चय by हरिगण.

व्यवहारसमुच्चय m. in देवप्रतिष्ठातन्त्र by रघु०, and in वि. सि.

व्यवहारसर्वस्व by सर्वेश्वर, son of विश्वेश्वरदीक्षित, on व्यवहार i. e. judicial procedure etc.

व्यवहारसार by मयाराममिश्र.

व्यवहारसार m. in वि. सि. and निर्णयदीपक.

व्यवहारसारसंग्रह by नारायणशर्मा.

व्यवहारसारसंग्रह by रामनाथ. N. (new series) vol. III p. 192.

व्यवहारसरोद्धार by मधुसूदन गोस्वामी composed under Ranjī Singh of Lahore (1799 A. D.).

व्यवहारसिद्धान्तपीठपत्र by विश्वपति, son of नन्दीवति, at the request of Colebrooke. in Sake 1725 (1803-4 A. D.). C. by author.

व्यवहारसौख्य (part of द्रोहगान्ध).

व्यवहारसूत्रनिर्णय by गौडमयाराममिश्र of Benares at the order of जयसिंह. Deals with judicial procedure and व्यवहारपद (titles of law).

व्यवहारदर्श by चक्रपाणिमिश्र; D. C. ms. No. 247 of 1887-91 deals with भोजनविधि, अभोज्याह्न (ms. is incomplete).

व्यवहारार्थसार by मधुसूदन. Same as व्यवहारसरोद्धार.

व्यवहारार्थस्मृतिसारसमुच्चय by शरभोजी (king of Tanjore 1798-1833 A. D. & Probably same as व्यवहारप्रकाश above.

व्यवहारालोक by गोपालसिद्धान्तवागीश.

व्यवहारोच्चय by सुरेश्वर उपाध्याय; m. by द्रोहगान्ध, वि. सि., गोविन्दार्णव, स्मृति कौस्तुभ. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

व्याघ्रस्मृति or व्याघ्रपादस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (on पा. 3. 30), अपराध, हरदत्त.

व्याघ्रस्मृति Vide sec. 32; pr. in Jivānanda Sm. II. pp. 321-342 and Anan. Sm pp. 357-371 (about 248 verses).

C. by कृष्णनाथ.

व्रततन्त्र.

व्रतपद्धति.

व्रतकमलाकर by कमलाकरभट्ट. Sec. 106.

व्रतकल्प m. by निर्णयदीपक.

व्रतकालनिर्णय by आदित्यभट्ट.

व्रतकालनिर्णय by भारतीरीर्य.

व्रतकालनिरूपण by मधुसूदनवाचस्पति.

व्रतकालविवेक of झूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95.

व्रतकौमुदी of रामकृष्णभट्ट.

व्रतकौमुदी of शङ्करभट्ट.

व्रतकौमुभ.

व्रतसंग्रह ( the first part of the चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि ).

व्रतसूत्रमणि.

व्रततत्त्व of रघु०. Sec. 102.

व्रतनिर्णय by औदुम्बरार्षि.

व्रतपञ्जी by नवरान् of द्रोण family ; son of देवसिंह.

व्रतपद्धति of रुद्रधर महामहोपाध्याय. Vide sec. 96 p. 397. One ms. dated लक्ष्मणसेनसंवत् 344 i. e. 1463 A. D. Hp. cat. XIII and 73 ).

व्रतप्रकाश ( a part of the वीरभिमोदव ).

व्रतप्रकाश- vide व्रतराज.

व्रतप्रकाश by अलन्तदेव.

व्रतप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व by रघु०. Vide व्रततत्त्व.

व्रतप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग or साधारणव्रतप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.

व्रतबन्धपद्धति by रामदत्तमन्त्रिण, son of गणेश्वर ( for राजसनेयशास्त्रा ).

व्रतबोधविशृति or व्रतबोधनीसंग्रह in five परिच्छेदs for वैष्णवs on तिथिनिरूपण, व्रतमहावाङ्मयी, रामनवम्यादिव्रत, मास-निरूपण, वैशाखादिचैत्रान्तमासकृत्यनिरूपण. N. ( new series ) vol. II. p. 182.

व्रतरत्नाकर by सामराज pr. at Sholapur in 1871.

व्रतराज by कौण्डभट्ट.

व्रतराज or व्रतप्रकाश by विश्वनाथ, son of गोपाल. Compiled at Benares in śake 1658 ( 1736 A. D. ); was a Cittapavana Brāhmaṇa of Śaṇḍilya gotra and came from Saṅgameśvara in the Ratnāgiri District. Pr. several times at

Bombay, Ven. Press ed. being the latest.

व्रतपद्धती.

व्रतविवेकभास्कर by कृष्णचन्द्र.

व्रतसंग्रह composed by order of हरिसिंह, king of कर्णाटवंश. First quarter of 14th century.

व्रतसमुच्चय m. by निर्णयदीपक.

व्रतसंपात.

व्रतसागर m. by चण्डेश्वर.

व्रतसार by गदाधर.

व्रतसार by दलपति ( part of मुसिह-प्रसाद ).

व्रतसार by श्रीदत्त. Vide sce. 89.

व्रतसूत्र by रत्नपामिशर्मा, son of गङ्गोलीसजीवेश्वरशर्मा at the order of महेश्वरसिंह, king of मिथिला, son of रुद्रसिंह, son of रुद्रसिंह of स्वर्ण-बल family; mentions श्रीदत्त as one of his authorities and also ज्योतिनिर्बन्ध.

व्रतार्क by गदाधरदीक्षित.

व्रतार्क by शङ्कर, son of नीलकण्ठ ; a huge work ; flourished between 1620-1675; wrote his कुण्डभास्कर in 1671 A. D.; pr. at Lucknow in 1877, 1881.

व्रतोद्घोत ( part of दिनकरोद्घोत ).

व्रतोपायन.

व्रतोपायनकौमुदी by रामकृष्ण based on हेमाद्रि, as he expressly says ; dilates upon those व्रतs that are observed among गौडs.

व्रतोपायनकौमुदी by शङ्कर, son of बल्ललसूरि, surnamed पारे of the चित्त-पावन subcaste. He wrote हीर्योपायनकौमुदी and refers to his कृता-

- बुधानकौमुदी. Composed in Śake 1625 (शके शतवत्स्रचन्द्रे i. e. 1703-4 A. D.); pr. in Bombay at ज्ञान-दर्पण press (1863 A. D.). Peterson (in Ulwar cat. extract 352) wrongly reads वितथापनसंज्ञिता for चित्तापन०.
- व्रतोपवाससंग्रह by निर्भररामभट्ट.
- ब्राह्म्यताप्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय (extracted from the प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखर of नामोजिभट्ट); decides that modern princes are not entitled to have उचनयन performed [pr. in Ch. S. series, two recensions, बृहत् and लघु].
- ब्राह्म्यताशास्त्रे Stein's cat. p. 105.
- ब्राह्म्यताशास्त्रसंग्रह (pr. in Ch. S. series).
- ब्राह्म्यस्तोमपद्धति by माधवाचार्य. N. (new series) vol. III p. 194 (ब्राह्म्य means पतितसावित्रीक).
- शकुनार्णव or शकुनशास्त्र or शकुन by वसन्तराज. Vide under वसन्तरानीय.
- C. by मातृचन्द्रगणि.
- शङ्करगीता m. by कालविवेक of जीपूत०, हेमाद्रि. Earlier than 1000 A. D.
- शङ्कृप्रतिष्ठा (on ceremonies at the time of laying the foundation of a house).
- शङ्करभट्टी.
- शङ्खचक्रधारणवाद by पुरुषोत्तम, son of पीताम्बर (Baroda O. I. 736).
- शङ्खधरसहस्रवचन m. by कालविवेक of जीपूत०.
- शङ्खलिखितधर्मसूत्र. Vide sec. 12.
- C. m. by कृष्णतट्ट and वि. र. B. D. 80.
- शङ्खलिखितरस्मृति- Vide sec. 12; pr. Anan. Sm. pp. 372-373.
- शङ्खस्मृति- Vide sec. 12; pr. Jivana-da Sm. part II pp. 343-374 and Anan. Sm. pp. 374-395.
- शतक्रतुरस्मृति m. in मद्. वा.
- शतचण्डीपद्धति by गोविन्द.
- शतचण्डीप्रयोग by कृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट.
- शतचण्डीविधानपद्धति by जयरामभट्ट.
- शतचण्डीविधानपूजापद्धति vide Stein's cat. p. 237.
- शतचण्डीसहस्रचण्डीप्रयोग by कमलाकर (from his शान्तिरत्न).
- शतद्वयी on प्रायश्चित्त. Vide प्रायश्चित्त-शतद्वयी.
- C. प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका.
- शतश्लोकी by बल्लभट्ट.
- शतश्लोकी by वेङ्कटेश.
- शतानन्दसंग्रह m. by कालसार of गदाधर. शत्रुघ्नी.
- शत्रुमित्रोपशान्ति.
- शय्यादान.
- शरदशस्मृति m. in व्रतप्रकाश or व्रतराज.
- शाकटाघनस्मृति m. in अपराक, आश्व-मयूख.
- शाकलस्मृति m. in व्यवहारमयूख, दत्तक-मीमांसा.
- शाङ्गव्यनपुस्तकारिका.
- शाङ्गव्यनपुस्तकनिर्णय.
- शाङ्गव्यनपुस्तकपरिशिष्ट m. in नि. सि. and संस्कारकौस्तुभ.
- शाङ्गव्यनपुस्तकसंस्कारपद्धति of विम्बनाथ.
- शाङ्गव्यनपुस्तकसंग्रह by बाह्यदेव, son of ईजठ (pr. in Ben. S. series);

Stein's cat. p. 19 gives संवत् 1428 as the date.

शाङ्ख्यनृसूत्र (edited by Oldenberg in Indische Studien, vol. 15 pp. 1-166 and translated in S. B. E. vol. 29).

C. (भाष्य) by ब्रह्मदत्त quoted in कल्पतरु according to शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II, p. 312). Earlier than 1100 A. D.

C. (on four अध्याय only). N. vol. I pp. 2-4.

C. प्रयोगदीप by दयाशङ्कर, son of धरणीधर.

C. अर्थदर्पण by रघुनाथ.

C. सूत्रसूत्रपद्धति or आधारपद्धति by रामचन्द्र, son of सूर्यदास, son of शिवदास, son of श्रीधरमालव.

C. सूत्रप्रदीपक by नारायण, son of रुक्मजी द्विवेदी, son of श्रीपति; gives pedigree of family which was नागर from श्रीपादलापुरी in Gujerat. श्रीपति was 8th from चण्डांशु of that family. Work composed in 1629 (चर्चें नन्दकरतुल्यचन्द्रसंमति माये &c.) probably of विक्रम era (i. e. in 1573 A. D.); ms. in Bombay University Library. He wrote सूत्रसूत्रपद्धति also. Vide Ulwar cat. for a long extract and D. C. No. 6 of 1879-80.

C. बालाचबोधपद्धति.

शाङ्ख्यनार्त्तिक or-त्तिकदीपिका by अचल, son of बन्तराज. About 1518 A. D.

छात्रापायन or-तिस्मृति m. in कालविवेक of जीह्वल, अपराक.

शाण्डिल्यसूत्र m. by रुद्रदत्त on आप-स्तम्बधौतसूत्र 9. 11. 21.

शाण्डिल्यधर्मशास्त्र (in verse) on गर्भाधानादिसंस्कार, ब्रह्मचारिधर्म, गृहस्थ-विहितधर्म, गृहस्थनिषिद्धधर्म, वर्णधर्म, देहशोधन, सावित्रीजपवि, चतुर्वर्णदोष. (Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 vol. IV, p. 5153).

शाण्डिल्यस्मृति m. in मित<sup>०</sup> (पा. III. 280), स्मृतिच<sup>०</sup>, मत्सरिभाष्य on गौतमधर्मसूत्र; in five अध्याय on भागवताचार (cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol V, p. 1991; Baroda O. I. No. 7966).

शातातपस्मृति- Vide sec. 28; pr. Jivananda Sm. part II, pp. 435-455 and Anan. Sm. pp. 396-410.

शातातपस्मृति in mixed prose and verse on expiation and आचार (I. O. cat. p. 398).

शातातपस्मृति in 12 अध्याय (I. O. cat. p. 399).

शातातपस्मृति in 87 अध्याय and 2376 verses (N. vol. II p. 4).

शान्तिकमलाकर or शान्तिरत्न of कमलाकरभट्ट on the propitiatory rites in case of portents. Vide sec. 106; pr. at Bombay.

शान्तिकल्पदीपिका on propitiatory rites for several happenings such as the following, viz. of a frog in domestic fire, पल्लीपतन, birth of a child on सल or मास्लेवा नक्षत्र etc.

शान्तिकल्पदीप or कृत्वापलुबदीपिका by श्रीकृष्णविद्यावागीश. On incantations for killing, subjugating or bewitching rivals. N. vol. II. p. 107 and vol. V. p. 275 (ms. dated संवत् 1851).

शान्तिकल्पलता Anon.

शान्तिकल्याणी.

शान्तिकविधि of वसिष्ठ in 213 verses. See वासिष्ठीभाष्य above. वसिष्ठ tells राम why the latter and others like रावण, वाण्डवः, कंस suffered from unfavourable stars and dilates upon अयुतहोम, लक्ष-होम, कोटिहोम, नवग्रहहोम. Employs मन्त्रs from माध्यन्दिनीयशाखा (vide D. C. ms. No. 104 of 1871-72).

शान्तिकौमुदी of कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण. Probably the same as शान्तिकमलाकर.

शान्तिकौस्तुभ (C. P. cat. No. 5585).

शान्तिगणपति by गणपति रावळ. About 1685 A. D.

शान्तिचन्द्रिका by कपीन्द्र ; m. in his काव्यचन्द्रिका (vide Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. p. 211 b).

शान्तिचरित्र.

शान्तिचिन्तामणि by कुलमुनि m. in his नीतिप्रकाश.

शान्तिचिन्तामणि by शिवराम, son of विश्वराम of मोह caste.

शान्तितत्त्वाश्रुत or शान्तिकतत्त्वाश्रुत by नारायणचक्रवर्ती. Names अद्भुत-सामर. Defines शान्ति as 'यथा शस्त्रो-पधातानां कवचं विनिवारणम् । तथ-

दैवोपधातानां शान्तिर्भवति धारणम् ॥ एतेन अद्भुतद्वारा ऐहिकमात्रानिष्टनिवारणं शान्तिः ॥'.

शान्तिदीपिका m. by रघु in शुद्धि-तत्त्व, संस्कारतत्त्व, एकादशीतत्त्व, भास्व-तत्त्व (p. 195).

शान्तिनिर्णय.

शान्तिपद्धति by शिवराम, son of विश्वराम. It deals with rites propitiating the nine *grahas* (planets) according to Sāmaveda. The author wrote also छन्दोगानी-पादिक. Ms. (I. O. cat. p. 570 No. 1762) dated संवत् 1806 (1749-50 A. D.).

शान्तिपारिजात by अनन्तभट्ट.

शान्तिपुस्तक.

शान्तिपौष्टिक of वर्षमान.

शान्तिप्रकरण (बौधायनीय).

शान्तिप्रकार by गोभिल (same as the first 7 chapters of the कर्मप्रदीप).

शान्तिप्रकाश (from the बीरमित्रोद्घ).

शान्तिभाष्य by वेदमिश्र. Same as वासिष्ठीभाष्य.

शान्तिमयूर of नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107 ; pr. in Bombay by J. R. Gharpure.

शान्तिरत्न or शान्तिरत्नाकर of कमलाकरभट्ट. Sec. 106 (BBRAS cat. p. 234 No. 729). Vide शान्तिकमलाकर above.

शान्तिविवेक by विश्वनाथ on rites for propitiating planets etc. (part of मदनरत्न). Vide Ulwar cat. extract 353 for table of contents.

शान्तिसर्वस्व m. in नि. सि., संस्कार-  
कौस्तुभ.

शान्तिसार by दलपतिराज (part of  
सुसिंहप्रसाद).

शान्तिसार by दिनकरभट्ट, son of राम-  
कृष्ण. A very big work on pro-  
pitatory rites like अयुतहोम, लक्ष-  
होम, कोटिहोम, ग्रहशान्ति, वैनायकी-  
शान्ति, विवाहादौ शुद्धशान्ति; pr. in  
Bombay several times, the most  
recent edition being that of  
Venk. Press.

शान्तिहोम by माधव.

शान्त्युद्घोत part of मदनरत्न. Vide  
sec. 94.

शापविमोचन.

शान्धव्यसृष्टसूत्र.

शारदाक्रमदीपिका m. in दुर्गासप्तविधेक  
and by रघु०.

शारदालोक by लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्र, son  
of श्रीकृष्ण, son of विजयाचार्य of  
वारेन्द्रकुल. Rather a Tantric work  
very frequently quoted in धर्म-  
शास्त्र works; m. by सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह,  
by रघु० in दिव्यतत्त्व. Earlier than  
1300 A. D.

C. m. in कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण by  
रामभाजपेयी in 1449-50 A. D.

C. गृहार्थदीपिका by त्रिविक्रमज्ञ पु-  
pil of श्रीरामभारती.

C. गृहार्थप्रकाशिका by कामरूपपति.

C. गृहार्थसार by विक्रमभट्ट.

C. by काशीनाथ.

C. तन्त्रप्रदीप by लक्ष्मणदेशिक (Is  
there some confusion of the  
author with the com?).

C. तन्त्रप्रदीप by गदाधर, son of  
राघवेन्द्र; composed when रामभट्ट,

son of भैरवेन्द्र, ruled over मिथिला.  
About 1450 A. D. Vide N. vol,  
VI p. 233.

C. by नारायण.

C. प्रकाश by मधुरानाथशुक्ल.

C. by माधव.

C. पदार्थदर्श by राघवभट्ट, son of  
पृथ्वीधर, son of रामेश्वर; m. in  
व्रतराज. Author's family migrat-  
ed from जनस्थान (Nasik) on  
गोदावरी to Benares. Composed  
in 1550 रीटपौषति 12 (probably  
of the विक्रम era). Vide Ulwar  
cat. extract 669.

C. by रामदीक्षित.

C. शब्दार्थचिन्तामणि by प्रेमनिधिपन्थ.

C. हर्षकौस्तुभ by श्रीहर्षदीक्षित.

शारदाचांप्रयोग by रामचन्द्र.

शालग्रामदानकल्प.

शालग्रामदानपद्धति by बाबादेव. Vide  
I. O. cat. p. 593 No. 1805 (ms.  
dated संवत् 1858 i. e. 1801-2).

शालग्रामनिर्णय.

शालग्रामपरीक्षा by शङ्करदेवज्ञ. (I. O.  
cat. p. 592).

शालग्रामवरीक्षा (Bik. cat. p. 450).  
A different work.

शालग्रामलक्षण ano. N. (new series)  
II. p. 187.

शालग्रामलक्षण by तुरगवदनपण्डित.

शालग्रामलक्षण by सदाशिवद्विवेदी.

शालग्रामपनस्थिति m. by स्थितिच०, हेमाद्रि,  
मद. वा., नि. सि.

शालाकर्मपद्धति (a part of वृषाकर्म-  
दीपिका of पद्मपति).



शास्त्रदीप by अग्निहोत्रि लुहरि ; ms. (Baroda O. I. 8132) dated संवत् 1664 (1607-8 A. D.) deals with प्रापञ्चित and refers to portion of the work on उपबहार.

शास्त्रदीपाधरमा.

शास्त्रमारावलि by हरिभाद्रशुक्ल.

शास्त्रमारोद्धार by कृष्ण of the होरित्क family by order of खानन्त राय (?) (vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 133a). Mentions देमात्रि, माधव, मदनराज. Later than 1450 A. D.

शास्त्रोपदेशक्रम.

शिक्षाभट्टीय or शिक्षाभट्टीय m. in नि. मि. Vide C. P. cat. 5670-71.

शिक्षिकादान.

शिवतत्त्वप्रकाशिका by भोजदेव.

शिवतत्त्वसूत्रनाकर by king वसन्तनाथक I of the Keladi dynasty ; contains a chapter on polity. Divided into कट्टोल, each कट्टोल being divided into तरङ्ग. Published by B. M. Nath and Co. at Madras.

शिवदमनार्चनपद्धति composed for चिनयसिंह a former Maharaja of Ulwar. (Ulwar cat. No. 1485).

शिवपुष्पमणिदीपिका- the same as दिन-करोद्घोत.

शिवपुजनपद्धति by हरिराय.

शिवपूजा (अपोरपद्धति) Vide Bik. cat. p. 611.

शिवपूजातरङ्गिणी by काशीनाथ, son of जयराम, surnamed जट्टे.

शिवपूजापद्धति Ano. (N. vol. II p. 225).

शिवपूजापद्धति by राघवानन्दनाथ.

शिवपूजाप्रकार.

शिवपूजानंग्रह by बलभेन्द्रसरस्वती.

शिवपूजातुल्यव्याख्यान by रामचन्द्र, son of पाण्डुरङ्ग of the अग्निमोक्ष. Explains वीषायन (युद्ध) सूत्र on शिवपूजा beginning with अध्यातो महादेवस्थादहः परिवर्षाविधि व्याख्या-स्यामः. N. vol. X p. 347.

शिवप्रतिष्ठा by कमलाकर.

शिवरात्रिकल्प.

शिवरात्रिनिर्णय by शिवोपाध्याय. Vide महाशिवरात्रिनिर्णय.

शिवलिङ्गपरीक्षा.

शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाक्रम.

शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.

शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाविधि by अनन्त.

शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाविधि by रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट.

शिववाक्यावली by चण्डेश्वर, son of वीरेश्वर. Sec. 90.

शिवमर्वस्व m. in नि. सि. and by रघु०.

शिवानुपदनदीपिका by हरि.

शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका m. in नि. सि.

शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका by अप्यप्यदीक्षित.

शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका by श्रीनिवासभट्ट, son of श्रीनिकेतन in 16 प्रकाश.

शिवार्चनपद्धति by अमरेश्वर.

शिवार्चनशिरोमणि by नारायणानन्दनाथ.

शिवार्चनशिरोमणि by ब्रह्मानन्दनाथ, pupil of लोकानन्दनाथ, in 20 उद्घात.

शिवालयप्रतिष्ठा by राधाकृष्ण.

शिवाष्टशतितत्त्वप्रकाश by रामेश्वर, pupil of महाशिवेन्द्रसरस्वती.

शिष्टिभाष्य- vide बीषायनसूत्रभाष्य.

शुक्रनीतिसार (pr. by Oppert at Madras in 1892 and by Jivananda in 1892 and tr. by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar in S. B. H. series) in four chapters in about 2500 verses. Speaks of राजधर्म, missiles, gunpowder &c.

शुक्राष्टमी.

शुद्धदीपिका of दुर्गन्ध (Hp. cat. pp. XXI and 255). Compiled from ग्रन्थोपसारा.

शुद्धमौल्य.

शुद्धिकारिका.

(1) based on रघुनन्दन's शुद्धितत्त्व by रामभद्रन्यायालङ्कार.

(2) by नारायणवन्द्योपाध्याय. N. (new series) II. p. 196.

शुद्धिकारिकाद्वी by मोहनचन्द्रशास्त्रपति. N. (new series) I. pp. 367-369; mentions शुद्धिरत्नाकर.

शुद्धिकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द; pr. in B. I. series. Vide sec. 101.

शुद्धिकौमुदी by महेश्वर on सहगमन, आशौच, सपिण्डतानिरूपण, गर्भभ्राता-शौच, सप्तःशौच, शबानुगमनाशौच, अन्येष्टिविधि, मृतपुरुषन्य, अस्त्रिसंचयन, उदकादिदान, पिण्डोदकदान, स्नानोत्सर्ग, व्रतक्रियाधिकारि, ग्रन्थशुद्धि.

शुद्धिकौमुदी by सिद्धान्तबागीशभट्टाचार्य (Baroda O. I. 10183).

शुद्धिगुच्छ m. in कालमात्र of गदाधर.

शुद्धिचन्द्रिका by कालिदास (Hultzsch R. I. No. 93).

शुद्धिचन्द्रिका com. on षडशीति or आशौचनिर्णय of कौशिकद्विष by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

शुद्धिचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Vide sec. 98.

शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०. Vide sec. 102; pr. by Jivananda.

C. by काशीराम वाचस्पति, son of राधावल्लभ, residing at विष्णुपुर in Bankura; pr. at Calcutta 1884, 1907.

C. by गुरुप्रसादन्यायभूषणभट्टाचार्य. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 371.

C. by राधामोहनशर्मा, pr. at Calcutta, 1884, 1907.

शुद्धितत्त्वकारिका by रामभद्रन्यायालङ्कार. Same as शुद्धिकारिका above.

शुद्धितत्त्वकारिका of हरिनारायण. Based on शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०.

शुद्धितत्त्वार्णव of श्रीनाथ m. in शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II p. 257) of रघु०. About 1475-1525.

शुद्धिदर्पण of अनन्तदेव शास्त्रिक. Defines शुद्धि as विहितकर्माह्वयप्रशोजको धर्मचिन्तः शुद्धिः. Contains almost same topics as in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द.

शुद्धिदीप or-प्रदीप by केशवभट्ट. Same subjects treated as in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द.

शुद्धिदीप m. in नि. सि. and विधान-परिज्ञात and शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर.

शुद्धिदीपिका.

(1) of श्रीनिवास महीन्तापनीय in eight अध्याय on ज्योतिःशास्त्र-शंसा and राशिनिर्णय, ग्रहनिर्णय, ताराशुद्धिनिर्णय, वारादिनिर्णय, वि-

बाहनिर्णय, जातकनिर्णय, नामादि-  
निर्णय, पात्रानिर्णय. Composed  
about 1159-60 A. D. (vide  
Ind. Ant., vol. 51 for 1922  
pp. 146-147); m. in ब्राह्मण-  
सर्वरथ of हलाह्व. Mentions  
बराहमिहिर by name and quotes  
largely from his works.

C. प्रभा by कृष्णाचार्य.

C. प्रकाश by राधवाचार्य (pr. at  
Calcutta in 1901).

C. अर्थकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द  
कविकृष्णाचार्य, son of गणपति-  
भट्ट. Vide sec. 101 p. 415; pr.  
at Calcutta in 1901.

by दुर्गन्त. Based on प्रपञ्चसार.  
(Hp. cat. pp. XXI and 255).

by नारायणसर्वज्ञ.

by केशवभट्ट. Same as शुद्धि-  
प्रदीप.

शुद्धिदीपिकावृत्ति by मधुरानाथशर्मन्.

शुद्धिनिबन्ध of मुरारि, son of रुद्रशर्मन्.  
His grandfather हरिहर was chief  
judge of देवसिंह, eldest son of  
भवेश of मिथिला and his great-  
grand-father जयधर लाह was  
chief judge of भवेश. About 1450  
A. D.

शुद्धिनिर्णय by उमापति.

शुद्धिनिर्णय by गोपाल.

शुद्धिनिर्णय by वाचस्पति महामहोपाध्याय  
सन्निध. Vide sec. 98 p. 405.

शुद्धिपत्री m. in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु.

शुद्धिप्रकाश by (हरि) भास्कर of Bena-  
res, son of आपाजिभट्ट, son of  
हरिभट्ट, son of पुरुषोत्तम who was

a resident of अम्बकेन्दरपुरी. Com-  
posed in संवत् 1752 (हीणुसत्तेन्दु-  
चम्परे) i. e. 1695-96 A. D. Vide  
N. vol. II. p. 126 for the same  
author's com. (सेतु) on वृत्त-  
त्ताकर (composed in 1732 संवत्).

शुद्धिप्रकाश m. by रघु in शुद्धितत्त्व.

शुद्धिप्रकाश by कृष्णशर्मन्, son of नर-  
सिंह at the bidding of छोटाराय.

शुद्धिप्रदीप of केशवभट्ट. Vide शुद्धिदीप  
above.

शुद्धिप्रदीपिका by कृष्णदेवभार्तृवागीश.

शुद्धिप्रभा by वाचस्पति.

शुद्धिभिन्व m. in शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर.  
Earlier than 1425 A. D.

शुद्धिमकरन्द by सिद्धान्तवाचस्पति.

शुद्धिमयूख by नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec.  
107 (pr. by J. R. Gharpure  
in Bombay).

शुद्धिमृत्तावली by महामहोपाध्याय भीम  
of अश्विनिदीपकुल (in Bengal).  
On आशौच. N. (new series)  
II p. 201.

शुद्धिरत्न from the अनुपबिलास.

शुद्धिरत्न by दयाशङ्कर.

शुद्धिरत्न by मणिनाम, son of गङ्गाराम.

शुद्धिरत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर. Vide sec.  
90 p. 367.

शुद्धिरत्नाङ्कुर by मधुरानाथचक्रवर्ती.

शुद्धिलोचन.

शुद्धिचोमृत्ताङ्कुर by माणिक्यदेव  
(styled भगवन्निष्ठ and पण्डिताचार्य)  
on आशौच, आपद्धर्म, प्रापञ्चिक &c.  
(Tri. cat. of Madras Govt.  
mss. for 1919-22 p. 5474).

**शुद्धिविवेक.**

- (1) by कदधर, son of लक्ष्मीधर and youngest brother of इलधर. Vide sec. 96 p. 396.
- (2) by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकराचार्य. Mentions इलपाणि at end. 1475-1525 A. D.
- (3) a portion of the हारलता by अनिरुद्ध.
- (4) by इलपाणि. Vide sec. 95.

**शुद्धिविवेकोद्घोत**—part of मदनरत्न.

**शुद्धिव्यवस्थासङ्क्षेप** of चिन्तामणिन्याय-  
धामीश, a native of गौड़. A part  
of रघुतिथ्यवस्थासङ्क्षेप; ms. copied  
in śāke 1610 (1688-89 A. D.).  
Vide N. vol. IV p. 130. He  
wrote similar works on तिथि,  
प्रायश्चित्त, उद्वाह, आशु and दाव.

**शुद्धिव्यवस्थासंग्रह.****शुद्धिसार.**

- (1) by रुक्मदेव स्मार्तशास्त्रीश, अथर्व-  
पटीपत्राग्राहण.
- (2) by गदाधर.
- (3) by श्रीकण्ठशर्मन. N. (new  
series) vol. I. p. 372.

**शुद्धितेजु** by उमाशङ्कर.

**हानःपुच्छरघुति** m. in मिता<sup>८</sup> (या. III.  
16), अपराक.

**शुभकर्मनिर्णय** by मुरारिमिश्र. Treats of  
domestic rites according to गो-  
भिल. Gives pedigree of patron  
as king लक्ष्मीनारायण of बङ्गदेश-  
his son रूपनारायण-वीरनारायण-ज-  
ननारायण-जगन्नाथरायण-त्रिविक्रमनारायण,  
who is said to have written the

work with the help of मुरारि,  
whose *gurus* were रामभद्र and  
केशवमिश्र. About end of 15th  
century. (N. vol. VI p. 7).

**शुभकर्मदाकर** or **शुभधर्मतत्त्व** of कमला-  
करभट्ट. Vide sec. 106.

**शुभकर्मरुति** m. in शुभाचारशिरोमणि of  
शेषरुण.

**शुभकुलदीपिका** by रामानन्दशर्मा. Deals  
with genealogy and history of  
the Kayasths of Bengal (N. vol.  
II p. 55).

**शुभरूप** by लालबहादुर.

**शुभरूपविचारतत्त्व** of रघु<sup>८</sup>. Vide sec.  
102.

**शुभजनपविषाद.**

**शुभधर्मतत्त्व** of कमलाकरभट्ट. The same  
as शुभकमलाकर.

**शुभधर्मबोधिनी** by मदनपाल; the same  
as the रघुतिथ्यौमुदी of मदनपाल.  
Sec. 93 pp. 383-384.

**शुभधर्मोद्घोत**—part of दिनकरोद्घोत,  
completed by नागाभट्ट.

**शुभपञ्चसंस्कारविधि** by कदधर.

**शुभपद्धति** by अपिपाल, son of देवदत्तपाल,  
son of त्रिविक्रम, son of मकरन्द-  
पाल. One ms. copied in śāke  
1442 i. e. 1520 A. D. (N. vol.  
V. p. 302) in गौड़देश; m. in  
आशुक्रियाकौमुदी and in आशुतत्त्व.  
Expressly says that it was based  
on सोममिश्र's work. The English  
note in N. is wrong. The verse  
at the end says distinctly that  
it was copied in śāke सुरमसरोज-  
सम्भयसुसाम्भोराशिचन्द्रान्विते i. e.  
śāke 1442 (1520 A. D.).

शूद्रपद्धति by गोपाल, son of कृष्ण, son of गोपाल surnamed उदास. A very large work on 10 संस्कारs of शूद्रs viz. गर्भाधान, पुंसवन, अन-  
वलोभन, गीमन्तोन्नयन, जातकर्म, नाम-  
करण, निष्क्रमण, अन्नप्राशन, चूडाकर्म,  
विवाह and also on पञ्चमहायज्ञs. Refers to मयूख and शुद्धितत्त्व. Later than 1640 A. D. Portion on संस्कार is styled also संस्कार-  
दीपिका.

शूद्रपद्धति published by कृष्णराज as a part of स्मृतिमहाराज. Mentions मदनरत्न. Begins with गोदान. Baroda O. I. No. 8023.

शूद्रविवेक by रामशङ्कर.

शूद्रभास्वपद्धति by रामदत्तठक्कर.

शूद्रपदकर्मचन्द्रिका.

शूद्रसंस्कारदीपिका by गोपालभट्ट, son of कृष्णभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 8975).

शूद्रसंकर (Ulwar cat. No. 1492).

शूद्रस्मृति.

शूद्राचार. Appears to contain only extracts from पुराणs.

शूद्राचारचिन्तामणि by शाल्वन्तमिथ, written at the court of हरितारा-  
यण of मिथिला. Vide sec. 98.

शूद्राचारपद्धति of रामदत्तठक्कर. It is doubtful whether he is the same as रामदत्त, cousin of चण्डे-  
श्वर.

शूद्राचारविवेकपद्धति by गोविन्दमिथ.

शूद्राचारशिरोमणि by कृष्णशेष, son of सुसिंहशेष, who wrote गोविन्दार्णव. Work composed at request of

H. D. 81.

विलाजीचुप, son of केशवदास, who showed his prowess in the south and is styled परमवैष्णव. D. C. ms. No. 55 of 1872-73 was copied at सतम्भतीर्थ (modern Cambay) in संवत् 1647 फाल्गुन वदि ४ गुरौ (4th March 1591). Names गोविन्दार्णव, मिताक्षरा, शङ्ख-  
धर, शूद्रकर्मपद्धति, शूद्रोत्पत्ति, स्मृति-  
कीमुदी and is mentioned in आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण (on शूद्रयज्ञ). Between 1520-1590 A. D. For the शेष family, vide Ind. Ant. vol. 41 p. 245 ff.

शूद्राचारसंग्रह or सच्छूद्राचार by मवर-  
सौन्दर्यभट्ट.

शूद्राहःकृततत्त्व or-प्रयोग of रघु०. N. (new series) vol. II p. 200.

शूद्रादिक.

शूद्रादिकाचार of श्रीगर्भ. Palm-leaf ms. dated Śaka 1462 i. e. 1540-41 A. D.

शूद्रादिकाचारसार by यादवेन्द्रशर्मा, under order of रघुदेव, prince of गौड, son of वासुदेव. N. (new series) I. p. 373.

शूद्रोपपद्धति.

शूद्रोत्पत्ति m. in शूद्राचारशिरोमणि of शेषकृष्ण.

शूद्रोद्घोत- vide शूद्रधर्मोद्घोत above.

शैवकल्पद्रुम by अण्णयदीक्षित.

शैवकल्पद्रुम by लक्ष्मीचन्द्रमिथ.

शैवतत्त्वप्रकाश.

शैवतत्त्वशास्त्र.

शैवतात्पर्यसंग्रह.

शैवधर्मखण्डन.

शैवरनाकर by ज्योतिर्नाथ. Hultsch  
R. I. No. 76.

शैववैष्णवप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.

शैववैष्णवमतखण्डन.

शैवसर्वस्य of हलायुध m. in his *Abhyasa-*  
*sarvasya*.

शैवसर्वस्वसार by विद्यापति, composed  
at the bidding of queen विश्वास-  
देवी, wife of पद्मसिंह of मिथिला,  
son of शिवसिंह, son of देवसिंह,  
son of भवेश. Between 1400-  
1450 A. D. (N. vol. VI.  
pp. 1-5).

शैवमिद्धान्तदीपिका.

शैवमिद्धान्तशेखर or मिद्धान्तशेखर m.  
in नि. सि.

शैवमिद्धान्तसंग्रह.

शैवमिद्धान्तसार.

शैवमिद्धान्तसाराचलि or मिद्धान्तसारा-  
चलि.

शैवालिक

शैवालक्षण.

शैवचतुष्टयविवृति by भट्टाचार्य.

शैवाचमनविधि.

शैवाचारपद्धति m. by हेमाद्रि in व्रत-  
खण्ड 1. 59.

शौनकाकारिका or शौनकोक्तृकारिका  
(D. C. ms. 97 of 1869-70).  
An extensive work in 20 अध्याय  
in verse on domestic rites.  
Mentions आश्वलायनाचार्य, five  
शाखा of the ऋग्वेद, सर्वानुक्रमणी;  
ms. written in संवत् 1653 (1566-  
67 A. D.). Vide Bik. cat. p. 152

for शौनकाकारिकाs and Baroda O  
I. No. 8637.

शौनकाकारिकावली (C. P. cat. 5898).

शौनकगृह्य m. by विश्वरूप, अपरार्क,  
हेमाद्रि.

शौनकगृह्यपरिशिष्ट m. by अपरार्क  
(two verses) on p. 525.

शौनकपञ्चसूत्र.

शौनकस्मृति. Vide BBRAS cat.  
p. 208 for a large work in verse  
on पुण्याहवाचन, नान्दीश्राद्ध, स्वाली-  
पाक, ग्रहशान्ति, गर्भोधान and other  
संस्कारs, उत्सर्जनोपाकर्म, बृहस्पतिशान्ति,  
मधुपर्क, पिण्डपितृयज्ञ, पार्वणश्राद्ध,  
आश्वयण, प्राणश्रित्त &c. Mentions  
आचार्यस्मृति, प्रयोगपारिजात, बृहस्पति,  
मनु.

शौनकी—on the worship of the 9  
ग्रहs.

श्रवणद्वादशीनिर्णय by गोपालदेशिक.

श्राद्धकमल m. in श्राद्धकल्पलता of  
मन्दपाण्डित.

श्राद्धकला the 5th part of the स्मृति-  
चन्द्र of भवदेवशर्मन्. Mentions  
कल्बतक's definition of श्राद्ध 'पितृ-  
नुविश्य ब्रह्मत्यागो ब्राह्मणास्वीकारपर्य-  
न्तम्'. N. vol. I. p. 299.

श्राद्धकलिका alias श्राद्धपद्धति of रघुनाथ.  
He bows to भट्टनारायण. Quotes  
कालादर्श, धर्मप्रवृत्ति, निर्णयासूत, नारा-  
यणवृत्तिरुद, जयन्तस्वामी, हेमाद्रि,  
हरदत्त, स्मृतिरत्नावलि. (D. C. ms.  
No. 421 of 1891-95).

श्राद्धकलिकाविवरण of विश्वरूपाचार्य  
m. in वृणवतिश्राद्धनिर्णय of शिव-  
भट्ट.

आश्वकल्प (मानव) BBRAS cat. vol. II p. 177.

(1) (कात्यायनीय) also called आश्वकल्पसूत्र or नवकण्डिकाआश्वसूत्र in 9 chapters followed by 9 श्लोकस on आश्व ceremonies; pr. at Gujarati P. with several com.

C. प्रयोगपद्धति (N. vol. II p. 174).

C. (आश्वविधिभाष्य) by कर्क (pr. Gujarati P.).

C. आश्वकाशिका of कृष्णमित्र, son of विष्णुमित्र, son of अतिशुख, son of निष्पानन्द; m. in नि. सि. Refers to कर्क's and हलायुध's com. (pr. by Gujarati P.).

C. by गदाधर, son of वामन (Ulwar cat. 1509 and extract 358); pr. Gujarati P.

C. आश्वसूत्रार्थमञ्जरी by गदाधर.

C. by नीलाम्बर, son of सङ्कर्षण (Ulwar cat. extract 44).

C. by समुद्रकर (m. in तिथितन्त्र p. 174).

C. by हलायुध, son of सङ्कर्षण. Mentions गोविन्दराज and शङ्कर and is m. by आश्वकाशिका. Vide p. 301 above. It appears from the introductory and final verses that the ms. (BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 170) is the same as the Ulwar ms. and that नीलाम्बर is a wrong reading of the original नीलाम्बर which means हलायुध. यजुर्वेदिआश्वतन्त्र (Jivananda vol. II p. 496) expressly mentions the भाष्य of नीलाम्बर on कात्यायन.

(2) a परिशिष्ट of the मानवसूत्र.

(3) गोभिलीय.

C. by महायज्ञम् (Baroda O. I. 12895).

(4) मैत्रायणीय.

(5) 44th परिशिष्ट of अथर्ववेद.

(6) वामिह.

आश्वकल्प.

by काशीनाथ.

by भर्तृहर.

by वाचस्पति. Also styled पितृभक्तितरङ्गिणी. Vide sec. 98.

by श्रीदत्त. Also styled छन्दोग-आश्व. Vide sec. 89 p. 364. Based on स्मृति, सूत्र, पुराण and गोपाल and सूत्र (N. vol. III. p. 34 and II. p. 364).

by हेमचन्द्र (Peterson's 6th Report p. 144. Refers to चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि as his work.

आश्वकल्पदीप of होरिलत्रिपाठी.

आश्वकल्पद्रुम.

आश्वकल्पना (vide I. O. cat. p. 558).

आश्वकल्पभाष्य- vide under गोभिलीय-आश्वकल्प.

आश्वकल्पलता of गोविन्दपण्डित; m. by नन्दपण्डित in his आश्वकल्पलता.

आश्वकल्पलता by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

आश्वकल्पसार by शङ्करभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट.

C. by author. Vide Stein's cat. pp. 105, 316.

आश्वकल्पसूत्र- vide आश्वकल्प (कात्यायनीय) above.



आद्यकल्पसूत्र or नवकण्डिकासूत्र 6th परिशिष्ट of कल्पपात्र; vide नवकण्डिकासूत्र.

आद्यकाण्ड from the प्रयोगपारिजात of वृत्तिह.

आद्यकाण्ड by मद्रोजि.

आद्यकाण्ड by वैद्यनाथ दीक्षित, part of स्थितिमुक्ताफल.

आद्यकाण्डसंग्रह by वैद्यनाथ. Probably same as आद्यकाण्ड above.

आद्यकारिका Ulwar cat. No. 1496 and extract 354.

आद्यकारिका by केशवजीवानन्दशर्मा.

आद्यकार्पण्यनिर्णयसंक्षेप.

आद्यकालनिरूपण by मधुसूदन वाचस्पति.

आद्यकालनिर्णय.

आद्यकाशिका by कृष्ण, son of विष्णुमिश्र, son of अतिसुख, son of निवृत्तानन्द (pr. in Gujarati Press ed. of पारस्करसूत्र). Mentions कर्क, धर्मप्रदीप, इलायुध and is m. by नन्दपरिहित in आद्यकल्पलता and आद्यमण्डल. Between 1300-1500 A. D.

आद्यकल्पप्रदीप by होलिल. Ulwar cat. extract 355 gives summary of contents.

आद्यकौमुदी or आद्यक्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द. Vide sec. 101; pr. in B. I. Series.

आद्यक्रम by याज्ञिकदेव, son of महादेव.

आद्यसंग्रह- from प्रयोगपारिजात of वृत्तिह.

आद्यमण्डपति or आद्यमण्डप of रामकृष्ण, son of कोण्डभट्ट (C. P. cat.

No. 5921). Vide आद्यसंग्रह below.

आद्यचन्द्रिका.

(1) by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of बालकृष्ण, of the भारद्वाज-सौत्र. Part of his धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि. An अनुक्रमणी to it was prepared by his son वैद्यनाथ. Vide under आचारार्क. About 1680 A. D.

(2) by नन्दन.

(3) by रामचन्द्रभट्ट.

(4) by रुद्रधर, pupil of चण्डेश्वर. Quotes वर्धमान's definition of आद्य 'संबन्धपदोपनीतात् पितृवृद्धिदय प्रत्यन्यागः आद्यम्.' N. vol. VIII p. 270.

(5) by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकराचार्य; m. in यजुर्वेदिआद्यतत्त्व p. 493 as his teacher's work, which criticizes श्रीवत्स. 1475-1525 A. D.

आद्यचन्द्रिकाप्रकाश- same as आद्यचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर.

आद्यचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र; pr. at Benares in Śāke 1814. Vide sec. 98.

C. भावदीपिका by महामहोपाध्याय वामदेव (N. vol. V. 165).

आद्यचिन्तामणि by शिवराम, son of श्रीविश्राम शूद्र. Styled प्रयोगपद्धति or सुयोधिनी; summarises section on आद्य in his कृत्यचिन्तामणि (vide I. O. cat. p. 538).

आद्यतत्त्व by रघु०. Vide sec. 102; pr. by Jivaranda.

- C. विवृति by काशीराम बाबूपति, son of राधाचन्द्र (pr. in Bengali characters at Calcutta ).
- C. भाषार्थदीपिका by गङ्गाधरचक्रवर्ती.
- C. आनन्दतत्त्वादर्श by विष्णुरामसिन्धान्तवागीश, son of जयदेवविद्यावागीश. He commented on प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व also.
- आनन्दतिलक m. in विधानपारिजात.
- आनन्ददर्पण of जयकृष्णतर्कवागीश; criticizes कल्पतरु. Also styled आनन्ददीप or -प्रदीप.
- आनन्ददर्पण of मधुसूदन.
- आनन्ददीपिति of कृष्णभट्ट.
- आनन्ददीप m. by विधानपारिजात.
- आनन्ददीप by जयकृष्णभट्टाचार्य (also called प्रदीप). N. vol. X 107. Refutes कल्पतरु.
- आनन्ददीप by दिव्यसिंह महापात्र.
- आनन्ददीपकलिका of शूलपाणि; m. in नि. सि., विधानपारिजात.
- आनन्ददीपिका by काशीदीक्षित याज्ञिक, son of सदाशिवदीक्षित; based on कात्यायनसूत्र and कर्कभाष्य.
- आनन्ददीपिका of गोविन्दपण्डित; m. in आनन्दकल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.
- आनन्ददीपिका by वेदाङ्गराय, formerly मालजित, son of तिगुलभट्ट, son of रत्नभट्ट of श्रीस्थल in Gujerat. He wrote पारसीप्रकाश in 1643 A. D. for Emperor Shah Jehan.
- आनन्ददीपिका by श्रीनाथआचार्यबृहामणि, son of श्रीहराचार्य. For सामवेद followers; m. by रघु in यजुर्वेदि-आनन्दतत्त्व. 1475-1525 A. D.
- आनन्ददीपिका by श्रीभीम who is described as काश्मिरीदीप (a राक्षसी ब्राह्मण) for सामवेद followers. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 379.
- आनन्ददीपिकानिर्णय.
- आनन्ददेवतानिर्णय.
- आनन्दब्राह्मणप्रतिकला.
- आनन्दनयकण्डिकासूत्र— vide आनन्दकल्प (कान्यायनीय) above.
- आनन्दनिरूपण (Ulwar cat. 1501).
- आनन्दनिर्णय of उमापति m. in आनन्दकल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.
- आनन्दनिर्णय of चन्द्रसूद.
- आनन्दनिर्णय of शिवभट्ट.
- आनन्दनिर्णय of सुदर्शन.
- आनन्दनिर्णयदीपिका by तिरुमलकवि of पराशरगोत्र. Mentions कालादर्श.
- आनन्दसिंह of मुसिह (Cal. S. col. Mss. cat. vol. II p. 392 ).
- आनन्दपञ्च m. by बाबूपतिमिश्र's द्वैत-निर्णय (Oxf. cat. p. 273 b ).
- आनन्दपत्नी m. in आनन्दविवेक of कृष्णर. Earlier than 1400 A. D.
- आनन्दपद्धति आम्बलायनीय.
- आनन्दपद्धति-पञ्चविंशच्छ्लोकी.
- आनन्दपद्धति by अग्निहोत्रिराम (Ulwar cat. No. 1503 ).
- आनन्दपद्धति by क्षेमराम, son of कुलमणि, son of लोकमणि, son of बाबूलक्ष्मीकान्त of Kanoj; ms. (I. O. cat. p. 559) copied in संचद्व 1805 (1748-9 A. D.).
- आनन्दपद्धति by गोविन्दपण्डित, son of रामपण्डित.
- आनन्दपद्धति by दयाशङ्कर.

आख्यपद्धति by दामोदर.

आख्यपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट आरडे (Baroda O. L. 338).

आख्यपद्धति by नीलकण्ठ mentioned in आख्यमण्डल.

आख्यपद्धति by वसुपति, elder brother of हलायुध, who mentions it in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

C. by हलायुध.

आख्यपद्धति by रघुनाथ, son of माधव. Also called दर्शनाख्यपद्धति. Based on हेमाद्रि's work. He was a nephew of नारायणभट्ट.

आख्यपद्धति by विश्वनाथभट्ट.

आख्यपद्धति of शङ्कर, son of रत्नाकर of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र.

आख्यपद्धति by हेमाद्रि. Refers to his स्तुर्बर्गचिन्तामणि. Stein's cat. pp. 316-17.

आख्यपद्धत m. in आख्यविवेक of रुद्रधर and टोडरानन्द (आख्यसौख्य).

आख्यपारिजात m. by केशव in द्वैतपरिशिष्ट (द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट).

आख्यप्रकरण by नरोत्तमदेव.

आख्यप्रकरण by लोहट (ms. in Anandāśrama collection at Poona). Quotes मेधातिथि. Between 900-1100 A. D. as लोहट is mentioned in स्तुत्यर्थसार.

आख्यप्रकाश m. in नि. सि.

आख्यप्रकीर्णकारिका.

आख्यप्रदीप.

आख्यप्रदीप by कृष्णमित्राचार्य.

आख्यप्रदीप by धनराम, son of गोवर्धन (Baroda O. L. 9971); not later than 1750 A. D.

आख्यप्रदीप by प्रद्युम्नशर्मा, son of श्री-धरशर्मन्; ms. dated शके 1448 (1526 A. D.). The author is described as having jurisdiction over श्रीहृद्देशीयहाकादिही (probably as धर्माधिकारि). Vide N. (new series) vol. I. pp. 380-81.

आख्यप्रदीप by मदनमनोहर महामहोपाध्याय, son of मधुसूदन. For students of यजुर्वेद (N. vol. VI. p. 299).

आख्यप्रदीप by रुद्रधर (C. P. cat. 5939). Probably the same as आख्यचन्द्रिका or आख्यविवेक.

आख्यप्रदीप by वर्धमान m. in आख्यतत्त्व of रघु.

आख्यप्रदीप by शङ्करमिश्र, son of भवनाथसन्मिश्र, m. in आख्यविवेक of रुद्रधर, आख्यक्रियाकौमुदी, आख्यतत्त्व of रघु. (N. vol. VII. p. 191). He was guru of वर्धमान.

आख्यप्रभा by रामकृष्ण.

C.

आख्यप्रयोग.

” आपस्तम्बीय.

” वीशायनीय.

” भारद्वाजीय.

” मैत्रायणीय.

” सत्यापाह.

” आम्बलापनीय by कमलाकर.

आख्यप्रयोग ” by रामभट्ट, son of विश्वनाथ.

आख्यप्रयोग by गोपाळहरि. Mentions प्रयोगदर्पण, वैयनाथीयनिबन्ध, सुधी-विलोचन.

आश्वमेध by दशरथकृष्ण.

आश्वमेध by नारायणभट्ट. A part of his प्रयोगसूत्र.

आश्वमेधविन्यासाणि of अश्वमेध.

आश्वमेधपद्धति ( कात्यायनीया ) by काशीदीक्षित.

आश्वमेधशांता.

आश्वमेधज्ञान.

आश्वमेधप्रयोगपद्धति.

आश्वमेधश्री m. in मि. सि. and शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर.

आश्वमेधश्री by बाबुभट्ट केष्टकर, residing at कणशी in Rajapur Taluka of Ratnagiri District in 1732 ( 1810 A. D. ); pr. in Anant. P.

आश्वमेधश्री by मुकुन्दलाल.

आश्वमेधश्रीव्याख्या from the ब्राह्मण-सर्वस्व of हलायुध. Ulwar cat. extract 356.

आश्वमेधसूत्र of नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107. Pr. by J. R. Gharpure.

आश्वमेधमांसा by नन्दपण्डित.

आश्वमेध by लक्ष्मीपति, pupil of इन्द्रपति, for followers of सामवेद and शुक्लयजुर्वेद. Relies upon श्रीदत्त.

आश्वमेधमहोदधि by विष्णुशर्मा, son of पद्मदत्त. Mentioned in his आश्वमेध-भास्कर.

आश्वमेधसूत्र m. by रामनाथ in स्थिति-रत्नावलि.

आश्वमेधचरणश्लोक.

आश्वमेधमनप्रापशिवल.

आश्वमेधर्ण by हरिराम.

आश्वमेध m. in सं. कौ. Same as बसिष्ठआश्वमेध.

आश्वमेधि

कोटिकलोक्त; vide D.C. ms. No. 223 1879-80; mentions स्कन्दपुराण, कात्यायन, आपस्तम्ब, सुमन्तु, शातातप, पात्रवन्धु; on हविर्आश्व, गणाधिप-पूजा, मातृपूजा, other आश्व.

उन्देश.

( माध्वान्दिनीय ) by होष्ट. Vide BBRAS. cat. p. 236 No. 236; refers to कर्क, कल्पतरु, श्रीकण्ठउपाध्याय, हलायुधीय, आश्वभाष्य. Between 1200-1500 A. D.

आश्वमेधिसंक्षेप.

आश्वमेधिक- on the point when the genitive, objective, dative and vocative are to be used in आश्व. N. vol. X. p. 347.

आश्वमेधिक by होष्टमिश्र, son of प्राण-कृष्ण. Peterson's 2nd report p. 188.

आश्वमेधिक by रुद्रधर, son of लक्ष्मीधर. Vide sec 96; pr. at Benares.

आश्वमेधिक by शूलपाणि sec. 95; pr. in Calcutta by M. M. Madhusudan Smritiratna.

C. टिप्पणी by अश्वमेधचरणवर्तिन; m. in his द्वापभाष्यटीका.

C. अर्थकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द; sec. 101.

C. भाष्यदीप by जगदीश.

C. by श्रीकृष्ण; pr. at Calcutta in Bengali characters, 1880 A. D.

C. by नीलकण्ठ.

C. by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकर. N. (New series) vol. I pp. 381-382; shows that श्रीनाथ

only elaborated what his father said.

C आदादिविवेककौमुदी by महामहो-  
ध्याय रामकृष्णन्यायालङ्कार N. vol.  
X. p. 119.

आदादिविवेकसंग्रह.

आदाद्विनिप्रकरण.

आदाद्व्यवस्था.

आदाद्व्यवस्थासंक्षेप of चिन्तामणि. Vide  
आदाद्व्यवस्थासंक्षेप.

आदाद्व्यवस्थाविधि - Ulwar cat. No.  
1508 and extract 357.

आदाद्व्यसंकलन.

आदाद्व्यसंकल्प- from प्रयोगपारिजात of  
रघुनाथ.

आदाद्व्यसंकल्पविधि.

आदाद्व्यसंग्रह.

(1) m. in the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका. Ear-  
lier than 1200 A. D.

(2) of रामकृष्ण, son of कोण्डभट्ट,  
son of प्रयागभट्ट. Based upon  
कात्यायन's आदाद्व्यसंस्कृत. He  
wrote संस्कारगणपति on कातीय-  
संस्कृत. Composed at Benares  
in śake 1673 ( चिन्तामणिपात्रे )  
i. e. 1751 A. D. Vide I. O.  
cat. pp. 560-61, No. 1738. I.  
O. cat. p. 562 gives the date  
as शके मगनाब्दा ( कुल ? ) ऋषभमिते  
( 1670-1690 ) and 1826 of विक्रम  
( i. e. 1770 A. D. ) which is  
probably the date of  
copying. Mentions कर्क, हला-  
दुध, गदाधर's भाष्य on कातीय-  
संस्कृत, काशिका and दीपिका.

आदाद्व्यसंस्कृत.

आदाद्व्यसागर.

(1) by कुम्भकभट्ट (?). Is it a mis-  
reading for कुलक or कुलुक-  
भट्ट ?

(2) by कुलुकभट्ट. Vide sec. 88  
pp. 361-62.

(3) नारायण आरड m. in his सूत्रा-  
श्रितागर q.v. Later than 1650  
A. D.

आदाद्व्यसार.

(1) part of सूत्रिहप्रसाद ; m. in वि-  
धानपारिजात.

(2) by कमलाकर.

आदाद्व्यसौख्य- part of दोडरानन्द. Vide  
sec. 104.

आदाद्व्यसमाधि- the आदाद्व्य section of the  
चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि.

आदाद्व्यसंस्कृतनिर्णय by रामकृष्ण (Baroda  
O. I. 303 ).

आदाद्व्यभास्कर by विष्णुशर्मन्, son of  
यज्ञदत्त, who became a संन्यासिन  
and was styled अनुभूतिस्वरूप ;  
based on कर्क ; for माध्वीन्दनशास्त्रा  
( Ulwar-cat. extract 359 ).

आदाद्व्यदर्श by महेश्वरमिश्र.

आदाद्व्यविधि.

आदाद्व्यविवेककौमुदी by रामकृष्ण.

आदाद्व्यधिकार by विष्णुदत्त.

आदाद्व्यधिकारिनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायप्रभा-  
नन ( N. vol. III p. 60 ).

आदाद्व्यद्व्यक्रमणिका.

आदाद्व्यपारक.

आदाद्व्यलोक m. in आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण.  
Earlier than 1600 A. D.

आदाद्व्यसौख्यवर्णन by देवराज.

भादेन्दु. Ano. ( N. vol. V. p. 96. )

भादेन्दुशेखर by नामोजिभट्ट surnamed Kala. Sec. 110.

भादेन्दुलोल m. in वर्णमान's मूलकृत्य-  
विवेक. It is probably a portion  
of मदनरत्न.

भाद्योपयोगियचन by अनन्तभट्ट.

भावचकर्मसर्पबलिप्रयोग- a सूत्र rite.

भाषणद्वादशी.

भाषणी ( आश्वलायनीय ).

„ ( काण्वशास्त्रीय ).

भाषणीकर्म ( वाजसनेय ).

„ ( हिरण्यकेशि ) by गोपीनाथ  
दीक्षित.

भाषणीप्रयोग by कमलाकर.

भाषणीहोमपद्धति ( आश्वलायनीय ).

भाषणोत्सर्गकर्म.

भीजाङ्गिक.

भीकरनिबन्ध m. in स्मृतिसार of हरि-  
नाथ.

भीषरसमुच्चय m. in मलमासतत्त्व by  
रघु०.

भीषरीय m. in नि. सि., प्रयोगपरिजात.  
Vide sec. 81 p. 337.

भीमिवासदीक्षितीय by श्रीनिधन, son  
of गोविन्दार्य of कौशिकगोत्र. On  
वैखानससूत्र ( Tri. cat. of Madras  
Govt. mss. 1919-22 p. 5179 ).

भीषतिरलमाहा m. in समयमहस.

भीषतिव्यवहारनिर्णय m. in निर्णयतत्त्व of  
रघु० ( Jivananda vol. I. p. 21 ).

भीषतिव्यवहारसमुच्चय m. in संस्कार-  
तत्त्व of रघु०. Probably the same  
as above.

H. D. 82.

भीषतिसमुच्चय m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व of  
रघु० ( vol. I. p. 582 ).

भीषतिलक्षण by त्रिगुणभट्ट. Peterson's  
5th Report No. 154.

भुतिचन्द्रिका.

भुतिमीमांसा by वृसिंहवाजपेयी.

भुतिमुक्ताफल.

भौतस्मार्तकर्मप्रयोग by वृसिंह.

भौतस्मार्तक्रियापद्धति.

भौतस्मार्तविधि by बालकृष्ण.

श्लोककान्यायन m. in अपराकं.

श्लोककाव्यनिर्णय.

श्लोकगौतम m. in कालविवेक of जीमूत०,  
अपराकं, कालमाधव.

श्लोकचतुर्विंशती ( धर्माविवर्धन ) by कृष्ण-  
शेख.

C. by रामपण्डित शेख, pr. in सरस्वती-  
भवन series ( No. 22 ).

श्लोकतर्पण by लीमाक्षि.

श्लोकसंग्रह- on 96 आदेश.

श्लोकापस्तम्ब m. in आचारमण्डल.

श्वश्रुशुवाधनसंवाद ( Burnell's Tanj.  
cat. p. 143a ) decides that if a  
man dies childless, leaving a  
widow and mother, each takes  
half of his estate.

श्वसकर्मप्रकाश.

श्वेताश्वदानविधि by कमलाकर.

षट्कर्मचन्द्रिका by चक्रवर्तिरत्नमयज्यन्,  
son of लक्ष्मणभट्ट. He was called  
रामचन्द्राश्रम on becoming a  
संन्यासिन्.

षट्कर्मचन्द्रिका m. in सन्ध्याभाष्य of  
कृष्णपण्डित.

पदकर्मदीपिका Anon. Collection of rituals for the worship of अम्बक, पार्थिवशिवलिङ्ग, and connected matters ( N. vol. IX p. 273 ).

पदकर्मदीपिका by मुकुन्दलाल.

पदकर्मचिन्ता ( part of स्मृतिरत्न-महोदधि ).

पदकर्मचिन्ता by हरिराम.

पदकर्मव्याख्यानचिन्तामणि by नित्यानन्द.  
Discourse on the sentences used at wedding and five other sacraments, for students of पञ्चवेद. Based upon मुण्डविष्णु. N. vol. III. p. 27.

पदविशन्मत. Vide sec. 53.

पदपदी of विट्ठलदीक्षित ( C. P. cat. No. 6029 ).

पदपारायणविधि.

पदशीति or आशौचनिर्णय by कौशिकादित्य ( i. e. आदित्य of the कौशिक-गोत्र ). The first verse is ' अघा-  
नेकर्षिवाक्यानि संगत्यादाय केवलम् ।  
संग्रह्य कौशिकादित्यो लिखत्याशौच-  
निर्णयम् ॥ ' It is in 86 verses on  
impurities on birth and death  
and in five प्रकरणसु on सुतक,  
सगोत्राशौच, असगोत्राशौच, संस्कारा-  
शौच and आशौचापवाद. Aufrecht  
( II. p. 82 ) is wrong in identi-  
fying it with अभिनवपदशीति.

C. अघशोधिनी by लक्ष्मीनृसिंह.

C. शुद्धिचन्द्रिका by नन्दपण्डित ( pr.  
in Ch. S. series with text ).

पदशीति by पद्मभट्ट.

पदविशन्मत m. by स्मृतिच० and  
परा. मा.

पण्यवतिआक्षुर्निर्णय by शिपभट्ट, son of  
मोहिन्दचरि. The 96 आक्षुs are  
briefly set out in one verse  
' अमायुगमनुक्रान्तिधृतिपातमहालयाः ।  
आन्वदक्ष्यं च पूर्वयुः पण्यवत्यः प्रकी-  
र्तिताः ॥ ' Mentions कमलाकरभट्ट,  
नीलकण्ठभट्ट, दीपिकाविवरण, प्रयोग-  
रत्न, आक्षुकलिका, कलिकाविवरण of  
विश्वरूपाचार्य ; ( ms. in Bhadkam-  
kar collection ). Later than  
1650 A. D.

पण्यवतिआक्षुपद्धति by रघुनाथ, son of  
माधव, son of रामेश्वर. Refers to  
नारायणभट्ट as his uncle. About  
1550-1625 A. D.

पण्यवतिआक्षुप्रयोग.

पट्टिपूर्तिशान्ति ( ceremonies on attai-  
ning 60 years ). Vide Burnell's  
Tanj. cat. pp. 138b, 151b.

षोडशकर्मकलापनिर्णय.

षोडशकर्मपद्धति by ऋषिभट्ट.

षोडशकर्मपद्धति by गङ्गाधर.

षोडशकर्मप्रयोग on the sixteen संस्कारs,  
स्थालीपाक, पुंसवन, अन्वलोमन,  
सोमन्तोन्नयन, जातकर्म, बहीषणा,  
पञ्चगव्य, नामकरण, निष्क्रमण, कर्णवेध,  
अश्ववाशन, चौलकर्म, उपनयन, गोदान,  
समावर्तन, विवाह. Mentions प्रयोग-  
सार, प्रयोगचारिजात, दीपिका ; ms.  
( in Bhadkamkar collection )  
dated Saka 1695. After 1500 A. D.

षोडशपिण्डदानप्रयोग Anon. ; mentions  
संयन्तरप्रदीप. ( N. vol. II. pp.  
310-311 ).

षोडशमहादानपद्धति or दानपद्धति by  
रामदन of the लोपालवंश minister  
of king नृसिंह of मिथिला of the



- काणीडवंश, with the help of भव-  
शर्मा, his family priest. He was  
a paternal first cousin of चण्डेश्वर  
and so flourished in first half  
of 14th century.
- षोडशमहादानविधि by कमलाकर, son of  
रामकृष्ण, Sec. 106.
- षोडशपात्र.
- षोडशसंस्काराः ( according to आश्व-  
लायनगृह्य ).
- षोडशसंस्काराः by कमलाकर.
- षोडशसंस्काराः by चन्द्रचूड. An abri-  
dgment of his संस्कारनिर्णय.
- षोडशसंस्कारपद्धति or संस्कारपद्धति ( Bik.  
cat. p. 463 ) by आनन्दरामदीक्षित.
- षोडशसंस्कारप्रयोग.
- षोडशसंस्कारसेतु by रामेश्वर.
- षोडशोपचारपूजापद्धति ( for worship  
of विष्णु ).
- संवत्सरकल्पलता of ब्रजराज, a devotee  
of विठ्ठलेश, son of बल्लभाचार्य ; in  
12 दृश in verse. Begins with  
कृष्णजन्माष्टमी festival in भाद्रपद  
and then describes festivals in  
other months. D. C. ms. No.  
201 of A 1882-83.
- संवत्सरकृत्य or संवत्सरकौस्तुभ or संवत्सर-  
दीपिति-part of रश्मिकौस्तुभ of  
अनन्तदेव. Vide sec. 109.
- संवत्सरकृत्यप्रकाश-a part of the यश-  
वन्तभास्कर by भास्करशर्मा.
- संवत्सरकौस्तुभ by गोविन्दानन्द. Sec. 101.
- संवत्सरदीपिति-part of the रश्मिकौस्तुभ  
of अनन्तदेव.
- संवत्सरनिर्णयप्रदान by पुरुषोत्तम.
- संवत्सरप्रकाश.
- संवत्सरप्रदीप m. by शूलपाणि in दुर्गो-  
त्सवविवेक, आन्ध्रकिपाकौमुदी, निर्णया-  
सूत्र and in एकादशीतत्त्व ( II. p 51 )  
and श्रुतितत्त्व ( II. 327 ) as इला-  
सुथ's. Aufrecht ( cat. I. p. 681 )  
wrongly ascribes it to शूलपाणि.  
Vide p. 394 above. Vide N.  
( new series ) ( I. p. 390 for a  
संवत्सरप्रदीप.
- संवत्सरप्रयोगसार of श्रीकृष्णभट्टाचार्य,  
son of नारायण of the वन्द्यपट्टीय  
clan.
- संवत्सरोत्सवकालनिर्णय by निर्मलराम.
- संवत्सरोत्सवकालनिर्णय of पुरुषोत्तम on  
the same subject as preceding.  
Expressly says that it was com-  
posed to clear up the पद्धति of  
ब्रजराज. In prose. D. C. Ms. No.  
177 of 1881-86. Earlier than  
1750 A. D.
- संवर्तस्मृति Vide sec. 55 ; pr. Jiva-  
nanda Sm. part I pp. 584-603  
and Anan. Sm. pp. 411-424.
- संस्कर्तृकम by वैद्यनाथ. Probably a  
portion of the स्मृतिमुक्ताफल.
- संस्कारकमलाकर or संस्कारपद्धति by  
कमलाकर. Vide sec. 106 ( vide  
BBRAS cat. p. 236 and I. O.  
cat. p. 514 ).
- संस्कारकल्पवृक्ष by जगन्नाथयाज्ञिक, son  
of सुखशास्त्रमुकुट. In three काण्डs  
on शोभापूजन, संस्कार and स्मार्ता-  
धान ; names वासुदेव's भाष्य on ( पार-  
स्कर ) गृह्य. Speaks of 25 संस्कारs.  
Ulwar cat. extract 364.

संस्कारकौस्तुभ by गिरिभट्ट, son of  
यल्लभट्ट.

संस्कारकौस्तुभ or संस्कारदीपिति- part of  
स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव. Vide sec.  
109 (pr. by Nir. P. and at Baroda  
with Marathi translation ).

संस्कारगङ्गाधर or- धरी by गङ्गाधरदीक्षित.  
On संस्कार of गर्भाधान, चौड, दत्तचन्ध,  
वेदव्रतचतुष्टय, केशान्त, व्रतविसर्ग,  
विवाह. ( D. C. ms. No. 610 of  
1882-83 ).

संस्कारगणपति- com. on पारस्करश्रु-  
त्य by रामकृष्ण. Vide under  
पारस्करश्रु above.

संस्कारचन्द्रचूडी of चन्द्रचूड. Vide  
संस्कारनिर्णय below.

संस्कारचिन्तामणि by रामकृष्ण of Be-  
nares ( C. P. cat. No. 6073 ).  
Probably the same as संस्कार-  
गणपति.

संस्कारतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. Vide sec.  
102.

C. by कृष्णनाथ.

संस्कारदीपिति- vide संस्कारकौस्तुभ.

संस्कारदीपिति ( pr. at Benares ).

संस्कारनिर्णय.

(1) by चन्द्रचूडभट्ट, son of उमण्य-  
भट्ट, son of धर्मभट्ट. Based on  
आपस्तम्बश्रुत. Treats of संस्कार  
from गर्भाधान. Names ज्योतिर्नि-  
बन्ध, माघवीथ, हरदत्त and सुदर्शन  
on आपस्तम्ब, प्रयोगरत्न. One ms.  
( I. O. cat. p. 98 No. 467 )  
is dated śake 1607 ( 1685 ).  
Between 1575-1650 A. D.

(2) by तिप्पामट्ट, son of रामभट्ट,  
surnamed गङ्गार; for आपस्तम्बन.

In 1776 A. D. he composed  
his संग्रहदीपिका on आपस्तम्बन-  
श्रौतश्रुत.

(3) by जन्मपण्डित- a part of स्मृति-  
सिन्धु. Vide sec. 105.

संस्कारसुसिद्ध by नरहरि ( C. P. cat.  
No 6076 ). Pr. at Benares in  
1894.

संस्कारपद्धति by अशुतपाठक, son of  
सुवारास ( for माधवदिक्षीयस ). Men-  
tions हेमाद्रि, धर्माश्वसार, प्रयोग-  
दर्पण, प्रयोगरत्न, कौस्तुभ, कृष्णभट्टी,  
गङ्गाधर.

संस्कारपद्धति by आनन्दराम याज्ञिक.

संस्कारपद्धति by कमलाकर. Vide संस्कार-  
कमलाकर above.

संस्कारपद्धति by गङ्गाधरभट्ट, son of  
राम. Vide संस्कारगङ्गाधरी.

संस्कारपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट.

संस्कारपद्धति by भवदेव. The same as  
छन्दोगकर्मसुष्ठानपद्धति. Vide sec.  
73.

C. रहस्य by रामनाथ. Composed  
in śake 1544 ( 1622-23 A. D. ).  
N. VI. pp. 237-238.

संस्कारपद्धति by शिङ्गय.

संस्कारप्रकाश.

(1) a part of प्रतापनारसिंह.

(2) a part of वीरमित्रोदय by मित्र-  
मित्र.

संस्कारप्रदीप.

संस्कारप्रदीपिका by विष्णुधर्मदीक्षित.

संस्कारप्रयोग.

संस्कारभास्कर.

(1) by सुगुहभट्ट, son of मयूरेश्वर  
अपाचित. Based on कर्क and

गङ्गाधर. Divides संस्कारs into माह्य ( गर्भाधान and others ) and दैव ( पाकयज्ञ and others ). D.C. No. 611 of 1882-83.

- (2) by कपिवृध or भट्ट, son of गङ्गाधर, son of विश्वनाथ, sur-named शौच ( शौचे ). Pr. by Venk. P. ; follows कर्क, वासुदेव and हरिहर on पारस्करपुष्टा and mentions प्रयोगदर्पण. Vide BBRAS cat. vol. II p. 236 No. 739.

संस्कारमञ्जरी by नारायण. Same as ब्रह्मसंस्कारमञ्जरी.

संस्कारमयूख.

- (1) by नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107. In many mss. ascribed to his son शङ्कर. Pr. at Gujrati P. and by Mr. J. R. Gharpure.

- (2) „ or संस्कारभास्कर by सिद्धेश्वर, son of दामोदर, son of शङ्कर. He was a nephew of नीलकण्ठ. Flourished between 1630-1670 A. D. Treats of 25 संस्कारs and gives at the end of the work a complete list of गोत्रs and प्रथरs.

संस्कारमूर्तिका by मार्तण्डसोमपात्री ; contains two chapters on ख्याली-पाक and नचग्रह. Pr. at Madras.

संस्कारसुक्तावली of तानपाठक.

संस्काररत्न by खण्डेराय, son of हरिभट्ट, son of नारायण ; m. in his कुन्य-रत्न. Later than 1400 A. D. His family was patronised by विदर्भ king.

संस्काररत्न from the अनुपविलास or धर्माभ्युपेक्षि of मणिराम.

संस्काररत्नमाहा.

- (1) by गोपीनाथभट्ट ( pr. at Anan. P. and in Ch. S. series ).

- (2) by नागेशभट्ट.

संस्काररत्नाकर ( पारस्करीय ).

संस्काररत्नावलि of नृसिंहभट्ट, son of सिद्धभट्ट, of कण्वशाखा and resident of प्रतिष्ठान.

संस्कारवादाय ( deals with the proper times for such संस्कारs as जातकर्म &c. ). N. vol. I. p. 150

संस्कारविधि or पृथकारिका by रेखक.

संस्कारवीचि- a portion of the गोविन्दार्णव compiled by शेषदुसिंह.

संस्कारसागर by नारायणभट्ट (on ख्याली-पाक).

संस्कारसार- part of the नृसिंहपञ्चाद Vide sec. 99.

संस्कारसौख्य.

संस्कारावृत्त of सिद्धेश्वर, son of दामोदर ; vide संस्कारमयूख above. Refers to द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट of his father.

संस्कारोद्घोत- a portion of the दिन-करोद्घोत.

संस्थापद्धति or संस्थापेयनाथ by वैद्यनाथ, son of रत्नेश्वर, son of केशव ; in 4 मानs. Ulwar cat. extract 63. On the rites performed in माघ-सह्य fire according to कात्यायन-यज्ञ.

संहितादीप m. in संस्कारमयूख of सिद्धेश्वर.

संहिताप्रदीप m. in वि. वि. An astro-logical work.

संहितासारावलि m. in संस्कारमण्डल.

संहिताहोमपद्धति by भैरवभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 335).

सकलकर्मचिन्तामणि.

सकलदानफलाधिकार.

सकलदेवताप्रतिष्ठा.

सकलपुराणसहस्रवचन m. by अल्लाडनाथ.

सकलप्रमाणसंग्रह.

सकलशान्तिसंग्रह.

सङ्करसृष्टितिथिनिर्णय.

संकल्पकौमुदी of रामकृष्ण (N. IV. p. 222-23).

संकल्पचन्द्रिका by रघुनन्दन (N. I. p. 166).

संकल्पभ्यासप्रयोग.

संकल्पसृष्टिदुर्गभजन by चन्द्रशेखरशर्मा of लखीप (about the सङ्कल्प to be made in the beginning of all काम्य rites). Divided into four parts on तिथि, मान, काम्य-कर्मणि, सङ्कल्प, व्रत. N. vol. II. pp. 329-330.

संकष्टहरचतुर्थोत्तरकालनिर्णय.

संकेतकौमुदी (probably a purely astro-logical work) by शम्भुनाथाचार्य.

संकेतकौमुदी by शिव.

संकेतकौमुदी by हरिनाथाचार्य m. by रघु in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व.

संक्रान्ति कौमुदी by मिहान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य; ms. (N. vol. VIII. p. 198) dated śake 1540 (1618 A. D.).

संक्रान्तिनिर्णय by गोपालशर्मन्यायपञ्चानन in 3 parts.

संक्रान्तिनिर्णय by बालकृष्ण.

संक्रान्तिनिर्णय—a portion of the स्मृति-मुक्ताफल.

संक्रान्तिनिर्णय Anō.; mentions भीम-पराक्रम, दीपिका, कृत्यचिन्तामणि.

संक्रान्तिविचित्र by शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95 at p. 394. N. VI. p. 205.

संक्रान्तिव्यवस्थानिर्णय. Anō. (N. II. p. 313).

संक्रान्तिशान्ति.

संक्रान्त्युपासन.

संक्षिप्तनिर्णयसिन्धु. Briefly describes religious rites from वैश्व to काल्युन. Expressly says that it is based on निर्णयसिन्धु; ms in Bik. cat. p. 454 is dated śake 1514 (1592 A. D.), which is a misreading, if निर्णयसिन्धु of कमलाकर is meant.

संक्षिप्तशास्त्रार्थपद्धति.

संक्षिप्तसार—m. in एकादशीतत्त्व of रघु.

संक्षिप्तहोमप्रकार by रामभट्ट.

संक्षिप्तादिकपद्धति by चण्डीदास, son of दुर्गादत्त, written at the desire of रणवीरसिंह of काश्मीर.

संक्षेपतिथिनिर्णयसार by मोकुलसिन्धु, son of हरिसिन्धु in 1633 A. D.

संक्षेपपूजापद्धति (Ulwar cat. 2412) by रघुनन्दनठक्कर.

संक्षेपकृत्रपद्धति (Ulwar cat. 1513).

संक्षेपसिद्धिव्यवस्था.

संक्षेपादिकचन्द्रिका by दिवाकरभट्ट. Same as आदिकचन्द्रिका of दिवाकर above.

संस्थापरिमाणसंग्रह of केशवकवीन्द्र, who wrote in Benares and was the principal Pandit in the pariśad of the king of तीरभुक्ति (modern Tirhut). Dilates upon the weights, numbers and measures required in स्मृति rules (such as size of tooth brush, number of sacred threads for ब्राह्मण's यज्ञोपवीत). N. vol. V pp. 161-162.

संग्रह or स्मृतिसंग्रह. Vide sec. 54.

संग्रहचिन्तामणि (C. P. cat. No. 6153).

संग्रहवैयनाथीय by वैद्यनाथ.

संग्रामसाद्रीय- vide विवेकदीपक above.

सत्त्वरितवरिप्राण by वीरराघव of बाधूल-गोत्र on the duties of वैष्णव. Mentions स्मृतिरत्नाकर.

सत्त्वरितरक्षा by वेङ्कटनाथ on शत्रुचक्र-धारण, ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रधारण and भगवद्धि-वेदितोपयोग (3 प्रकरण).

सत्त्वरितरक्षा by रामानुजाचार्य.

C. सत्त्वरित्सारदीपिका by himself.

सत्त्वरितसुधानिधि by वीरराघव (नैध्रुव), who bows to several teachers of the विशिष्टाद्वैत system, viz. नाथ, राममिश्र, रामानुज, रामानुज, रङ्गराज, वेदान्तदेशिक, पराङ्कुश, श्री-निवास &c.

सच्छुद्राद्विक.

सज्जनबाहुना by जयराम- a com. on पारस्करशुद्धसूत्र; m. in मृत्युर्दीपक of महादेव.

सत्कर्मकल्पद्रुम.

सत्कर्मचन्द्रिका.

सत्कर्मचिन्तामणि

सत्कर्मदर्पण.

सत्क्रियाकल्पमञ्जरी (Madras Govt. mss. cat. vol. V p. 2212, vol. VI. p. 2308).

सत्क्रियासामरदीपिका by गोपालभट्ट for वैष्णव. He wrote हरिभक्तिवितास also. Flourished about 1500-1565 A. D. Names भगदेव, अनिरुद्ध, भीम, गोविन्दानन्द and नारायण.

सत्प्रवृत्तस्मृति m. in कालविवेक of जीयूत, अपारक, स्मृतिच, आशुतथ.

सत्संप्रदायप्रदीपिका or संप्रदायप्रदीप- an account of the principal वैष्णव teachers.

सत्संप्रदायप्रदीपिका by सदाधर.

संस्मृतिसार by जानकीराम सार्वभौम on तिथि, प्रायश्चित्त &c. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 210.

सदाचार.

सदाचारक्रम by रामपति.

सदाचारक्रम attributed to वसिष्ठ.

सदाचारचन्द्रिका (D. C. ms. No. 108 of 1869-70 copied in संचत 1787 माघ i. e. February 1731 A. D.). Inculcates कृष्णभक्ति. Mentions रूपगोस्वामी, सनातनगोस्वामी, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, हरिभक्ति-वितासटीका, हरिभक्तिसुधोदय and its टीका.

सदाचारचन्द्रोदय- vide आचारचन्द्रोदय alias माधवप्रकाश.

सदाचारनिर्णय by अनन्तभट्ट.

सदाचारप्रकरण by शङ्कराचार्य (for योगिन्).

सदाचारसहस्र by अनन्तभट्ट, son of शार्ङ्गभट्ट, composed at Benares at the desire of संग्रामसिंह, son of अमरेश, son of जयसिंह. About 1715 A. D. (vide Stein's cat. p. 317-318).

सदाचारविषाण by शङ्कर.

सदाचारसंग्रह by गोपालन्यायप्रधान.

सदाचारसंग्रह by वेङ्कटनाथ. Vide under स्मृतिलालि.

सदाचारसंग्रह by शङ्करभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठभट्ट (I. O. cat. p. 590 No. 1800). Probably a spurious work. In N. vol. I p. 103 author's name is wanting, though the first verse is same as in I. O. cat. p. 590.

सदाचारसंग्रह by श्रीनिवासपण्डित in three काण्डs on आचार, व्यवहार and प्रायश्चित्त.

सदाचारसंक्षिप्त.

सदाचारस्मृति by आनन्दतीर्थ. In 40 verses.

C. by लहरि, pupil of मध्व. Baroda O. I. No. 1884.

C. by रामाचार्य. Baroda O. I. No. 2619.

सदाचारस्मृति by नारायणपण्डित, son of विन्धनाथ. In Bik. cat. p. 449 the work is styled 'स्मृतिटीका'. So also in Stein's cat. p. 107.

सदाचारस्मृति by राघवेन्द्रपति on आह्निक (C. P. cat. 6193).

सदाचारस्मृति by श्रीनिवास (C. P. cat. 6192).

सदाचारस्मृतिनाम्ना क्षीरसिन्धु (Baroda Oriental Institute No. 1880). Mentions प्रयोगवारिजात.

सद्धर्मचन्द्रोदय m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

सद्धर्मचिन्तामणि m. in आचारमयस.

सद्धर्मतत्त्वाख्यादिक by हरिप्रसाद, son of गङ्गेश of मथुरा. In 62 verses. He wrote आचारतत्त्व also.

सद्वृत्तरत्नमाला.

सनत्कुमारसंहिता m. in त्रिरथलीसेतु and वि. सि.

संतानदीपिका- gives astrological reasons for a man's being issueless.

संतानदीपिका by केशव.

संतानदीपिका by महादेव.

संतानदीपिका by हरिनाथाचार्य.

संदर्भस्मृतिका com. on द्वारलता q. v.

संघाकारिका by सर्वेश्वर, son of लीलाधर.

संघाजयभाष्य by परशुराम (Baroda O. I. 6463). Also called द्विजकल्पलता.

संघादिवद्रकर्मण.

संघानिर्णय.

संघानिर्णयकल्पवल्ली by कृष्णपण्डित, son of रामपण्डित and लक्ष्मी in four गृच्छs. Hultzsch R. I. No. 442 extract p. 80.

संघातस्मृति m. in भाद्रिकतत्त्व of रघु.

संघातप्रयोग N. vol. X, p. 343.

संघातान्वदीय by आशाधरभट्ट in 3 किरणs. Baroda O. I. No. 29.

संघातानन्दभाष्य or संघाभाष्य by आनन्दतीर्थ.

संघ्यावन्दनभाष्य by कृष्णपण्डित, son of राघवदेवज्ञ, in four chapters (BBRAS. cat. p. 237).

संघ्यावन्दनभाष्य by कृष्णपण्डित, son of रामभट्ट and लक्ष्मी, and pupil of मुकुन्दाश्रम and कृष्ण. Hultzsch's R. I p. 58. This is also called संघ्यावन्दनपद्धति. Pr. in Anan. P.

संघ्यावन्दनभाष्य by चौण्डपार्य, son of चिन्मयार्य and कामाख्या (for ब्राह्म-लायनीय); composed at request of बालुण्ड, son of भाट्ट.

संघ्यावन्दनभाष्य by तिमिरवन्धन or तिरुमल.

संघ्यावन्दनभाष्य by नारायणपण्डित, who composed 60 works.

संघ्यावन्दनभाष्य by रामाश्रमवर्ति, pupil of महादेव; composed at Benares in शके 1574 (1652-53 A. D.).

संघ्यावन्दनभाष्य by विशारण (on ऋग्वेदिसंघ्या and तैत्तिरीयसंघ्या).

संघ्यावन्दनभाष्य by वेङ्कटाचार्य (on ऋक्संघ्या).

संघ्यावन्दनभाष्य by व्यास, pupil of हर्षिह. Stein's cat. p. 256.

संघ्यावन्दनभाष्य by शङ्कराचार्य?

संघ्यावन्दनभाष्य by शम्भु (Ulwar cat. No. 1514).

संघ्यावन्दनभाष्य by श्रीनिवासतीर्थ.

संघ्यावन्दनग्रन्थ- there are several works with this title for the followers of the different Vedas.

संघ्यामन्त्रन्याख्या ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका by वन-मालिनिभ, pupil of भट्टोजि. Stein's cat. p. 256. About 1650 A. D.

M. D. 83.

संघ्यामन्त्रपदीय by अशापरमह (Baroda O. I. No. 29).

संघ्यावन्दनचित्रण- from the द्विज-कल्पलता.

संघ्याविधिग्रन्थसमूहटीका by रामानन्द-तीर्थ.

संघ्यासूत्रप्रवचन by हस्तामुच.

संन्यासधर्मकाण्डिका.

संन्यासग्रहणपद्धति by आनन्दतीर्थ, son of जनादनभट्ट.

संन्यासग्रहणपद्धति by शङ्कराचार्य.

संन्यासग्रहणपद्धति attributed to शौनक.

संन्यासग्रहणरत्नमाला by श्रीमाशङ्कर-धर्मज (Baroda O. I. 12305).

संन्यासप्राप्त्यपद्धति alias संन्यासप्रयोग alias सप्तहोत्री ascribed to शङ्कराचार्य (on rites when a person enters order of संन्यास).

संन्यासदीपिका by अग्निहोत्रिगोपीनाथ (Baroda O. I. 10057).

संन्यासदीपिका by सच्चिदानन्दाश्रम pupil of तुलसीदास (Ulwar cat. extract 363).

संन्यासधर्मसंग्रह by अण्णुताश्रम.

संन्यासनिर्णय by पुरुषोत्तम.

संन्यासनिर्णय by वल्लभाचार्य in verse.

C. by same.

C. विवरण by पुरुषोत्तम, son of पौताम्बर. D. C. ms. No. 175 of 1884-86.

C. by रघुनाथ, pupil of विठ्ठलदीक्षित, BBRS. cat. vol. II p. 327.

C. by विठ्ठलेश.

संन्यासपदमञ्जरी by परवराजभट्ट.



संन्यासपद्धति m. in नि. सि., आनन्द-  
महर्ष.

संन्यासपद्धति by अष्टुताश्रम.

संन्यासपद्धति by आनन्दतीर्थ, the  
founder of the माध्वमत (1119-  
1199 A. D.). Stein's cat. p. 318  
for extract.

संन्यासपद्धति by निम्बार्कशिष्य.

संन्यासपद्धति by ब्रह्मानन्दिन. Baroda  
O. I. No. 1676 is a संन्यासपद्धति  
following ब्रह्मानन्दीयपद्धति.

संन्यासपद्धति by रुद्रदेव (extracted  
from प्रतापनारसिंह).

संन्यासपद्धति ascribed to शङ्कराचार्य  
(I. O. cat. p. 521 No. 1642).

संन्यासपद्धति ascribed to क्षीरक (N.  
vol. II. p. 101).

संन्यासभेदनिर्णय.

संन्यासरात्नावलि by पञ्चनाभभट्टाक्षक  
(according to माध्व tenets).

संन्यासरीति.

संन्यासवरण by बहुभाचार्य. N. vol. X.  
p. 178.

संन्यासविधि by विष्णुतीर्थ (Baroda O.  
I. 8512).

संन्यासाद्विफ.

संन्यासिपद्धति (for वैष्णव) I. O.  
cat. p. 523.

संन्यासिभरणोत्तरविधि Stein's cat.  
p. 107.

संन्यासिसंन्या.

संन्यासिसमाधान.

संन्यासिसारिद्वयविधि by वेदान्तसामानुज  
तातदास, on the ascetic's son per-  
forming सपिण्डीकरण for his  
father.

सन्मार्गकण्टकोद्धार by कृष्णतात (on the  
necessity of सपिण्डीकरण for प्रपञ्च).

सन्मार्गकण्टकोद्धारसण्डन (Madras  
Govt. mss. cat. vol. VI p. 2314  
No. 3093).

सपिण्डीनिर्णय.

सपिण्डीकरण.

सपिण्डीकरणसण्डन.

सपिण्डीकरणविधि.

सपिण्डीकरणभाष्य.

सपिण्डीकरणान्तकर्म.

सपिण्डीकरणान्तरका.

सपिण्डीभाष्य by रघुवर (C. P. cat.  
No. 6221).

सप्तपाकपञ्चभाष्य.

सप्तपाकपञ्चश्लेष. Divided into four  
प्रश्न, each प्रश्न being divided in-  
to अध्याय. N. vol. II. pp. 122-  
125.

सप्तपाकसंस्थाविधि by दिवाकर, son of  
महादेव, on अथपाकर्म, सर्पबलि, आ-  
श्वयुजी, आश्वयण, अष्टका and पार्वण-  
भाष्य. Names हेमाद्रि and कौस्तुभ.

सप्तमटान्नायिक- vide मटान्नायादिविचार.

सप्तर्षिमत or- स्मृति m. in नि. सि.

सप्तर्षिसप्तस्मृति in 36 verses (I. O.  
cat. p. 402). The seven sages  
are नारद, वसिष्ठ, कौशिक, वैश्व-  
सर्ग, कश्यप, कण्व.

सप्तर्षिस्मृतिसंग्रह.

सप्तव्यसकथासमुच्चय by सोमवीरि  
आचार्य (N. VIII. p. 144).

सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग by अनन्तदीक्षित, son  
of विश्वनाथ, surnamed पञ्जोषवीत.

सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग by बालकृष्ण, son of  
महादेव.

सत्रसंस्थाप्रयोग from the राजपर्वकौस्तुभ  
of अनन्तदेव.

सत्रसंस्थाप्रयोग from the प्रयोगरत्न of  
नारायणभट्ट.

सत्रसूत्रसंन्यासपद्धति. Rules for ordi-  
nation of samnyāsins and for  
the ten orders ( तीर्थ, आश्रम,  
अरण्य, गिरि, पर्वत, सागर, सरस्वती,  
भारती and पुरी ) and account of  
the ten great teachers from ब्रह्मा  
to होकराचार्य and the latter's  
disciples. N. vol. VI. p. 295.

समापतिलक्षण.

समयकमलाकर by कमलाकर.

समयकल्पतरु by पन्तोनीभट्ट, son of  
लक्ष्मणभट्ट. Vide Bk. cat. p. 451  
( which gives only एकादशीनिर्णय  
out of it ).

समयपत्र by विश्वेश्वर, son of दिनकर,  
for शम्भुराज ( the Maratha king  
Sambhaji ) in 1681.

समयनिर्णय by अनन्तभट्ट on times  
proper for religious rites; ms.  
( N. vol. VIII. p. 205 ) dated  
śake 1602 ( 1680-81 A. D. ).

समयनिर्णय- the 5th part of the प्रताप-  
मार्तण्ड by रामकृष्ण, son of माधव,  
son of नारायण of the पराशरगोत्र.  
Composed at the order of king  
प्रताप ( रुद्रदेव ). About 1500-  
1525 A. D.

समयप्रकाश by सुकुन्दलाल.

समयप्रकाश by रामचन्द्रपञ्चन. Vide  
N. vol. VIII. p. 213.

समयप्रकाश by विष्णुशर्मा described as  
स्वराट्मसाम्राट्मिचित्स्थपतिमहायाज्ञिक.

It is a part of a digest called  
कीर्तिप्रकाश; composed by order  
of कीर्तिसिंह, son of कनकसिंह, born  
in गौर family. His विरुद्ध are  
'कोदण्डपरशुराममानोद्गत' which are  
the same as those of मदनसिंहदेव  
under whom मदनरत्न was com-  
piled. It is probably this work  
that is mentioned by श्राद्धकिपा-  
कौमुदी, महामासतत्त्व of रघु० as  
समयप्रकाश.

समयप्रदीप by विह्वलदीक्षित ( C. P.  
cat. 6284 ).

समयप्रदीप by श्रीदत्त. Vide sec. 89.

C. जीर्णोद्धार by मधुसूदनढक्कर.

समयप्रदीप by हरिहरभट्टाचार्य, compos-  
ed in śake 1481 ( शाके महीमङ्गल-  
वेदचन्द्रसंख्यागते ) i. e. 1559-60 A. D.  
Doubtful whether he was father  
of रघु०. N. vol. III. pp. 55-56 and  
Baroda O. I. No. 10120. It  
deals with astrological सुदृष्टs for  
religious rites.

समयमनोरमा ( C. P. cat. 6286 ).

समयमयूख or कालमयूख by नीलकण्ठ.  
Vide sec. 106. Pr. by Mr. Ghar-  
pure.

समयमयूख by कृष्णभट्ट.

समयरत्न by मणिराम.

समयालोक by पद्मनाभभट्ट. Vide दुर्गा-  
वतीप्रकाश.

समयोद्घोत- part of मदनरत्न.

समरसार by रामचन्द्र, son of सूर्यदास.  
Deals with astrological calcu-  
lations from names of bellige-  
rents &c.

C. by भरत younger brother of author. Stein's cat. p. 174.

C. by शिवदास, son of सूर्यदाम and विशालाक्षा. He calls the author his गुरु. N. II. pp. 204-206.

समस्तकालनिर्णयधिकार.

समानप्रवरग्रन्थ- Stein's cat. p. 107.

समावर्तनकालप्रायश्चित्त.

समावर्तनप्रयोग by स्वामिसुन्दर.

समुदायप्रकरण by जगन्नाथसुरि.

समुद्रकरमाष्य on आद्यसूत्र m. in आर्जि-  
कतच्य, आद्यतच्य of रघु०.

समुद्रवानमीमांसा.

संप्रदायप्रदीप by गङ्गादेविद्वज् ; com-  
posed at वृन्दावन in संवत् 1610  
(1553-4 A. D.) ; in five प्रकरणः ;  
gives परम्परा of विष्णुभक्तिमार्ग from  
प्रसन्नोत्तम, ब्रह्मा, नारद, कृष्णदेवायन,  
शुक ; speaks of the तिरोधान of  
the path and then of बल्लभ, his  
son विद्वह, his sons गिरिधर and  
others who were living when  
work was composed ; men-  
tions the five things ( वस्तुपञ्चक )  
on which बल्लभ dwelt ( viz. गुरु-  
सेवा, भगवत्पार्थ, भगवत्स्वरूपनिर्णय,  
भगवत्सेवा, नैवेद्य ) ; narrates  
stories of कुमारपाल and हेमचन्द्र,  
शङ्कराचार्य and हरेश्वर, मध्वाचार्य,  
रामानुज and निम्बार्क and of  
birth of बल्लभ while his parents  
were running away from Kāśī.  
D. C. ms. No. 176 of 1884-86.

संबन्धगणपति by गणपति रावल, son of  
हरिशङ्कनसुरि, on auspicious times  
for marriage, forms of marriage  
etc. About 1685 A. D.

संबन्धचूडामणि Anon. ; on prohibited  
degrees of relationship in  
marriage

संबन्धतत्त्व m. in नि. सि.

संबन्धनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायप्रधान-  
भट्टाचार्य on relationship that  
allowed or disallowed marriage  
between the parties ( such as  
सपिण्ड, समानोदक, सगोत्र, समान-  
प्रवर, बान्धव ).

संबन्धप्रदीपिका by विद्यानिधि ( Baroda  
O. I. 10106 ).

संबन्धरहस्य m. in स्मृतिरत्नावली.

संबन्धविवेक by भवदेवभट्ट m. in  
उद्वाहतच्य and संस्कारतच्य. Vide  
sec. 73.

संबन्धविवेक by जूलपाणि ; m. by रघु०  
in छुद्धितच्य, who mentions a  
परिशिष्ट thereto in संस्कारतच्य.  
Vide sec. 95 and N. ( new  
series ) vol. I preface p. X.

संबन्धविवेकपरिशिष्ट of धनराव m. in  
उद्वाहतच्य and संस्कारतच्य ( p. 891  
of रघु० ). This is probably a परि-  
शिष्ट to भवदेव's work.

संबन्धव्यवस्थाविकाश or उद्वाहन्यवस्था  
( N. II. p. 334, different from  
उद्वाहन्यवस्था above ).

सरटपतनशान्ति.

सरला ( seems to be a भाष्य on गो-  
भिलशुद्ध ) m. by रघु० in उद्वाहतच्य.  
एकादशीतच्य and छन्दोगहृषोत्सर्गतच्य.

सरस्वतीदशश्लोकी.

सरस्वतीविलास by प्रतापराजदेव of the  
गजपति dynasty of Orissa. Vide  
sec. 100.

सरोजकलिका by मासकचिरल. Contains dissertations on topics of धर्म such as ब्राह्म, आशौच, शुद्धि, गोत्र for purposes of marriage. Mitra regards it as ancient, as it names no work (N. vol. VI. p. 39).

सरोजसुन्दर or स्मृतिसार by कृष्णभट्ट. Ulwar cat. extract No. 370. Peterson seems to be wrong in saying that सरोजसुन्दर is the author (Ulwar cat. No. 1537).

सर्वबलि.

सर्वतीर्थपावाविधि by कमलाकर.

सर्वदेवताप्रतिष्ठासारसंग्रह.

सर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठाकर्म.

सर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग by माधवाचार्य. N. (new series) vol. III p. 219.

सर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठाविधि by a son of राम-चन्द्रदीक्षित.

सर्वदेवमूर्तिप्रतिष्ठाविधि.

सर्वधर्मप्रकाश by शङ्करभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. Vide धर्मप्रकाश.

सर्वधर्मप्रकाशिका of बल्लभ in 426 verses on राममन्त्र in various months and तिथि and connected festivals and rites such as मङ्गलान्तर on वैशाखादशी, क्षीराब्धि-क्षयनान्तर on आषाढशुक्लादशी, मुद्राधारणविधि, चातुर्मास्यव्रतविधि (D. C. ms. 331 of 1887-91).

सर्वपराजानार by शङ्करानन्द.

सर्वपराजानार्थसंग्रह by वेङ्कटराय.

सर्वप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by जनन्तदेव.

सर्वप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by बालशास्त्रिन or बालसूत्रि, son of शेषभट्ट, son of

नारायणभट्ट कागलकर. Wrote under Tanjore king, Śarabha, son of Tulaja.

सर्वप्रायश्चित्तलक्षण.

सर्वव्रतोपायन by जनन्तदेव.

सर्वव्रतोपायनप्रयोग.

सर्वशान्ति.

सर्वशान्तिप्रयोग- quotes हेमाद्रि (Bik. cat. p. 459).

सर्वशास्त्रार्थनिर्णय by कमलाकर. Vide BBRAS. cat. p. 238 No. 744 (ms. dated Śaka 1637) and Bik. cat. p. 459.

सर्वसंस्कारसंग्रह m. in नि. सि.

सर्वसारसंग्रह by मट्टोजि. Between 1600-1650.

सर्वस्मृतिसंग्रह by सर्वक्रतुवाजपेययाजिह्व.

सर्वाग्रयणकालनिर्णय.

सर्वाङ्गुलशान्ति.

सर्वारिष्टशान्ति.

सर्वोपयुक्कारिका- Ano. ; in 14 verses on ब्राह्म,

C. Ano. (by one familiar with Marathi as he translates कोश्व as पाकड, पावनाल as जोषला, राजमाष as अलसंदा). Ms. in Bhadkamkar collection. The colophon at end says that कारिका follow मट्टोजि's work. The first verse on तिलतर्पण-निषिद्धदिन is भीमेकं 'भृगुजे मयासुहृदि-शासत्रम्यनङ्गाहया नन्दाजन्मदिनेषु सं-धिषुगुल नो तर्पणं स्यात्तिलैः । नोद्वाहव्रत-चौलध्विषु समार्घार्थकमासं क्रमान्नो दुष्येद् सती महालयगयापुण्याहतीर्था-विद् ॥'.

सहगमनविधि or सतीविधान ascribed to गोविन्दराज ( I. O. cat. p. 578 No. 774 ). In 66 verses.

सहगमनश्राद्ध.

सहचारविधि on ceremonies performed when a wife burnt herself on her husband's pyre.

सहचारविधि or सहगमनविधि- D. C. Ms. No. 183 of 1884-86 is dated संवत् 1686.

सहस्रचण्डीविधान by कमलाकर.

सहस्रचण्डीविधि ( Ulwar cat. 1528, extract 365 ).

सहस्रचण्डीशतचण्डीविधान.

सहस्रचण्डीशतविधि by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण. Refers to निर्णयसिन्धु as his own work ( N. IX. pp. 203-204 ). About 1612 A. D.

सहस्रभोजनविधि. Stein's cat. p. 107.

सहस्रभोजनसूत्रव्याख्या by भास्करराय, son of गम्भीररायदीक्षित ( Ulwar cat. extract 28 ). The original sūtras are बौधायन's.

सहानुमरणविधेय by अनन्तराम विद्यागीश, son of रामचरण न्यायालङ्कार. Mentions शुद्धितत्त्व, विवादभङ्गार्णव. About 1800 A. D. ( N. vol. VII. p. 223 ).

सहृदय by हरि on आचार. N. vol. VII. p. 281.

सांख्यसंस्कृतश्राद्ध.

सांख्यसंस्कृतश्राद्धप्रयोग according to यज्ञवल्क्य. N. II. p. 66.

सागर- several works are so called viz. अद्भुतसागर, दानसागर, स्मृति-सागर.

सागरधर्मसूत.

सागरसंहिता m. by हेमाद्रि II. p. 852.

साग्निकविधि rules for funeral ceremonies of agnihottrins.

सांख्यायनसूत्रसूत्र- vide शाङ्खायनसूत्रसूत्र.

सांख्यायनसूत्रसंग्रह by बासुदेव. Vide शाङ्खायन<sup>०</sup>; (pr. in Ben. S. series).

साधनचन्द्रिका by केशवेन्द्रस्वामी on observances of वैष्णवस.

साधनीद्वन्द्वी ( Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 110 b ).

साधारणप्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह.

साधारणव्रतप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग- according to यज्ञवल्क्य ( N. II. p. 632 ).

साविण्डीमञ्जरी by नागेश.

सापिण्डपक्ष्यलता or- लतिका by सदाशिवदेव alias आपदेव, son of श्रीपति, son of नीलकण्ठ, in 24 verses ( or 25 in some mss. ), on सापिण्ड्य for marriage. He was a resident of देशालयपुर ( D. C. ms. 613 of 1882-83 copied in šake 1760 ). The author was pupil of विठ्ठल. The work takes सपिण्ड to mean connected by particles of the same body. Vide N. ( new series ) vol. III preface pp. VIII-IX and p. 222 where the verses are said to be 36.

C. by नारायणदेव, son of रामकृष्ण, son of सदाशिवदेव ( pr. in सरस्वती-भवन series, 1927, with text ). He was the author's grandson and pupil of नागेश. Mentions नरहरि-सन्नर्षि, वीरमित्रोदय, सापिण्ड्यप्रदीप of his teacher नागेश, द्वैतनिर्णय.

- सापिण्डव्यवस्थाप्रकाश of धरणीधर, son of रेवाधर ( Baroda O. I. 12783 ).
- सापिण्डव्यदीपिका by नागेश. Same as सापिण्डव्यमञ्जरी or सापिण्डव्यनिर्णय.
- सापिण्डव्यदीपिका or सापिण्डव्यनिर्णय by श्रीधरभट्ट (Bhadkamkar collection). Mentions प्रवरनिर्णय. Probably it is this that is mentioned in नि. सि. He was the grand-uncle of कमलाकर and so flourished about 1520-1580 A. D. D. C. ms. 208 of A 1882-83 is called अनुकल्प सापिण्डव्यनिर्णय and discusses certain views of श्रीधर about तृतीय कन्यापरिणयन. D. C. Ms. 129 of 1895-98 is dated संवत् 1647 ( 1590 A. D. ).
- सापिण्डव्यनिर्णय by नामोजिमठ. Names नन्दपण्डित, अनन्तदेव, गोविन्दार्णव, बाहुदेवभट्ट ( ms. in Bhadkamkar collection dated šake 1725 ).
- सापिण्डव्यनिर्णय of भट्टोजि. D. C. Ms. No. 622 of 1883-84 begins 'अथ सप्तमीपञ्चमीनिर्णयः'.
- सापिण्डव्यनिर्णय by रामकृष्ण ( C. P. cat. No. 6378-80 ).
- सापिण्डव्यनिर्णय by रामभट्ट ( Baroda O. I. 5032 ).
- सापिण्डव्यनिर्णय by श्रीधरभट्ट ; m. by व्य.म. The same as सापिण्डव्यदीपिका ( D. C. ms. 128 of 1895-98 ).
- सापिण्डव्यप्रदीप of नागेश ; m. in com. on सापिण्डव्यकल्पलतिका. Pr. by Mr. J. R. Gharpure.
- सापिण्डव्यमीमांसा m. in नि. सि. Probably the same as सापिण्डव्यदीपिका of श्रीधर.
- सापिण्डव्यविचार by विश्वेश्वर alias नागाभट्ट ( Baroda O. I. 1947 ).
- सापिण्डव्यविषय by गोपीनाथभट्ट.
- सापिण्डव्यसार by धरणीधर, son of रेवाधर ( Baroda O. I. 12784 ).
- सापिण्डव्यभाट्टविधि.
- सामव्यवहृतप्रतिष्ठा by रघुनन्दन.
- सामव्यवहृतसंगतत्व by रघु. Vide वृषोत्संगतत्व above.
- सामगाहिक- vide छन्दोगाहिक.
- सामग्रहपरिशिष्ट- vide गोभिलग्रहपरिशिष्ट.
- सामग्रहशक्ति by रुद्रकन्द.
- सामवेदीयदशकर्म of भवदेव- vide कर्मावृत्तानन्दति of भवदेव. Sec. 73.
- सामवेदीयसंस्कारपद्धति by धीरेश्वर, son of देवादिन्य. N. ( new series ) vol. III. p. 221 ). About 1300 A. D.
- सामान्यक्रमशक्ति.
- सामान्यपञ्चदशक ( part of त्रिस्थलीसिद्ध ).
- सामान्यहोमपद्धति.
- सायणीय- m. in नि. सि. This is probably the प्रायश्चित्तसुधानिधि of सायण.
- सायंप्रातरौपासन.
- सारग्राहकर्मविषयक. Composed by the eldest son of कालहर्षदेव, son of पद्मनाभ, a नागरवाङ्मण and compiled in संवत् 1440 ( 1384 A. D. ) at नन्दपट्टनगर under the patronage of कर्मसिंह, minister of king दुर्गसिंह, son of मङ्गलचूपाळ. Author says he bases his work on कर्मवि-

- बाक of मौलिनिरूप or मौलिनिरूप, from which he borrowed matter of the extent of 1200 श्लोक, while his own work extends to 4900 श्लोक units, the author borrowed 276 श्लोक units from विज्ञानेश and 500 from बौधायन. There are 55 प्रकरण and 45 अधिकार. Vide I.O. cat. p. 573 No. 1767, Baroda O. I. No. 9459 and 9082 and Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83 p. 63. There are quotations from दानसङ्ग्रह and आचारदीपक. The Baroda Ms. 9082 was copied in संवत् 1496 (1439 A.D.).
- सारमञ्जरी- com. on छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट-प्रकाश by श्रीनाथ.
- सारसङ्ग्रह- vide under चाणक्यनीति.
- सारसङ्ग्रह m. in मन्व. पा., तिथितत्त्व, वीरातत्त्व, मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०, सं. कौ.
- सारसङ्ग्रह. Ano. on auspicious and inauspicious days for religious rites in 881 verses. Ms. (I. O. cat. p. 535 No. 1679) dated संवत् 1774 (1717-18 A. D.).
- सारसङ्ग्रह by मुरारिभट्ट.
- सारसङ्ग्रह by राघवभट्ट m. in मलमास-तत्त्व of रघु०.
- सारसङ्ग्रहदीपिका by रामप्रसाददेशभर्मन.
- सारसङ्ग्रह by शम्भुदास.
- सारसमुच्चय m. in हेमाद्रिदानसङ्ग्रह and शूलपाणि's दूर्गोत्सवविवेक.
- सारसागर.
- सारार्थचतुष्टय by बरदाचार्य.
- सारावलि m. by अरार्क p. 872 (on विदुष्करयोग). Probably an astro-
- logical work, such as that of कल्याणवर्मन्, which is mentioned even by Alberuni and so was earlier than 1000 A. D.
- सारावलि- vide रघुतिसारावलि.
- सारासारविवेक.
- सारोद्धार ( com. on विश्वकोटीविवरण) by शम्भुभट्ट.
- सिद्धरथपद्धति- (on merit by bathing in गोदावरी when Jupiter is in Leo). N. vol. X. p. 348. Based on हेमाद्रि.
- सिद्धान्तखिन्तामणि m. by छू० in मलमासतत्त्व.
- सिद्धान्तज्योत्स्ना by धनिराम (C. P. cat. 6521).
- सिद्धान्ततत्त्वविवेक by कमलाकर. Vide तत्त्वविवेक.
- सिद्धान्ततिथिनिर्णय by शिवनन्दन (C. P. cat. 6522).
- सिद्धान्तनिर्णय by रघुराम.
- सिद्धान्तरीष by चित्रपति written for Colebrooke.
- सिद्धान्तविन्दु on आब्द (Burnell's Tanj. cat. 143 b).
- सिद्धान्तमञ्जरी- vide दत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी.
- सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि by मोहनमिश्र.
- सिद्धान्तशेखर m. in the ग्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट and मठप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व of रघु०. Probably a तान्त्रिक work. Earlier than 1500 A. D.
- सिद्धान्तशेखर by विश्वनाथ, son of भास्कर.
- सिद्धान्तसन्दर्भ m. by रघुनन्दन in मल-मासतत्त्व.



सिद्धान्तसुधोदर m. in स्मृतिसारोदर  
of विश्वम्भर.

सौमन्तकर्मपद्धति.

सौमन्तनिर्णय.

सुकुलपत्रकाश by ज्वालानाथमिश्र on  
आचार, आशौच, आश्रम and अस-  
त्वरिग्रह (acceptance of gifts from  
improper persons). N. vol. II.  
p. 136 ..

सुगतिसोपान by गणेश्वरमन्त्रिन, son of  
देवादित्य. He was uncle of चण्डे-  
श्वर. Vide pp. 370-371 above.  
Author styles himself महाराजा-  
धिराज and says he was assisted  
by देवादित्यसाधिविशिष्टहिक (his  
father); m. by रघु in सुन्दरतन्त्र  
and by रुद्रधर. About 1st half of  
14th century.

सुज्ञानदुर्गोदय by विश्वेश्वर alias गंगा-  
भट्ट, son of दिनकरभट्ट, on 16  
संस्कारs. Composed about 1675  
A. D. (Bik. cat. p. 475).

सुदर्शनकालप्रभा by रामेश्वरशास्त्री.

सुदर्शनभाष्य com. of सुदर्शनाचार्य on  
आपस्तम्बब्रह्मसूत्र; m. by भट्टोजि in  
चतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्यान, नि. सि. Earlier than 1550 A. D.

C. अण्डबिला by ब्रह्मविद्यातीर्थ;  
m. in नि. सि.

सुदर्शनमीमांसाविवेक (Baroda O. I.  
4085). Justifies तत्त्वक्रादिपञ्चा-  
दुपधारण by वैष्णवs; ms. copied  
in संवत् 1834.

सुधीचन्द्रिका.

सुधीमण्डल.

H. D. 84.

सुधीविलोचन m. in आश्रमप्रयोग of गो-  
पालसूरि and in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका, in  
वैष्णवप्रक्रिया.

सुधीविलोचन by वैदिकसार्वभौम.

सुधीविलोचनसार.

सुन्दरराजीव m. in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका.

सुप्रभा- com. by अनन्त, son of सिद्धे-  
श्वर, on the कुण्डमार्तण्ड of गोविन्द;  
composed in 1692 A. D.

सुषोधिनी प्रयोगपद्धति- pr. in Kāśī S.  
series (कुलपत्रबेदीया and साम-  
वेदीया).

सुषोधिनी (होमपद्धति) by अनन्तभट्ट  
on the pacification of the नवग्रहs.

सुषोधिनी (com. on त्रिशङ्कोपी) by  
अनन्त, son of कमलाकर. 1610-  
1660 A. D.

सुषोधिनी by महादेव.

सुषोधिनी by रत्नराजिशर्मन्, son of  
सखीवेश्वर. Compiled under  
orders of रुद्रसिंह of मिथिला. A  
स्मृति digest on ten संस्कारs, आश्रम,  
daily religious duties. (N. VI.  
p. 47).

सुषोधिनी com. on the मिताक्षरा by  
विश्वेश्वरभट्ट. Vide sec. 93. Text  
on व्यवहार and translation pr. by  
Mr. J. R. Gharpure.

सुषोधिनी (प्रयोगपद्धति) by शिवराम,  
son of विश्वाम, for students of  
सामवेद. Mentions his own कुल्य-  
धित्नामणि. About 1640 A. D.

सुमन्तुपर्मसूत्र- Vide sec. 29 and Tri.  
cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for

- 1919-22 pp. 5160-62 for a prose समन्तुपरमसूत्र.
- समन्तुसूत्र m. by मिताक्षरा, अपरार्क.
- सूतकदीपिका- vide under त्रिशच्छुकी.
- सूतकनिर्णय (also called अष्टकादौ-चभाष्य on the margin). The first verse is नाम्नःप्राग्दन्तजतेरुपगमविधेरानुबोधस्त्रिरात्रं &c.; ms. in Stein's cat. (p. 319) is dated संवत् 1466 (1409-19 A. D.).
- सूतकनिर्णय of भट्टोजि, son of लक्ष्मीपार (in Bhadkamkar collection) Mentions माधव, हरदत्त, त्रिशच्छुकी.
- सूतकसार.
- सूतकसिद्धान्त by देवयाज्ञिक.
- सूरसंक्रान्तिदीपिका by जयनारायणतर्क-पञ्चानन.
- सूरिसंतोष m. by रघु० in एकादशीतत्त्व and तिथितत्त्व.
- सूर्यनमस्कारविधि.
- सूर्यप्रकाश by हरिसामन्तराज, son of कृष्ण. A comprehensive digest on धर्मशास्त्र. Bik. cat. p. 475 contains only व्रतखण्ड.
- सूर्यविषयवापतनप्रतिष्ठापसूति by विद्याकर, son of भारद्वाज महादेव, on the installation of सूर्य, शिव, गणेश, दुर्गा and विष्णु in a temple.
- सूर्यार्घ्यदानपद्धति by महादेवभट्ट.
- सूर्यार्घ्यदानपद्धति by माधव, son of रामेश्वर. About 1520-1580.
- सूर्यार्घ्यकर्मविपाक (Ulwar cat. extract No. 293) pr. in Bombay.
- सूर्योदयनिबन्ध m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति of नारायण.
- सुतुपात्राविधि.
- सुदकुम्भमास.
- सोमनाथीय by सोमनाथभट्ट, son of सुरभट्ट and younger brother of वेङ्कटाद्रिपञ्चन, of the नितल family.
- सोमवारव्रतोपायन.
- सोमपारामायास्पष्टतकालनिर्णय.
- सोमशेखर (निबन्ध) m. in मलमास-तत्त्व of रघु०. सरस्वतीविलास p. 422 (Mysore ed.) quotes सोमशेखर on द्वायमास.
- सौभाग्यकल्पद्रुम by अश्वत्थ (Baroda O. I. 1903.).
- श्रीधननिर्णय.
- श्रीधनपकरण.
- श्रीधर्मकमलाकर of कमलाकरभट्ट, m. in विषादताण्डव.
- श्रीधर्मपद्धति by श्रम्यक.
- श्रीधनकहाटखण्डनमालिका by राघवेन्द्र.
- श्रीधूप्रदिनचर्चा.
- स्थालीपाक (आपस्तम्बीय).
- .. (आश्वलायनीय).
- स्थालीपाकनिर्णय.
- स्थालीपाकप्रयोग (आश्वलायनीय).
- स्थालीपाकप्रयोग by कमलाकर. N. (new series) vol. III. p. 236.
- स्थालीपाकप्रयोग by नारायण.
- स्थावरप्राणप्रतिष्ठा.
- स्थिरलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठा.
- स्नानविधिसूत्रपरिशिष्ट or स्नानसूत्र or त्रिकलिङ्गसूत्र by कात्यायन.
- C. स्नानसूत्रपद्धति by कर्क.

- C. स्नानसूत्रदीपिका by गोपीनाथ, son of महादेव.  
CC. by कृष्णनाथ.
- C. by छान याज्ञिकचक्रचूडाचिन्तामणि.
- C. by त्रिमल्लनय ( केशव ? ).
- C. by महादेवद्विवेदिन ( N. vol. VII. p. 304 ).
- C. स्नानपद्धति or स्नानविधिपद्धति by याज्ञिकदेव.
- C. स्नानसूत्रपद्धति by हरिजीवनमिश्र. Says that he follows in this work his माध्व.
- C. स्नानाव्याख्या and पद्धति by अग्निहोत्रिदिरिहर.
- स्मार्तकर्मवृत्तान्तक्रमविवरण by चण्डक. ( Baroda O. I. 296 dated संवत् 1593 ).
- स्मार्तकुतुहल.
- स्मार्तगङ्गाधरी by गङ्गाधर ( C. P. cat. No. 6710 ).
- स्मार्तदिनमाणि ( Mysore Govt. mss. cat. p. 75 ).
- स्मार्तदीपिका Ano.; follows आश्व-  
लायन. Burnell's Tanj. cat. 139a.
- स्मार्तपदार्थसंग्रह from प्रयोगपद्धति of गङ्गाधर.
- स्मार्तपदार्थानुक्रमणिका by द्वैपायनाचार्य ( Baroda O. I. 6986 ).
- स्मार्तपरिभाषा m. in सन्ध्याभाष्य of कृष्णपण्डित.
- स्मार्तप्रदीपिका ( Mysore Govt. mss. cat. p. 75 ).
- स्मार्तप्रयोग by चोपणभट्ट.  
" ( हिरण्यकेशीप ).  
C. वैजयन्ती.
- स्मार्तप्रयोगकारिका.
- स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्त by तिप्पाभट्ट, son of रामभट्ट, son of बालभट्ट, surnamed गडर.
- स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग or प्रायश्चित्तोद्धार by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of रामेश्वर, surnamed काल ( काळे in Marathi ). He was daughter's son of रामकृष्ण, father of कमला करभट्ट. About 1660-1680 A. D. ( BBRAS. cat. p. 238 No. 745 ).
- स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय by वेङ्कटाचार्य.
- स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तोद्धार- same as स्मार्त-  
प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग and प्रायश्चित्तोद्धार of दिवाकर.
- स्मार्तस्मार्तप्रयोग by स्मार्तण्डसोमपाणिन.
- स्मार्तव्यवस्थार्णव of रघुनाथसार्वभौम, son of मथुरेश, composed at the order of king रत्नेश्वरराय, in śake 1583 ( i. e. 1661-62 A. D. ). Di-  
vided into sections on तिथि, संक्रान्ति, आशौच, इत्यशुद्धि, अधि-  
कारि, प्रायश्चित्त, उद्वाह, दाय. ( D. C. ms. No. 305 of 1886-92 on तिथि, N. II. p. 76 on उद्वाह, N. I. p. 284 on दाय ).
- स्मार्तसङ्क्षेप of नन्दपण्डित, son of देवशर्मान. Vide sec. 105 p. 431. Refers to दत्तकमीमांसा as his.
- स्मार्तकुटुम्बपद्धति of नारायणदीक्षित. ( C. P. cat. No. 6717 ).
- स्मार्तण्डविला.

स्मार्ताधानपद्धति by गोविन्द.

स्मार्ताधानप्रयोग of सीताम्बर, son of काश्यपाचार्य. (BBRAS. cat. p. 239 No. 747). Mentions मदनरत्न. Vide under धर्माध्याय. Between 1500 and 1675 A. D.

स्मार्तानुष्ठानपद्धति of अनन्तभट्ट, son of विश्वनाथ. Also styled अनन्तभट्टी. A manual of initiatory rites with the prayers required therein. Vide under प्रयोगसूत्र. According to आश्वलायन. (I. O. cat. p. 515).

स्मार्तौपासनपद्धति from the प्रयोगसूत्र.

स्मार्तौद्गास by शिवप्रसाद, son of श्रीनिवास of गुल्फरपुर (Baroda O. I. 11958). Ms. dated शके 1610. Mentions मदनरत्न, टोडरानन्द. Between 1580-1680 A. D. On आधानकाल, सद्गुरुविचार, duties of अग्निहोत्र, on difficult points about रजस्वला &c.

स्मृतिकदम्ब by कश्च येणुभट्ट. Hultsch R. I. No. 657.

स्मृतिकल्पद्रुम by गुरु ईश्वरनाथ.

C. by author. Stein's cat p. 108.

स्मृतिकोशदीपिका by तिम्मणभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 2008 on आह्निक only).

स्मृतिकौमुदी by देवनाथठक्कर. A digest on व्याख्यानार्थ, आचार, आह्निक, संस्कार, आशुच, आशौच, दापमान, व्रत, दान, उत्सर्ग. (N. vol. V. p. 237).

स्मृतिकौमुदी by मदनपाल. Sec. 93 pp. 383-384. Also styled श्रद्धामौल्यशोचिनी.

स्मृतिकौमुदी by रामकृष्णभट्टाचार्य (N. VI. p. 140).

स्मृतिकौमुदीटीका by कृष्णनाथ.

स्मृतिकौमुदम् of अनन्तदेव. Sec. 109. Divided into 12 दीपितः.

स्मृतिकौमुदम् by वेङ्कटाद्रि. Vide आशौच-निर्णय.

स्मृतिग्रन्थराज by सार्वभौम.

स्मृतिचन्द्र m. in संस्कारमण्डल of सिद्धेश्वर.

स्मृतिचन्द्र by भवदेवन्यायालङ्कार, son of हरिहर, composed in 1720-22 A. D. and divided into 16 कलाः on तिथि, व्रत, संस्कार, आह्निक, आशुच, आचार, प्रतिष्ठा, वृषोत्सर्ग, परीक्षा, प्रायश्चित्त, व्यवहार, गृहपञ्च, वेदमन्त्र, मलिम्लुच, दान, श्रद्धि. Mentions श्रीदत्त and संवत्सरप्रदीप. Imitates रघु<sup>२</sup>.

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by आपदेवमीमांसक. On काल, मलमास, व्रत, आह्निक, विवाह and other संस्कार, स्त्रीधर्म, आश्रमधर्म, अश्वेष्टि, आशौच, आशुच. (N. VI. 301).

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by कुबेर (m. in दत्तक-चन्द्रिका).

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by केशवादित्यभट्ट (Bik. cat. 465). This entry is wrong, as the introductory verses and the verses at the end show that this is the same as देवणभट्ट's work.

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by देवणभट्ट, son of केशवादित्यभट्ट. Sec. 85 (pr. by Mr. Gharpure and in Mysore G. O. L. series).

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by वामदेवभट्टाचार्य (N. IX. p. 137).

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by वैदिकसार्वभौम.

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by शुक्लदेवमिश्र, son of विठ्ठलमिश्र. On तिथिनिर्णय, शुद्धि, आशौच, व्यवहार. (I. O. cat. p. 471).

„ Ano. (N. vol. VIII. p. 153).

स्मृतिचन्द्रोदय by गणेशभट्ट (C. P. cat. No. 6723-24).

स्मृतिचरण by भवानीशङ्कर.

स्मृतिचिन्तामणि by गङ्गादित्य or गङ्गाधर, son of गोपीनाथमिश्र. Mentions कल्पतरु, कामधेनु, हेमाद्रि, मदनरत्न, and is mentioned in वृत्तिह-प्रसाद (I. O. cat. p. 444 on व्यवहार, which is 2nd परिच्छेद). About 1450-1500.

स्मृतिचिन्तामणिसंग्रह (Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4978 on आश्रितिक).

स्मृतिचूडामणि or- मणिसंग्रह of वरदाचार्य, of the शक्त्यगोत्र.

स्मृतिचक्षु of रघुनन्दन. It is the name of his digest containing 28 तत्त्वस. Sec. 102.

स्मृतिचक्षुप्रकाश by श्रीदेव.

स्मृतिचक्षुचिन्तिर्णय or व्यवस्थापन by रामभट्ट, son of श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि. Mentions शृङ्गपाणि. 1500-1550 A. D. N. (new series) I. p. 413.

स्मृतिचक्षुचिन्तिर्णय by वर्धमानमहामहोपाध्याय, son of भवेश and गौरी and judge at the court of भैरवेन्द्र of मिथिला. About 1450-1500 A. D. On आचार, आशु, शुद्धि and व्यवहार. N. vol. V. p. 184.

स्मृतिचक्षुसार (B. O. cat. vol. I No. 440).

स्मृतिचक्षुसार of वर्धमान, son of भवेश and गौरी. N. vol. VI. p. 12 contains शान्तिकपीठिकाञ्जलि. Dealing with rites for propitiating adverse deities and portents and for consecrating works of public utility. N. VI. p. 57 is styled तत्त्वासृतसारोद्धार (व्यवहाराञ्जलि) and in the concluding verses वर्धमान says that he composed four कुसुम on आचार, आशु, शुद्धि and व्यवहार. So स्मृतिचक्षुचिन्तिर्णय and तत्त्वासु are the same. It was completed under राम, son of भैरवेन्द्र.

स्मृतिदर्पण m. in आशुकल्पलता, वृत्तिह-प्रसाद, शृङ्गकमलाकर, विधानपारिजात. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

स्मृतिदर्पण (Baroda O. I. No. 10916 is an incomplete ms. in 598 verses). Names 36 स्मृतिकारस, कलिचर्ज्य (such as पुनर्विवाह).

स्मृतिदीपिका m. in सं. कौ., संस्कार-मन्त्र of सिद्धेश्वर. Earlier than 1650 A. D.

स्मृतिदीपिका of वामदेव उपाध्याय on times for आशु and other rites (N. vol. V. p. 157 and VII. 125).

स्मृतिदुर्गमञ्जन by चन्द्रदेवशर- vide दुर्गम-ञ्जन.

स्मृतिनवनीत of वृषभाद्रिनाथ, son of नारसिंह, pupil of रामचन्द्र and श्रीनिवास.

स्मृतिनिबन्ध by सुसिंहभट्ट. An extensive digest on धर्मलक्षण, वर्णाश्रम-धर्म, विवाहादिसंस्कार, साविण्य, आशौच, आहुत, आहुत, वापमाय, प्रायश्चित्त ( N. VIII p. 174 ).

स्मृतिपरिभाषा by वर्धमानमहामहोपाध्याय; contains general rules regarding ceremonial observances and proper seasons for them and on स्नान, ब्रह्मण, तिथिद्वय, दान &c. Names स्मृतिमहार्णव, हरिहरमिश्र ; m. in एकदशतन्त्र of रघु. About 1450-1500 A. D.

स्मृतिप्रकाश by भास्करभट्ट or हरिभास्कर-भट्ट, son of आपाजिभट्ट (or आपाजि-), son of हरिभट्ट ( Bik. cat. p. 467 deals with portion on आहुत ).

स्मृतिप्रकाश by बालदेव रथ (one fascicule pr. in B. I. series) on कालनिरूपण, संवत्सर, संक्रान्ति. Mentions माधवाचार्य and विद्याकर-वाजपेयी. Later than 1500 A. D.

स्मृतिप्रदीप m. by हेमाद्रि (काल० p. 355).

स्मृतिप्रदीप by चन्द्रशेखरमहोपाध्याय on तिथि, आशौच, आहुत.

स्मृतिप्रदीपिका- vide धर्मदीपिका of चन्द्रशेखरवाचस्पति.

स्मृतिप्रदीपिका m. by भट्टोजि in his com. on अष्टाविंशतिमत.

स्मृतिप्रामाण्यवाद.

स्मृतिभास्कर m. by स्मृतिच०, प्रयोग-पारिजात of सुसिंह, धर्मप्रवृत्ति, सुसिंह-प्रसाद. Madras Govt. mss. cat. vol. V. p. 2043 Nos. 2786-87 contains portions on यतिधर्म and छत्रधर्म from a स्मृतिभास्कर.

स्मृतिभास्कर by नीलकण्ठ ( N. vol. V. p. 108 ). From the introductory verses it appears to be the शास्त्रिमहूय of नीलकण्ठ.

स्मृतिभूषण by कोटिरिभट्ट, son of केशव. A digest of rituals for माधव followers.

स्मृतिमञ्जरी by कालीचरणन्यायालङ्कार.

स्मृतिमञ्जरी by मोघिनाराज. Sec. 76 pp. 311-313.

स्मृतिमञ्जरी by रत्नधरमिश्र.

स्मृतिमञ्जरी Ano. ( D. C. ms. No. 184 of 1884-86 on आहुत ).

स्मृतिमञ्जरी m. in कालादर्श, स्मृतिसार of हरिनाथ, छन्दोगादिक of श्रीदत्त. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

स्मृतिमहाराज by कृष्णराज ( Baroda O. I. No. 8023 ). It mentions मदनराज. Begins with मोक्षान and ends with स्मृतिप्रतिष्ठापन. It is styled सूत्रपद्धति also.

स्मृतिमहार्णव or स्मृतिमहार्णवप्रकाश m. by हेमाद्रि. Vide महार्णव and p. 308 above.

स्मृतिमहोदधि by परमानन्दचन, pupil of चिदानन्दयद्वेन्द्रसरस्वती.

स्मृतिमीमांसा by जैमिनि, m. by अपराकं p. 206. A स्मृतिमीमांसा is m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, in the स्मृतिरत्नाकर of वेदाचार्य, by हेमाद्रि in व्रतसङ्ग and परिशेषसङ्ग and by सुसिंहप्रसाद.

स्मृतिमुक्ताकल of वैष्णवादीक्षित. A very popular स्मृति digest in southern India. Printed several times in Southern India at Chidamba-

- ram, 1908, Kumbhakonam &c. On वर्णाश्रमधर्म, आह्निक, आशीच, आशु, व्रणशुद्धि, प्रायश्चित्त, व्यवहार, काल. About 1600 A. D.
- स्मृतिमुक्ताफलसंग्रह by चिदम्बरेश्वर.
- स्मृतिमुक्तावली of कृष्णाचार्य, son of कुमारसुसिंहभट्ट, son of विजयीन्द्रभट्ट; in 10 प्रकरण.
- स्मृतिरत्न m. by कालादर्श, सं. को., संस्कारमण्डप of सिद्धेश्वर.
- स्मृतिरत्न of रघुनाथभट्ट. Ms. (N. VII. p. 253) is dated शके 1699.
- स्मृतिरत्नकोश.
- स्मृतिरत्नमहोदधि by श्रीपरमानन्दधन, pupil of चिदानन्दब्रह्मसरस्वती. Contains षट्धर्मविचार, आचार, आशीच &c. Quotes माधवीय. (Vide Madras Govt. mss. cat. pp. 2055-57 Nos. 2802-4).
- स्मृतिरत्नविवेक m. by चण्डेश्वर and by रुद्रधर in his आशुविवेक. Earlier than 1300 A. D.
- स्मृतिरत्नाकर by तातपार्य (Baroda O. I. 9919).
- स्मृतिरत्नाकर by ताम्रपर्णाचार्य.
- स्मृतिरत्नाकर by भट्टोजि (on प्रायश्चित्त and आशीच). Vide Mad. Govt. mss. cat. vol. V. p. 2059 No. 2806.
- स्मृतिरत्नाकर by विठ्ठल, son of केशव, a resident of विदुरपुर. Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 1354. From the place of residence and contents, it appears that this is the same as the preceding.
- स्मृतिरत्नाकर by विष्णुभट्ट, son of केशव, residing at विदुरपुर; on आह्निक, 16 संस्कार, संक्रान्ति, ग्रहण, दान, तिथि-निर्णय, प्रायश्चित्त, आशीच, भित्तयेमि-तिक (vide D. C. ms. No. 52 of 1866-68). Bik. cat. p. 467 gives शिवभट्ट as father's name.
- स्मृतिरत्नाकर by वेङ्कटनाथ, son of श्री-रङ्गनाथाचार्य, son of सरस्वतीपट्टम, surnamed वेदिकतापमौम. आह्निक portion pr. Lakṣmivenkatesvara Press at Kalyan. Mentions विज्ञानेश्वर, स्मृतिच०, अखण्डादर्श, माधवीय, स्मृतिसारसमुच्चय and इति-हाससमुच्चय. Also called सदाचार-संग्रह.
- स्मृतिरत्नाकर by वेङ्कटाचार्य in 15 chapters on भित्तयेमितिकाचार, वर्माधा-नादिनस्कार, तिथिनिर्णय, आशु, शान्ति, तीर्थयात्रा, भक्ष्यावश्यक, जल, प्रायश्चित्त, आशीच, अन्त्येष्टिकर्म; written under patronage of कामरूप king. Quotes ब्रह्मदेव (on प्रायश्चित्त), जीवतवाहन, स्मृतिमीमांसा, स्मृतिसमुच्चय, आचारसामर, दान-सामर, महार्णव. It is this that is probably m. in यदुर्वेदिमाधुतत्त्व of रघु०. Between 1250-1500 A. D. I. O. cat. pp. 473-474, N. VII. 45 (the colophon says that the प्रायश्चित्त section is the 18th परिच्छेद).
- स्मृतिरत्नावलि m. in सुसिंहप्रसाद, अन्त्ये-ष्टिपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट, नि. सि., शुद्धिचिन्तका of नन्दपण्डित.
- स्मृतिरत्नावलि by मधुसूदनदीक्षित, son of मोक्षेश्वर. (Bik. cat. p. 467 contains आशु portion only).



स्मृतिरत्नावलि by रामनाथविद्यावाचस्पति.  
Composed in 1657 A. D.; vide  
under दायभागविवेक. Stein's cat.  
p. 109.

स्मृतिरत्नावलि by वेजुराम. N. VII.  
p. 228.

स्मृतिरहस्य.

स्मृतिविवरण by आनन्दतीर्थ. Same as  
सदाचारस्मृति.

स्मृतिविवेक by मेधातिथि. Sec. 63  
pp. 274-275.

स्मृतिविवेक by झलपाणि. Sec. 95.

स्मृतिव्यवस्था by चिन्तामणि न्यायवागीश-  
भट्टाचार्य of गौडदेश; ms. of झङ्गवा-  
दिव्यवस्था (N. IV. 130) dated  
śake 1610 (1688-89 A. D.).

स्मृतिव्यवस्थापण (B. O. mss. cat.  
vol. I. No. 433).

स्मृतिशेखर or कस्तूरिस्मृति by कस्तूरि,  
son of नागध, on आचार. (Burnell's Tanj. cat. 136a).

स्मृतिसंस्कारकौस्तुभ. Probably the  
same as संस्कारकौस्तुभ of अनन्त-  
वेष.

स्मृतिसंक्षेप by नरोत्तम on आशौच,  
सहमरण, रोद्धशदान. N. (new  
series) vol. II. p. 225 and  
vol. I. p. 414.

स्मृतिसंक्षेपसार by रमाकान्तचक्रवर्तिन्,  
son of मधुसूदनतर्कवागीश. On उद्वाह,  
उद्वाहकाल, गोत्र, प्रवर, सपिण्ड, समा-  
नोदक &c. N. (new series) vol.  
II. p. 225.

स्मृतिसंग्रह or संग्रह. Vide sec. 54.

स्मृतिसंग्रह.

(1) by झलारि नारायण, m. by his  
son in स्मृत्यर्थसागर.

(2) by दयाराम.

(3) by नीलकण्ठ (D. C. ms. No.  
373 of 1875-76).

(4) by रामभद्रन्यायालङ्कारभट्टाचार्य or  
नवहीन on अवधाय, तिथि, प्राय-  
श्चित्त, शुद्धि, उद्वाह, सापिण्ड्य.  
Also called व्यवस्थाविवेचन or  
व्यवस्थासंक्षेप.

(5) attributed to सायण and माधव.

स्मृतिसंग्रह by वाचस्पति.

स्मृतिसंग्रह by विचारण्य (Hultsch R.  
I. No. 591.).

स्मृतिसंग्रह alias विचारण्यसंग्रह (in  
margin)-a large work in 7000  
ग्रन्थ (Baroda O. I. 11248).

स्मृतिसंग्रह by वेङ्कटेश. Is it same as  
स्मृतिरत्नाकर of वेङ्कटनाथ?

स्मृतिसंग्रह by हरदत्त.

स्मृतिसंग्रह-same as परमेश्वरीदासाधि.

स्मृतिसंग्रह on व्यवहार (Cal. S.  
College ms. cat. vol. II.  
p. 137 No. 141).

स्मृतिसंग्रहर्त्तनव्याख्यान-a com. on चतु-  
र्विंशतिमत by रामचन्द्र, son of नारा-  
यणभट्ट (I. O. cat. p. 475).  
Seems to be the same as भट्टोजि's  
com. on चतुर्विंशतिमत.

स्मृतिसंग्रहसार of महेशप्रभानन, founded  
on रघुनन्दन's स्मृतिरत्न. N. VI.  
p. 235.

स्मृतिसमुच्चय (ms. in Bombay Uni-  
versity Library) in about 500

verses on आह्निक, शौच, स्नान, एकादशी &c. Quotes मरुदपुराण.

स्मृतिसमुच्चय (from आचारतिलक or लघ्वाचारतिलक) in 321 verses on दन्तधावन, स्नान, संध्या, daily duties, आर्य, एकादशी &c. (Baroda O. I. No. 7331).

स्मृतिसमुच्चय of विश्वेश्वर. It is said in JBORS. for 1927 parts III-IV p. VII that it is this work that is m. in दशविधेक of जीमूत०, हेमाद्रि (काठनिर्णय) III. 2. 686, दिव्यतत्त्व of रघु०, तिथिविवेक of कुलपाणि.

स्मृतिसरोजकलिङ्ग by विष्णुधर्मन in 8 sections (खण्डः) on स्नान, पूजा, तिथि, आर्य, सुतक, दान, यज्ञ, प्रायश्चित्त. Enumerates 28 स्मृतिकार by name (vide Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4360 No. 2997).

स्मृतिसरोजसुन्दर or स्मृतिसार. Vide सरोजसुन्दर.

स्मृतिसर्वस्व by नारायण of कृष्णनगर in the Hughli District. (I. O. cat. p. 448). Earlier than 1675 A. D. He speaks of a क्षयमास as yet to occur in Śake 1603 (1681 A. D.).

स्मृतिसार by कुतुकभट्ट; vide गोविन्दार्णव; m. in शूलपाणि's दुर्गोत्सवविवेक, शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द, प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघु०.

स्मृतिसारसार m. in प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह of नारायणभट्ट and in मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०.

B. D. 85.

स्मृतिसार by केशवधर्मन in 1359 verses on rites to be performed on several तिथिः.

स्मृतिसार by नारायण.

स्मृतिसार by मोक्ष. On impurity due to birth and death. N. vol. III. p. 48.

स्मृतिसार by मङ्गलदास.

स्मृतिसार by राजकदेव in 311 verses culled from स्मृतिः on दायमास, आर्य, पञ्चोपवीत, मलमास, आचार, स्नान, शुद्धि, साविण्डय, आशौच. D. C. ms. No. 181 of 1895-1902 is dated संवत् 1652 (1595-96 A. D.).

स्मृतिसार by यादवेन्द्रभट्ट on the performance of festivals and rites on certain तिथिः such as कृष्ण-जन्माष्टमी, रामनवमी, and on दुर्गोत्सव, आर्य, आशौच, प्रायश्चित्त; m. in धर्मसंग्रह. I. O. cat. p. 477; N. vol. IV. p. 213 (ms. dated Śake 1619).

स्मृतिसार by श्रीकृष्ण.

स्मृतिसार by हरिनाथ. Sec. 91. The work is also called स्मृतिसारसमुच्चय.

स्मृतिसार or आशौचनिर्णय- a com. on a work by वेङ्कटेश.

स्मृतिसारटीका by कृष्णनाथ.

स्मृतिसारपदीप m. by रघुनन्दन.

स्मृतिसारविवेक by विद्यारत्नस्मार्तभट्टाचार्य.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by कृष्णभट्ट.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by चन्द्रशेखरवाचस्पति.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by पुरुषोत्तमानन्द, pupil of परमहंसपूर्णानन्द, on आह्निक,

- शौच, स्नान, विदुषः, क्रमसंन्यास, भ्रातृ, विरजाहोम, स्त्रीसंन्यासविधि, शौर्यधर्मनिर्णय, पतिपार्यणभातृ.
- स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by मोक्ष. Vide व्यवस्था-  
सारसंग्रह.
- स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by पाणिनिकदेव. Seems  
to be same as स्मृतिसार with  
additions. Here the verses are  
459. Vide D. C. ms. No. 344  
of 1886-92.
- स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by पाचस्पति; men-  
tions १७० (I. O. cat. p. 450).
- स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by विद्यानन्दनाथ.
- स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by विश्वनाथ. Mentions  
विज्ञानेश्वर, कल्पातृ, विद्याकरपञ्चति.  
(Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss.  
for 1919-22 p. 4264 No. 3944).
- स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by वेङ्कटेश.
- स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by वैद्यनाथ.
- स्मृतिसारसमुच्चय on domestic obser-  
vances; gives extracts from 28  
sages on शौच, ब्रह्मचारि, आचार,  
दान, व्रज्यशुद्धि, प्रायश्चित्त. Vide  
I. O. cat. p. 477 No. 1556 and  
Ulwar cat. extract 372, where  
it is said to have been compil-  
ed by धर्मशास्त्रकवि (a lover of  
धर्मशास्त्र).
- स्मृतिसारसमुच्चय by हरिनाथ. Same  
as स्मृतिसार above.
- स्मृतिसारसर्वस्व by वेङ्कटेश. Same as  
आशौचनिर्णय by वेङ्कटेश.
- स्मृतिसारसागर m in विधितत्त्व of १७०.
- स्मृतिसारावलि m. in वि. सि.
- स्मृतिसारोद्धार vide चक्रनारायणीय-  
विष्णु. Pr. at Benares.
- स्मृतिसिद्धान्तसंग्रह by इन्द्रजित उपाध्याय.
- स्मृतिसिद्धान्तसुधा by रामचन्द्रबुध, a  
com. on अथर्वश्रुति.
- स्मृतिसिन्धु by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec.  
105.
- स्मृतिसिन्धु by श्रीनिवास, pupil of  
कुण्ड (Burnell's Tanj. cat.  
p. 135a) for वैष्णव.
- स्मृतिसुधाकर or वर्षकृत्यनिबन्ध by ओझा-  
शङ्कर, son of सुधाकर. N. vol. IV  
p. 271.
- स्मृतिसुधाकर of शङ्करमिश्र. About  
1600 A. D. (JBORS. for 1927  
parts III-IV p. X).
- स्मृत्यधिकरण.
- स्मृत्यर्थनिर्णय (on व्यवहार).
- स्मृत्यर्थरत्नाकर alias स्मृत्यर्थसार.
- स्मृत्यर्थसागर by छद्धारि दुर्गिदाचार्य, son  
of नारायण. Based on मध्वाचार्य's  
सदाचारस्मृति; divided into four  
तन्त्र on आह्निक, काल, आशौच  
and शुद्धि (Vide Bhandarkar's  
Report for 1883-84 p. 52 and  
BBRAS. cat. p. 239 No. 748  
and Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. 285b).  
He says मध्वाचार्य was born in  
1120. Mentions कमलाकर  
and स्मृतिकौस्तुभ. Later than  
1675 A. D.
- स्मृत्यर्थसार by श्रीलक्ष्मणाचार्य (C. P.  
cat. No. 6733).
- स्मृत्यर्थसार by सुकुन्दलाल.
- स्मृत्यर्थसार by श्रीधर. Sec. 81.
- स्मृत्यर्थसारसमुच्चय (Baroda O. I.  
4088) summaries of the views

of 28 sages are given on शौच, जाग्रत, वृत्तपावन, &c.; ms. dated संवत् 1743. The 28 sages are मह, पाशवल्क्य, विश्वामित्र, अत्रि, कल्पायन, वसिष्ठ, व्यास, उशनस्, धौपायन, वस, शङ्ख, लिखित, आपस्तम्ब, अगस्त्य, हारीत, विश्व, गोभिल, ह्यमन्तु, मनुस्वायम्भुव, गुरु, नारद, पराशर. गर्ग, गौतम, यम, शातातप, अङ्गिरस्, संघतं. स्तुत्यालोक ( B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 449 ).

स्वत्वग्रहस्य or स्वत्वविचार by अनन्तराम. On ownership of property.

स्वत्ववाद ( Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4782 ).

स्वत्वविचार N. ( new series ) vol. II. p. 226.

स्वत्वव्यवधारणशेतेतुग्रन्थ by रघुनाथसार्वभौम, in 6 परिच्छेदः on विभागनिरूपण, स्त्रीपन, स्त्रीधनाधिकारि, अयुत्रधनाधिकार.

स्वर्गवाद on स्वर्गवाद, प्रतिष्ठावाद, सविष्णुकीर्णवाद. N. ( new series ) vol. II. p. 229.

स्वर्गसाधन by रघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्य. Appears to be different from the great रघुनन्दन. On आश्विधिकारि, अन्वेषिपद्धति, आशौचनिर्णय, रूपोत्सर्ग, षोडशभान्द, पार्वणभान्द &c. N. ( new series ) vol. I. p. 417.

स्वस्तिवाचनपद्धति by जीवराम.

हनुमत्प्रतिष्ठा.

हयशीर्षपञ्चरात्र a वैष्णव work concerned with the consecration of images of gods and building temples; m. by रघु०, मि. सि. and हलायुध in पुराणसर्वस्व.

हरितालिकाव्रतनिर्णय.

हरितोषण by वेदान्तदासीशब्दभाष्यार्थ.

हरिदिनतिलक ( on एकादशी fast ) by चण्डमाकतस्वामिन्.

हरिदिनतिलक by वेदान्तदेशिक.

C. ( vide cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol. VI. p. 2368 No. 3153 ). According to it the author वेदान्तदेशिक flourished after स्तुतिच०, हेमाद्रि, कालादर्श and कालनिर्णय and held that the views of all these were अशुद्ध and आशुद्ध.

हरिपूजापद्धति by आनन्दीश्वर भागव. Stein's cat. p. 109.

हरिभक्ति m. by रघु० in आश्विगतस्व and एकादशीतस्व.

हरिभक्तिकल्पलता by विष्णुपुरी m. in लक्ष्मणभक्तिकल्पलता.

हरिभक्तिकल्पलतिका by लक्ष्मणसरस्वती divided into 14 स्तवकः.

हरिभक्तिदीपिका by गणेश. N. vol. V. pp. 189-190.

हरिभक्तिभास्कर ( सद्ब्रह्मण्यसारसर्वस्व ) by भुवनेश्वर, son of भीमानन्द, in 12 प्रकाशः; composed in संवत् 1884.

हरिभक्तिरसायन.

हरिभक्तिरसायनसिन्धु.

हरिभक्तिरहस्य.

हरिभक्तिलता.

हरिभक्तिविलास by गोपालबट्ट, pupil of प्रबोधनानन्द. He was ordered to write this work by चैतन्य; vide under भगवद्भक्तिविलास. Composed about 1562 A. D.; m. by रघुनन्दन.

हरिभक्तिविलास ( लघु ) by रूपनोस्वामिन्. C. by सनातननोस्वामिन्, m. in

देव्यवतोषिणी. Vide N. vol. VI. pp. 190-93 for an account of his family.

हरिभक्तिसार.

हरिभक्तिसुधोदय.

C. m. by सदाचारचन्द्रिका.

हरिवंशविलास by नन्दपण्डित, divided into हीतुकः on आह्निक, कालनिर्णय, दान, संस्कार. Vide sec. 105.

हरिवासरनिर्णय by ज्योतिषेश (Baroda O. I. 8793).

हरिहरदीक्षिणीय.

हरिहरपद्धति by हरिहर. The same as is appended to his भाष्य on पारस्करश्रुतम्; m. by हेमाद्रि, भाष्य सौम्य of डोडरानन्द, उदाहरतश्च and other तत्त्व of रूपः. Vide sec. 84.

हरिहरभाष्य on पारस्करश्रुतम् by हरिहर.

हलायुधनिबन्ध m. in आचारदर्श of श्रीधर.

हलायुधीय m. in आचारमण्डल. Probably the भाष्यणतर्वस्व of हलायुध.

हारकृता by अनिरुद्ध. Sec. 82.

C. सन्दर्भश्रुतिहारा by अष्टुतचक्रवर्तिन, son of हरिवासतहीचारी.

C. विवरण m. by नन्दपण्डित in भाष्यकल्पलता.

हारीतस्मृति. Vide sec. 11 and 56.

C. m. by हेमाद्रि; vide p. 71 above.

C. by तदनलाल.

हारीतस्मृति (Baroda O. I. 8185) in four अध्यायः on निवृत्त and नैमित्तिक rites of वर्षा and आश्रमः, eight नारीधर्मः, लृपधर्मः, जीवपरमेश्वरस्वरूपः, मोक्षसाधन, ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्र. There is व्यवहाराध्याय also.

हिरण्यकामधेनुदान.

हिरण्यकेशाह्निक.

हिरण्यकेशि (सत्याषाढ) श्रुतसूत्र in two प्रश्नः, each divided into पटलः (ed. by Dr. Kirste at Vienna, 1889 and tr. in SBE. vol. 30).

C. प्रयोगवैजयन्ती by महादेव.

C. by मातृदत्त (extracts in Kirste's edition).

हिरण्यकेशिधर्मसूत्र. Vide sec. 8 p. 46 above.

C. उज्ज्वला by महादेव (p. 49 above).

हिरण्यभाष्य.

हेमाद्रिकालनिर्णयसंक्षेप or- संग्रह by भट्टोजिदीक्षित, son of लक्ष्मीधर. Vide Baroda O. I. No. 5480.

हेमाद्रिनिबन्ध- the same as चतुर्थम-चिन्तामणि.

हेमाद्रिप्रयोग by विद्याधर.

हेमाद्रिसंक्षेप by भजीभट्ट (Stein's cat. p. 110).

हेमाद्रिसर्वप्रायश्चित्त by बालकृष्ण.

होमकालातिक्रमप्रायश्चित्त.

होमनिर्णय by भानुभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्कर. About 1620-1680 A. D.

होमपद्धति by माधव (part of his) मन्त्रतिलक). Mentions रूपनारायण; Ulwar cat. extract 375.

होमपद्धति by लम्बोदर.

होमप्रायश्चित्त.

होमलोपप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग.

होमविधान by बालकृष्ण (ऋग्वेदीय). Baroda O. I. 8354.

होमसिद्धान्त ano.

होरिलस्मृति m. in स्मृतिसारोद्धार of विश्वम्भर.

## APPENDIX B

### LIST OF AUTHORS ON DHARMAŚĀSTRA

While preparing this list, great difficulties were experienced in stating all the works composed by an author. In the case of such names as Ananta, Kṛṣṇa, Gaṅgādhara, Nārāyaṇa, Rāmakṛṣṇa, Śaṅkara, which are extremely common, the only method that could be followed, in the absence of materials to identify the authors bearing these names, was to place the same name several times in the list against the work composed by that author. Since the authors themselves very often convey no more information than their own names and since some of the reports on the search for mss. do not give even what little information about the author can be gathered from the ms. of his work, Aufrecht also was compelled to follow this method. In order to avoid repetition and save space, I have not repeated in this list the information that was given under the works contained in the list A. Dates are given principally under the names of authors and sometimes under works also. For further information readers will have in many cases to refer to the works put down as composed by an author. In the case of authors who have written on several śāstras, their works on dharmaśāstra alone have been mentioned. Wherever possible parentage has been noted and dates assigned. In a few cases information which became available after list A was prepared has been incorporated here.

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अखण्ड a. of असण्डादौ.

अखण्डानन्दमुनि, disciple of असण्डा-  
दुष्टति; a. of महाविष्णुपूजापद्धति.

अगस्त्य a. of अगस्त्यसंहिता.

अपोरशिवाचार्य a. of आशौचदीपिका.

अक्षिपम् a. of a स्मृति. Sec. 39.  
Vide also मध्यमाक्षिपम् and बृह-  
दक्षिपम्.

अचल, son of वत्सराज, son of गोविन्द,  
resident of आनन्दपुर; a. of आह्निक-  
दीपक and निर्णयदीपक (composed  
in संवत् 1575 i. e. 1518-19  
A. D.), महाकल्पपद्धति, शास्त्रापनाह्निक  
or दीपिका.

अभ्युत a. of सौभाग्यकल्पद्रुम.

अभ्युतचक्रवर्तिन, son of हरिदासतर्का-  
चार्य; a. of द्वायभागसिद्धान्तकुसुद-  
चन्द्रिका (com. on द्वायभाग of  
जीयतबाहन), सन्दर्भचक्रिका (com.  
on हारलता of अनिरुद्ध), भास्व-  
विषेकटिप्पणी (m. in his com.  
on द्वायभाग). About 1500-1550  
A. D.; ms. of द्वायभागसिद्धान्तकुसुद-  
चन्द्रिका in B. O. mss. cat. vol.  
I. No. 205 p. 120 is dated  
शके 1581 (1669 A. D.).

अभ्युतानन्द, pupil of आनन्दगिरि, a.  
of एकादशीनिर्णयन्याख्या.

अभ्युताभम, disciple of परमानन्दाभम  
or विद्यानन्दाभम; a. of रामायन-  
चन्द्रिका, विष्णेश्वरीपद्धति (or यति-  
धर्मसंग्रह), संन्यासधर्मसंग्रह, संन्यास-  
पद्धति. In विष्णेश्वरीपद्धति, the  
ज्ञानार्णव is mentioned and the  
ms. No. 12548 Baroda O. I.  
was copied in संवत् 1887  
(1830-31 A. D.).

अजयपाल m. in शूलकमलाकर.

अज्जनादीक्षित a. of अज्जनादीक्षितीय.

अग्नि. Vide sec. 16.

अनन्त a. of शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाविधि.

अनन्तदीक्षित, son of विश्वनाथ, sur-  
named यज्ञोपवीत. Later than  
1575 A. D. and earlier than  
1750; a. of प्रयोगरत्न or स्मार्ता-  
नुष्ठानपद्धति (for आश्वलापनीय),  
महाकल्पपद्धति, सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग.

अनन्तदेव, son of आचदेव. Vide sec.  
109; a. of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ (divided  
into 12 parts on तिथि, संस्कार  
&c.), भगवद्भक्तिनिर्णय or विवेक,  
मधुरासेतु, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका, अन्त्ये-  
ष्टिपद्धति, कृतिविवरणनिर्णय, दत्तक-  
पुत्रविधान.

अनन्तदेव a. of चलाचार्यपद्धति.

अनन्तदेव a. of राज्याभिषेकपद्धति.

अनन्तदेव a. of व्रतप्रकाश.

अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धवद्विजेन्द्र. Later  
than 1640 A. D.; a. of गयाभास्व-  
पद्धति, वृद्धिभास्वदीपिका (वृद्धिभास्व-  
पद्धति), यज्ञसंघा, कर्तव्यकल्पद्रुम,  
सर्वव्रतोपायन, वृद्धिभास्वविनिर्णय.

अनन्तदेव a. of भास्वकल्पसूत्रपद्धति,  
a com. on the भास्वसूत्र of  
कान्यायन.

अनन्तदेव a. of गापत्रीपुराणविधि,  
उत्तरांगपद्धति.

अनन्तदेव a. of कुण्डोदयोतदर्शन.

अनन्तदेवज्ञ, son of केशवदेवज्ञ, resi-  
dent of नन्दिग्राम; a. of कालनिर्णय-  
बोध. Bik. cat. p. 399 gives  
śake 1488 (1566-7 A. D.) as  
date but it is not clear whether  
it is of composition or copying.



- अनन्तभट्ट a. of com. on त्रिशङ्खोकी.
- अनन्तभट्ट, son of कमलाकरभट्ट. About 1640-1670; a. of रामकल्पद्रुम, सुबोधिनी (com. on त्रिशङ्खोकी).
- अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागदेवभट्ट; a. of ग्रहयज्ञविधान, वृषोत्सर्गप्रयोग.
- अनन्तभट्ट, son of दाईभट्ट; a. of सदाचाररहस्य (composed at the desire of संग्रामसिंह). About 1715 A. D.
- अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागेशभट्ट or नागदेवभट्ट, son of जह्नु, of काण्वकुल; a. of आद्विकुपरिजात, दानपरिजात, विधानपरिजात (composed in 1625 A. D.) and other works ending in परिजात (शान्तिपरिजात), ग्रहयज्ञविधान.
- अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागेशभट्ट, son of यज्ञभट्ट; a. of आद्विकसंग्रह. Probably the same as the preceding.
- अनन्तभट्ट, son of बाबुभट्ट, a. of प्रतिष्ठापद्धति.
- अनन्तभट्ट, son of महादेव; a. of तिथिनिर्णय or निर्णयचिन्तु (ms. dated 1526-7 A. D. in Baroda O. I. No. 10611). It is this author that is probably mentioned as अनन्तभट्ट in नि. सि. and वृत्तिह्रस्वसाद. Earlier than 1500 A. D.
- अनन्तभट्ट a. of समग्रनिर्णय.
- अनन्तभट्ट a. of सदाचारनिर्णय.
- अनन्तभट्ट a. of शुद्धपरिशिष्ट; m. by रघुनन्दन in लिखितत्व (Jivananda vol. I p. 54) and कुट्टक.
- अनन्तभट्ट, son of रघुभट्ट. About 2nd quarter of 17th century; a. of तीर्थरत्नाकर (at the request of अक्षरसिंह).
- अनन्तभट्ट, son of सिद्धेश्वर; a. of कुण्डमण्डपविधान, of com. प्रभा or सुप्रभा on कुण्डमार्तण्ड of योगिन्ध (com. composed in 1692-93 A. D. at पल्लीपत्तन, probably modern Pali in the Bhor State).
- अनन्तभट्ट a. of दानसागर.
- अनन्तभट्ट a. of आश्लेषपण्डितवचन.
- अनन्तभट्ट a. of सुबोधिनी होमपद्धति (for nine planets).
- अनन्तभट्टमहामहोपाध्याय a. of वृत्तकदीपति (probably the same as वृत्तकपुत्रविधान of अनन्तदेव).
- अनन्तमिश्र a. of पाकयज्ञपद्धति.
- अनन्तयज्वन, son of कृष्ण; a. of com. on पितृमेघसूत्र of गौतम.
- अनन्तयाज्ञिक a. of व्यवहारवर्णन, छान्दिवर्णन.
- अनन्तराम a. of विवादाश्रमिका, स्वत्वरहस्य or स्वत्वविचार. Later than 1600 A. D.
- अनन्तराम, a. of वैष्णवधर्ममीमांसा.
- अनन्तराम, son of रामचरणन्यायालङ्कार. About 1810 A. D.; a. of सहास्रमरणचिकित्सा.
- अनन्तरामशास्त्रिण a. of विवादाकन्यास्वरूपनिर्णय.
- अनन्ताल्लार a. of जातिसाङ्ख्यवार्द.
- अनिरुद्धभट्ट Vide sec. 82; 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 12th century A. D.; a. of पितृदयिता or कर्मोपदेशिनीपद्धति and हारलता.
- अनिरुद्धभट्ट महामहोपाध्याय a. of मन्त्रकौमुदी. Said to be a शास्त्रिणाथ. Earlier than 1795 A. D.

अनुपसिंहदेव, son of कर्णसिंह, a Rathor prince. About 1673 A.D.; (reputed) a. of अनुपविदेक, आन्ध्र-प्रयोगचिन्तामणि.

अनुकभट्ट. About 1030-1050 A. D.; m. in the कालविवेक of जीवतवाहन.

अपरार्क or अपरादिन्य Sec. 79; a. of com. called राजवत्कीर्णधर्मशास्त्र-विबन्ध. Between 1115-1130 A.D.

अपिपाल, son of देहणपाल, son of त्रिविक्रम, son of मकरन्दपाल; a. of अपिपालकारिका and अपिपालपद्धति (शुद्धपद्धति). M. by गोविन्दानन्द and रघुनन्दन. One ms. (N. vol. V, p. 302) was copied in शके 1442 (1521 A. D.). So earlier than 1500 A. D. In the colophon the work is described as कारित by अपिपाल.

अप्यपदीक्षित a. of तत्तन्मन्त्रसङ्ग्रह; about 1520-1592 A. D.

अप्यपदीक्षित (माहर) a. of प्रायश्चित्त-विधि. Probably the same as अप्यादीक्षित native of गौरीमाहर.

अप्यपदीक्षित a. of शिवार्चनचंद्रिका, शिवकल्पद्रुम. He is probably the same as the a. of तत्तन्मन्त्रसङ्ग्रह.

अप्यादीक्षित a native of गौरीमाहर; a. of आचारनवनीत (composed about 1700 A. D.) under Tanjore king Shahaji.

अप्यावाजयेयिन् a. of नीतिसुमावलि.

अभिनवधर्मसूत्रपाचार्य a. of न्यायदीपिका.

अमरेन्द्र a. of शिवार्चनपद्धति.

अमृतनाथमिश्र महामहोपाध्याय, son of श्रीमानिकेशर्मा; a. of उत्तिसार-समुच्चय or कृत्यसार, प्रायश्चित्तसंस्था-सार, वादसारसमुच्चय (on 18 व्यवहारपद); vide B.O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 77 p. 74 for कृत्यनारतसमुच्चय, which appears to be only a part dealing with व्रत and प्रायश्चित्त from the larger work called सार-समुच्चयार्णव and No. 319 p. 358 for वादनारतसमुच्चय.

अमृतपाठक, son of समाराम; a. of मंत्रकारपद्धति. Later than 1680 A. D.

अमृतानन्दतीर्थ a. of तारकोपदेशव्यवस्था.

अन्यधर्म m. in हरिनाथ's स्तुतिसार.

अज्ञानाथसुरि, son of सिद्धलक्ष्मण. Between 1250-1500 A. D.; a. of निर्णयसूत्र (composed at the desire of prince हर्षसेन, ruler of एकचक्रपुर on the Jumna). Vide under निर्णयसूत्र.

अज्ञाचक्र com. of मानससूत्रभूषण and of गोधावनसूत्र.

अज्ञाव्य Vide sec. 58. About 700-750 A. D.; a. of भाष्य on नारद-स्तुति, of भाष्य on मौलमधर्मसूत्र and probably of com. on मनुस्मृति.

अज्ञेयल a. of अलगोत्रपुत्रपरिव्रजपरीक्षा and असंविष्टासंगोत्रपुत्रपरिव्रजविधि, पुरश्चरणकौस्तुभ (Bik. cat. p. 600).

आडवागुर्गुरीक्षित a. of प्रायश्चित्तसार.

आक्षिप्त a. of आतुरसंन्यासविधि.

आनाराम a. of com. on कामन्दकीय-नीतिसार.

आधेय a. of स्मृति ; m. by विश्वरूप.

आदित्यदर्शन a. of com. on काठक-  
सूत्रसूत्र.

आदित्यभट्ट कविवल्लभ, pupil of विश्व-  
भवाचार्य. Between 1200-1325

A. D.; a. of कालनिर्णय or कालादर्श.

आदित्यभट्ट a. of व्रतकालनिर्णय.

आदित्याचार्य or कौशिकादित्य. About  
1400-1500 A. D.; a. of षटशीति  
or आशीचनिर्णय.

आनन्द son of प्रभाकर of the दशपुत्र  
family ; a. of आह्निक.

आनन्द a. of धर्मसंप्रदायदीपिका.

आनन्दचन्द्र a. of प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह,  
बालघोषक (on प्रायश्चित्त), प्राय-  
श्चित्तसार (probably same as  
the preceding).

आनन्दतीर्थ a. of विष्णुतत्त्वनिर्णय.

आनन्दतीर्थ son of जनार्दनभट्ट ; a. of  
संन्यासग्रहणपद्धति, अनुयायपद्धति, पूजा-  
पद्धति.

आनन्दतीर्थ भार्गव a. of हरिपूजापद्धति.

आनन्दतीर्थ a. of प्रणवकल्प.

आनन्दतीर्थ a. of संध्यावन्दनभाष्य.

आनन्दतीर्थ, the founder of the मारुत  
sect. Said to have flourished be-  
tween 1118-1198 A. D. But there  
are varying views. One of his  
pupils अक्षोभ्यतीर्थ is said to have  
defeated विचारण्य in polemical  
discussions. If this be correct,  
then आनन्दतीर्थ must have flou-  
rished about 1250-1300. Dr.  
Bhandarkar (in Vaiṣṇaviṣm  
and Śaivism p. 59) accepts  
H. D. 86.

1198 and 1276 A. D. as the  
years of his birth and death ; a.  
of कर्मनिर्णय, कृष्णावृतमहार्णव,  
जयन्तीनिर्णय, संन्यासपद्धति, सदाचार-  
स्मृति or स्मृतिविवरण. Vide  
Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-  
83, p. 207 for 37 works attribu-  
ted to him and E. I. vol. VI pp.  
261-263 for the age of आनन्दतीर्थ  
and his pupils. आनन्दतीर्थ is  
said to have been the son of  
मध्यमेह.

आनन्दरामपाशिक a. of संस्कारपद्धति or  
षोडशसंस्कारपद्धति.

आनन्दराय राजवेपचन्द्र, minister of  
Tanjore king: Shahaji and Sar-  
foji (first quarter of 18th cen-  
tury), a. of आभिलाषनसूत्रसूत्र-  
विवृति.

आनन्दचन, pupil of मुकुन्दचन. Ear-  
lier than 1650 A. D. ; a. of रामा-  
चनचन्द्रिका. If it is this work  
that is quoted in the तिथितत्त्व,  
then the author is earlier than  
1550 A. D.

आनन्दशर्मन्, son of रामशर्मन् ; a. of  
व्यवस्थादर्पण, कृत्यदर्पण.

आनन्दानन्द, a. of पतिनित्यपद्धति.

आनन्दपति (probably सरस्वतीतीर्थ or  
नरहरि) a. of स्मृतिदर्पण.

आपदेव, alias सदाशिवदेव, son of  
अपति ; a. of साविण्ड्यकल्पलता or  
-हतिष्ठा. About 1700 A. D. His  
grandson was a pupil of  
नागोजिभट्ट.

आपदेव a. of खेटपीठमाला, तिथि-  
तत्त्वसार.

आपदेव, son of अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव. He was father of अनन्तदेव a. of स्मृतिकौमुद and so flourished about 1600-1650 A. D. ; a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, रुद्रपद्धति.

आपदेव a. of आर्द्रिक.

आपदेव a. of योज्यधरनिर्णय (ms. No. 1870 of Baroda O. I. dated शके 1673 ).

आपस्तम्ब Vide sec. 7 ; a. of यज्ञसूत्र and धर्मसूत्र and पितृमेघसूत्र.

आर्याधरीन्द्र a. of com. on अनुपाग-वृत्ति.

आर्द्धिषेण a. of a स्मृति m. in वि. सि.

आशादित्य or आशाई or आशाधर, son of चक्रधर ; a. of com. on कर्मवर्दीप and of com. on छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट ; m. in आचारसार of लक्षण. So earlier than 1600 A.D.

आशादित्यत्रिपाठिन, a. of मन्त्रकोश.

आशाधरभट्ट a. of सन्ध्यासप्तवर्दीप.

आश्वलायन. Vide also रुद्राश्वलायन and बृहदाश्व० ; a. of यज्ञसूत्र and of a स्मृति ( m. in मिताक्षरा and हेमाद्रि ).

इन्द्रगण्ड सूर्यनारायण-see under सूर्य-नारायण.

इन्द्रवत् उपाध्याय, a. of स्मृतिमिद्वान्त-संग्रह.

इन्द्रपति, son of रुचिपति and रुचिमणी and pupil of गोपालभट्ट ; a. of मीमांसापञ्चल.

ईशान, elder brother of इत्यायुध. Latter half of 12th century ; a. of विजाह्निकपद्धति (according to

ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व) m. in आश्वतथ. An ईशानन्यापाचार्य is m. in उद्वाहतथ ( vol. II. p. 135 ).

ईशाननाथ a. of नयज्ञान ( B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 240 p. 262 ).

ईश्वरचन्द्रशर्मन् a. of व्यघ्रस्थासितु.

ईश्वरदास, son of ज्योतिषराय ; a. of संहर्तारन ( also called संहर्तारनाकर ).

ईश्वरनाथ or शुद्धेश्वरनाथ a. of स्मृति-कल्पद्रुम.

उतथ्य a. of स्मृति ; m. in स्मृति-चन्द्रिका.

उत्तरसार्ग्य m. in मि. सि.

उत्पल a. of ज्ञानमाला.

उद्यकर, com. of मनुस्मृति ; m. in विद्यादरनाकर of चण्डेश्वर ( pp. 455, 583, 590 ).

उद्येकर a. of पारस्करब्राह्मणवृत्त्यर्थ-संग्रह.

उद्यसिंह रूपनारायण, son of शक्तिसिंह and king of उत्तरकोसल. Flourished between 1450-1525 A. D. ; ( reputed ) a. of रूपनारायणीय ( पञ्चति ).

उद्वाहमल्ल m. in the दायभाग of जीष्मत्वाहन.

उपकान्वायन m. by हेमाद्रि III. 2. 657.

उपमन्यु a. of स्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा ( on पात्र. III. 260 ), by हरदत्त ( on बी. प. सू. 23. 11 ).

उपाध्याय-a com. of मनुस्मृति m. by मेधातिथि ( on मनु II. 109, IV. 162, V. 43, IX. 141 and 147 ).

उमानाथ a. of आशीचनिर्णय.

- उमापति Earlier than 1575 A. D. ; a. of प्रतिष्ठाचिन्तेक, शुद्धिनिर्णय, आश्व-  
निर्णय.
- उमापति a. of स्मृतिदीपिका (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I p. 516, no. 441).
- उमाशङ्कर a. of com. on दायभाग and of शुद्धिसेतु.
- उशनस् Vide sec. 17 ; a. of a work on अर्थशास्त्र and of a धर्मसूत्र.
- ऊतु a. of a com. on मनुस्मृति, m. by मेधातिथि ( on मनु VIII. 152 ).
- कपिशुक्क- quoted as a writer on अर्थशास्त्र in the com. on नीति-  
वाक्यामृत.
- कपिशुक्क or कपिशदु, son of गङ्गाधर, surnamed शौच ; a. of संस्कार-  
भास्कर.
- कपिशदु a. of शोद्धशतसंस्कृति.
- कण्ठशङ्कर a. of a स्मृति ; sec. 40.
- एक an author m. in आप. घ. सू. I. 6. 19. 7.
- एकराज ( prince Ekoji of Tanjore who ruled from 1676 A. D. to 1684 A. D. ) a. of प्रवक्ष्यामृतम् or प्रवक्ष्यमारासुत or राजरत्नपुराण.
- ओषाशङ्कर- vide under शङ्कर.
- जादुम्बरर्षि a. of व्रतनिर्णय.
- औपमन्यु a. of स्मृति, m. by अपमर्क ( p. 1195 ), हेमाद्रि ( दानवण्ड ).
- औपमन्युनि, an author m. in श्री. घ. सू. II. 2. 33.
- कण्ठ m. in आप. घ. सू. I. 10. 29. 1 and I. 6. 19. 3. Vide sec. 18.
- कण्ठ a. of स्मृति m. in हरदत्त on श्री. घ. सू. 23. 3 and 11.
- कनकमभाषति a. of गुह्यकारिका ( वीधा-  
यनीय ), वीधापनस्मार्तप्रयोग.
- कनकमभाषति, son of वैद्यनाथ of मौदल-  
गोत्र ; a. of कारिकामञ्जरी and com. प्रयोगदर्श. This seems to be the same as the preceding, since in the वीधापनस्मार्तप्रयोग the author refers to कारिकामञ्जरी as his own work. Vide Hultzsch's R. II. no. 972.
- कपर्दिन a. of भाष्य on भारद्वाजसूत्र, of कारिकास on आपस्तम्बसूत्र, of com. on आपस्तम्बवित्तमेधसूत्र and of com. on प्रवरखण्ड and on आपस्तम्बीय ) अपरमृत्.
- कपिश m. in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.
- कपिश a. of स्मृति in 10 अध्याय.
- कमण्डलुभट्ट m. by कुल्लुक in आश्व-  
सागर.
- कमलाकर a. of आचारदीपिका. Pro-  
bably same as above.
- कमलाकर, a. of प्रवरदर्पण.
- कमलाकर a. of मन्वकमलाकर.
- कमलाकर a. of भुक्तिप्रकरण.
- कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. Sec. 106. First half of 17th century ; a. of दर्शनविपाकरत्न, कलियुगनिर्णय, कर्त-  
वीर्यसंहति, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय or दर्पण, दानकमलाकर, तीर्थकमलाकर or सर्वतीर्थचिन्धि, निर्णयमिन्नु, नीति-  
कमलाकर, पुनकमलाकर, प्रायश्चित्त-  
रत्न, बहुवर्णिक, भक्तिरत्न, रुद्रचन्द्रि, विधादत्तखण्ड, व्रतकमलाकर, शान्ति-

कमलाकर or शान्तिरत्न, शूद्रकमलाकर or शूद्रधर्मतत्त्व, संस्कारपद्धति or संस्कारप्रयोगकमलाकर, शास्त्रतत्त्वकौमुदल or तत्त्वकमलाकर. Parts of his works (such as parts of the निर्णयसिन्धु and दानकमलाकर) are very frequently entered in the catalogues as separate works.

कमलाकरभट्ट, a resident of कूर्परग्राम (Kopergaon) on the Godavari; a. of आचारदीपिका or -प्रदीप and आह्निकप्रयोग.

कमलाकरभट्ट m. by कुल्लूक in भाद-  
सागर as भाष्यकार.

कम्भादूरवृत्ति a. of आशौचदीपिका.  
Later than 1400 A. D.

कपीडभट्ट m. in भादसागर of कुल्लूक.

करुणाशङ्कर (probably same as दया-  
शङ्कर) a. of वास्तुचन्द्रिका, वृद्धि-  
आद्यविधि.

करुणाशङ्कर a. of नीतिविवेक.

कर्क m. by विक्रमवर्मण्डनभास्कर, हेमाद्रि.  
Earlier than 1100 A. D.; a. of  
com. on आप. सू. सू. and on  
पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र, on स्नानसूत्र of  
कान्यायन and on आद्यकल्पसूत्र of  
कान्यायन.

कलापराज a. of कर्मप्रकाश.

कल्याण a. of तिथिरूपद्रुम.

कल्याणभट्ट revised अतहाय's भाष्य  
on नारदस्मृति.

कल्याणधर्मन्, a prince; a. of com. on  
विवाहहृन्दायन of केशवार्थ and a. of  
अवधारप्रदीप.

कल्याणधर्मन् a. of शिवप्रतिष्ठापद्धति  
(at the bidding of king राघव-  
सिंह).

कवच a. of a स्मृति, m. in मत्सरि's  
भाष्य on गौ. ध. सू. and in पराशर-  
माधवीय.

कविकान्तसरस्वती a. of विश्वादर्श q. v.;  
flourished between 1100-1200  
A. D.

कविरत्न a. of सरोजकलिका (B. O.  
msd. cat. vol. I No. 419 p. 495).  
Earlier than 1600 A. D.

कविराजगिरि a. of कविराजकौतुक.

कवीन्द a. of शान्तिचन्द्रिका.

कदम्ब a. of a धर्मसूत्र and a स्मृति.  
Vide sec. 19.

कदम्ब a. of शूद्रपञ्चसंस्कारविधि.

कस्तुरि, son of नागप; a. of कस्तुरि-  
स्मृति or स्मृतिशेखर.

काण्य a. of a धर्मसूत्र and of a स्मृति.  
Sec. 18; m. in आप. ध. सू.  
I. 6. 19. 7.

कान्य, an author, m. in चौ. ध. सू.  
I. 2. 45.

कान्यायन a. of वृषोत्तर्गादिपद्धति (ms.  
No. 9470 Baroda O. I.).

कान्यायन a. of अतुरसंन्यासविधि.

कान्यायन a. of a स्मृति in verse. Sec.  
38; a. of a गृह्यसूत्र, आद्यसूत्र, of  
मुन्याध्याय, स्नानसूत्र or स्नानविधि-  
सूत्र or विकण्ठिकाग्र.

कान्यायन a. of कर्मप्रदीप.

कान्ददेव a. of नित्यस्नानपद्धति.

कामदेव a. of दायभागनिर्णय.

कामदेवदीक्षित. Later than 1500 and earlier than 1660 A. D. ; a. of प्रापविज्ञपद्धति, पारस्करसूत्र-पारिशिष्टपद्धति and of कर्मप्रदीपिका ( 2 पद्धति 10 पारस्करसूत्रग्रन्थ ), of a com. on मूल्याध्याय.

कामदेवमहाराज a. of दाननाम. Later than 1200 A. D.

कामन्दक or -कि, a. of कामन्दकीय-नीतिसार. Referred to by भवभूति ( in the character कामन्दकी in मालतीमाधव ) and by रामन in his कल्याणकृत्परसूत्रपुति and in the महाभारत. Earlier than 650 A. D. and probably flourished in 3rd or 4th century A. D.

कामरूपपति a. of गृहार्थप्रकाशिका com. on शारदातिलक.

कामेश्वरपञ्चन a. of com. called हित-धर्म on पराशरस्मृति. Mentions माधवाचार्य. So later than 1400 A. D.

कार्णार्जिनि a. of a स्मृति quoted in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, मिताक्षरा ( on पात्र. III. 265 ).

कालिदास a. of उल्लरकालावृत्त.

कालिदास a. of शब्दचन्द्रिका.

कालिदास, son of बलभद्र ; a. of कुण्ड-प्रबन्ध ( D. C. ms. No. 42 of A 1882-83 ). The work was composed in शके 1554 i. e. 1632 A. D. ( शाकेन्द्रेष्पिमितेय स्मृतिवधो मासे मधुगङ्गे ).

कालिदासचपनिन, m. in the plural in कालसार of गदाधर.

कालीचरण a. of दुर्गाचामुकर.

कालीचरणन्यायालङ्कार a. of स्मृतिमञ्जरी ( composed in 1834 A. D. ).

कालेभि महामहोपाध्याय, a. of दशकर्म-पद्धति.

काशीदीक्षित, son of सदाशिवदीक्षित a. of प्रयोगरत्न, रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति ( or महारुद्रपद्धति or रुद्रपद्धति ), सप्तविधान-पद्धति and आश्वमेधयोगपद्धति or आश्व-दीपिका, आह्निकप्रयोग, प्रयोगरत्न.

काशीनाथ तर्कालङ्कार a. of com. on तिथितत्त्व and प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघु-नन्दन ( N. I. p. 105 ) and प्राय-श्चित्तकृद्भवसारसंग्रह.

काशीनाथ मन्त्र a. of आपस्तम्बाह्निक and कल्पेदाह्निकचन्द्रिका.

काशीनाथ a. of मुहूर्तमुक्तावली.

" a. of com. on शारदातिलक.

" a. of आश्वकल्प.

काशीनाथ उपाध्याय ( or पाध्ये ), son of अनन्त, son of काश्यपाध्याय. Sec. 112 ; a. of धर्मसिन्धु ( or -सार composed in 1791 A. D. ), प्राय-श्चित्तेन्दुशेखर, विट्ठलकृष्णमन्त्रसारभाष्य, कुण्डविक्षाल with com.

काशीनाथ, son of जयराम ( surnamed जडे ) ; a. of शिवपूजातरङ्गिणी.

काशीनाथभट्ट ( also called शिवानन्द-नाथ ) ; son of जयरामभट्ट, son of शिवरामभट्ट ; a. of कालनिर्णयदीपिका, तिथिदीपिका, पुरश्चरणदीपिका, गायत्री-पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका, षण्णविकार्चनदीपिका, विष्णुलीसेतु.

काशीराम वाचस्पतिभट्टाचार्य, son of राधावल्लभ, son of रामकृष्ण ; a. of commentaries on the various



- parts of the स्मृतितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (such as उद्वाहृतत्त्व, पञ्चादशीतत्त्व, तिथितत्त्व, दायतत्त्व, प्रायश्चित्त°, मलमास°, शुद्धितत्त्व, उन्मोघश्राद्धतत्त्व). He is different from काशीनाथ-तर्कालङ्कार, who also commented on तिथितत्त्व (compare N. I. p. 150 with N. II. p. 84).
- काश्यप a. of स्मृति. Vide sec. 19.
- काश्यप a. of नित्यस्नानपद्धति (B. O. ms. cat. vol. I No. 244 p. 267).
- कुणिक m. in आप. घ. सू. I. 6. 19. 7.
- कुन्त m. in आप. घ. सू. I. 6. 19. 7.
- कुशुमि a. of स्मृति m. by अपरार्क (p. 548), कालविवेक of जीवन्मुक्ताह्न, हेमाद्रि. Also कौशुमि.
- कुवेरानन्द a. of ज्ञानभाष्यत (vide D. C. ms. No. 265 of 1887-91 and 496 of 1886-92), a huge work composed under संग्राम-सिंह.
- कुवेरोपाध्याय m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व (Jivānanda vol. I. p. 298) of रघुनन्दन.
- कुवेरोपाध्याय (reputed) a. of दत्तक-चन्द्रिका. Said to have been composed by a pandit of Colebrooke, about 1800.
- कुमार a. of स्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 253), अपरार्क (p. 1070), स्मृतिभार of हरिनाथ, शूलपाणि's प्रायश्चित्तविवेक (p. 550).
- कुमारस्वामिन a. of आश्वलायनश्रौ-कारिका. Later than 1000 A. D.
- कुमारस्वामिभिषण्ड a. of प्रयोगसारपीठ.
- कुलमणि a. of नित्यधर्मप्रकाशिका.
- कुलमणिगुह्य a. of com. on अङ्गिरः-स्मृति, com. on गौतमधर्मसूत्र, com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति, and of आङ्गिक-चन्द्रिका, of रामार्चनचन्द्रिका.
- कुलसूत्रि a. of नीतिप्रकाश and of शान्तिचिन्तामणि.
- कुलार्क m. by the सरस्वतीविलास (p. 281) in the same breath with विज्ञानेश्वर and स्मृतिचन्द्रिका. Before 1500 A. D.
- कुलुकभट्ट, son of भट्टविद्याकर. Sec. 88. About 1250 A. D.; a. of मन्वर्ध-मुक्तावली; com. on मनुस्मृति and of श्राद्धसागर, आचारसागर and विवादसागर.
- कुपाराम pupil of जयराम; 2nd half of 18th century; a. of जगधर्म-प्रदीप.
- कुपाराम a. of com. on मुहूर्ततत्त्व and of वास्तुचन्द्रिका.
- कुपाराम (a Gauda prince), son of यादवराज. First half of 17th century; (reputed) a. of राम-प्रकाश.
- कुण्ड, son of गोविन्द, son of राघव of the भारद्वाजयोग; a. of वर्णाश्रमधर्म-दीप or-दीपिका.
- कुण्ड, author of लघुपद्धति. Between 1350 and 1500 A. D.; ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 1422) dated संवत् 1592 and the author names चन्द्रिका, स्मृतिभार and स्मृत्यर्थसार; flourished between 1350 and 1500 A. D.
- कुण्ड of क्षोष family, son of नृसिंह or नरसिंह; about 1500 A. D.; a. of

- ब्रह्माचारशिरोमणि (where he claims गोविन्दार्णव as his own work), श्लोकचतुर्विंशती.
- कृष्ण of the होसिंग family; a. of शास्त्रसारोद्धार. Later than 1450 A. D.
- कृष्ण आचार्य, a. of कण्ठाक्ष.
- कृष्ण आचार्य, son of कुमारसुमिहभट्ट; a. of स्मृतिमुक्तावली.
- कृष्ण आचार्य a. of प्रभा, a com. on शुद्धिदीपिका.
- कृष्णकान्तशर्मन् a. of com. on दाय-भाग.
- कृष्णगोविन्दपण्डित a. of जातिविवेक (part of वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीपिका).
- कृष्णचन्द्र a. of व्रतविवेकभास्कर.
- कृष्णतर्कालङ्कार- vide under श्रीकृष्ण-तर्का.
- कृष्णतात, a. of सन्मार्गकण्ठकोद्धार.
- कृष्णताताचार्य, a. of धर्मनिर्णय, वैष्णव-लक्षण.
- कृष्णदत्त, son of आश्वमेधिक ब्रह्मदत्त; a. of कर्मकौमुदी.
- कृष्णदत्तमिश्र alias यनमालिमिश्र, son of महेशमिश्र and pupil of भट्टोजि; a. of कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप. About 1650 A. D.
- कृष्णदास a. of भक्तिरसार्णव.
- कृष्णदीक्षित, son of यज्ञेश्वर; a. of और्ध्ववेदिकप्रयोग.
- कृष्णदेव, son of रामाचार्य; a. of वैष्णव-धर्मवृत्तान्तप्रज्ञप्ति, स्मिहपरिचर्या and विष्णुवार्तिप्रतिप्राप्ति.
- कृष्णदेवभार्तृवागोश, son of नारायण; a. of कृत्यतत्त्व alias प्रयोगसार, प्राय-
- श्चित्तकौमुदी or -विवेक, शुद्धिप्रदीपिका and प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह.
- कृष्णद्वैपायन, a. of स्मृति, m. in मिता-क्षरा.
- कृष्णनाथ a. of com. on अग्निस्मृति, of com. on द्वादशस्मृति, of com. on मनुस्मृति and न्यासस्मृति, of com. on संस्कारतत्त्व of शुद्धि, of com. on स्नानसुब्रह्मदीपिका of गोपीनाथ, of स्मृति-कौमुदीटीका, स्मृतिसारटीका.
- कृष्णपण्डित a. of धर्मममानुषमिश्र-श्लोक.
- कृष्णरविदत्त, son of राघवदेवज्ञ; a. of सन्ध्याभाष्य.
- कृष्णरविदत्त, son of रामभट्ट and लक्ष्मी; a. of सन्ध्यावन्दनभाष्य and सन्ध्या-निर्णयकल्पवल्ली.
- कृष्णरविदत्त महापात्र, grandson of गदा-धर, author of कालसार; a. of नीतिरत्नाकर. About 1450 A. D.
- कृष्णभट्ट, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of रघुनाथ; a. of कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका alias लघुपञ्चाति, कालनिर्णयदीपिका. Between 1300-1500 A. D.
- कृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायण; a. of सायत्री-पुरश्चरणप्रयोग (composed in 1759 A. D.).
- कृष्णभट्ट a. of आश्वदीपिति.
- कृष्णभट्ट a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.
- कृष्णभट्ट a. of कथिरहस्य.
- कृष्णभट्ट a. of जीवन्निवृत्तकर्तव्यसंग्रह.
- कृष्णभट्ट a. of समयमूल.
- कृष्णभट्ट आई (or आरह), son of रघुनाथ of Benares; a. of रत्नमाला alias दीपिका on निर्णयसिन्धु of कमलाकर-भट्ट.

कृष्णभट्ट भौतिन, son of रघुनाथभट्ट, son of मोघर्षन ; a. of कालचन्द्रिका, शुद्धिचन्द्रिका and सरोजसुन्दर ( vide N. L. p. 14 for शुद्धिचन्द्रिका ).

कृष्णमिश्र, son of विष्णुमिश्र, son of अतिहस, son of विद्यानन्द ; a. of आह्लाशिका, a com. on आह्लास्य of कात्यायन. Composed in संवत् 1505 ( 1448-9 A. D. ).

कृष्णमिश्राचार्य, son of रामसेवक, son of देवीदत्त ; a. of कालमार्तण्ड, तिथि-निर्णयमार्तण्ड and कृत्यप्रदीप, प्रेत-प्रदीप, आह्लास्यप्रदीप and of com. on विशाखोकी.

कृष्णमिश्र, of the कौस्तुभोद, a. of कालसर्वस्व.

कृष्णराज, a king who ruled over महाराष्ट्र on the गोदावरी ; a. of वर्षाश्रमधर्मदीप, a large work.

कृष्णराज a. of स्तुतिमहाराज. Mentions मदनरत्न.

कृष्णराम a. of कर्मकालप्रकाशिका or-प्रकाश, उत्तरार्गनिर्णय, दानोदघोत, प्रायश्चित्तकुतुहल.

कृष्णराम ( of काश्मीर ), a. of महा-शिवरात्रिनिर्णय.

कृष्णविप्र a. of com. on आह्लास्यविवेक of झलपाणि.

कृष्णशर्मन, son of नरसिंह ; a. of शुद्धिप्रकाश ( composed at the bidding of छोटाराय ).

कृष्णशैव a. of प्रवरदीपिका. Later than 1250 A. D.

कृष्णसरस्वती a. of हरिभक्तिकल्पलतिका.

कृष्णाचार्य a. of com. प्रभा on शुद्धि-दीपिका of श्रीनिवास.

कृष्णाचार्य, son of कुमारशर्माभट्ट ; a. of स्तुतिमुक्तावली.

कृष्णानन्द a. of ज्ञानानन्दतरङ्गिणी.

कृष्णानन्द शशीश्वरभट्टाचार्य a. of वद-कर्मदीपिका.

कृष्णानन्दसरस्वती a. of अनुयागपद्धति.

कैदार, m. in स्तुत्यर्थसार. Earlier than 1150 A. D.

कैदारनाथदत्त a. of दत्तककौस्तुभ.

केशव a. of सन्तानदीपिका.

केशव a. of केशवार्णव.

केशव, son of सोमेश्वर ; a. of कौशिक-सुहास्यपद्धति.

केशवकृष्णान्द्र a. of संख्यापरिणामसंग्रह. He was the chief pandit of the परिषद् of a king of Tirhut.

केशवनीबानन्दशर्मन, a. of आह्लाकारिका.

केशवतर्कप्रधानन a. of ज्योतिषरत्न.

केशवदास, son of जीवनराम. About 1770-1790 A. D. ; a. of अहल्या-कामधेनु and रामार्चनरत्नाकर.

केशवदीक्षित, son of सदाशिव ; a. of प्रयोगरत्न.

केशवदेवज्ज of नन्दिग्राम. About 1500 A. D. ; a. of गोवप्रवरनिर्णय or-मञ्जरी.

केशवदेवज्ज, son of कमलाकर of नन्दि-ग्राम ; a. of सुहृत्तत्त्व and कायस्थान्दि-धर्मपद्धति. About 1500 A. D. He is probably the same as the preceding.

केशवभट्ट a. of अन्त्येष्टिप्रयोग तिरण्यकेशीय ( from his प्रयोगमणि ), प्रयोगमणि.

केशवभट्ट son of अमल, of पुण्यस्तम्भ (Puntambe) on the गोदावरी ; a. of जन्मेष्टिपद्धति. Later than 1450 A. D.

केशवभट्ट a. of आचारप्रदीप (probably same as that m. in भास्वतत्त्व of रघु०), कृत्यप्रदीप, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप and शुद्धिप्रदीप.

केशवभट्ट a. of जातकमंजरी.

केशवभट्ट son of गोपालदीक्षित ; a. of कुण्डमण्डपविधि.

केशवभट्ट, son of नागवर्ण अमरंकर ; a. of प्रयोगमणि.

केशवभट्टगोस्वामी a. of com. on क्रमदीपिका.

केशवमिश्र a. of छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट.

केशवमिश्र a. of द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट. वाचस्पतिमिश्र was his परमगुरु. So about 1540 A. D.

केशवराय, son of गोविन्दराय, son of रामराय of भारद्वाजगोत्र ; a. of धर्मचन्द्र. Mentions स्मृत्यधर्मसार and पारिजात. Ms. dated संवत् 1810 (Baroda O. I. no. 5860).

केशवशर्मन् a. of स्मृतितार.

केशवस्वामिन् a. of वीधायनशुद्धपद्धति ; m. in त्रिकाण्डमण्डन. Before 1100 A. D.

केशवाचार्य or केशवभट्ट काव्यमौलिक a. of क्रमदीपिका, (pr. Ch. S. series). About 1500 A. D.

C. विवरण by गोविन्दभट्ट (pr. Ch. S. series).

केशवादित्यभट्ट a. of स्मृतिचान्द्रिका.

केशवाचार्य, son of राजनि ; a. of विद्याहृन्वाचन. (Ms. dated 1398-99

A. D.). The com. is by गणेश, son of केशवचैवज्ञ.

केशवीकार m. in निर्णयमिन्धु and भाषिप्रकाशितप्रायश्चित्त (probably केशव, the author of the जातकपद्धति or केशवी).

केशवेन्द्रस्वामिन् a. of साधनचन्द्रिका.

कैलासपति a. of त्रैवर्णिकमन्त्रास.

कोकिल a. of मात्रादिभास्वनिर्णय (No. 641 of Viśrāmbāg collection I and D. C. No. 104 of 1895-1902). He mentions कर्कोषाध्याय, पिन्तामणि, कामधेनु, स्मृतिप्रदीप, मञ्जरी, चन्द्रिकादिनिबन्ध, विज्ञानेश्वर. Later than 1400 A. D.

कोण्डभट्ट a. of व्रतराज.

कोनेरिभट्ट a. of तत्त्वसंग्रह.

कोनेरिभट्ट, son of केशव ; a. of स्मृतिभूषण.

कोलाप्पाचार्य a. of दूतकचान्द्रिका.

कोशीधर a. of शुद्धिप्रदीपिका (B. O. Mss. cat. vol. I. No. 380 p. 435).

कोपिल (reputed) a. of a स्मृति (D. C. No. 223 of 1879-80 is a different work on भास्व from above).

कोण्डिन्ध m. in व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूतवाहन (prose passage on limitation for recovering a debt) and in भास्वमण्डल.

कौत्स m. in आप. घ. सू. I. 6. 19. 4 and 7 and I. 10. 28. 1 and in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन (p. 304).

कौशुमि m. in हेमाद्रि, कालमाधव (p. 76).

कौशिक 2. of स्तुति ; m. in स्तुति-  
चान्द्रिका and हेमाद्रि.

कौशिक आदिन्य Vide under आदिन्या-  
चार्य.

क्रतु a. of स्तुति ; m. in मितकृता ( on  
पात्र. III. 28 ), अलंकार ( pp. 487,  
1086, 1187 ), स्तुतिचन्द्रिका.

क्षेमकुर 2. of विद्याहरनसंक्षेप.

क्षेमकुर 2. of निर्णयसार.

क्षेमराज 2. of रामपूजापद्धति.

क्षेमराम, son of श्रीभवनन्द, son of  
बाहू called क्षिपञ्चाक्षयन्दिन ; a. of  
प्रेतसङ्क्रिदा, रामनिबन्ध ( composed  
in 1720 A. D. ). Vide Ulwar cat.  
No. 1431.

क्षेमराम, son of कुलमणि, son of लोक-  
मणि, son of श्रीशित बाहू लक्ष्मी-  
कान्त ( who is styled पञ्चाशब्द-  
न्यसोमपात्रि ) or Kanoj ; colophon  
of ब्राह्मपद्धति gives this pedigree,  
but the verse before it says  
that the parents of क्षेमराम were  
श्रीभवमण्डन and पद्मिनी. So this  
man may be the same as  
above.

क्षेमराम a. of आह्निकपद्धति for Sama-  
vedins ( vide B. O. mss. cat.  
vol. I, No. 33 p. 32 ).

क्षेमराम a. of मुहूर्तसंचय.

क्षेमवर्मन् a. of क्षेमप्रकाश composed  
in 1512 A. D. when he was a  
governor of बीरसिंहपुर. Aufre-  
cht ( II. pp. 26-27 ) is wrong  
in saying that he composed the  
work in 1612 .

क्षेमेन्द्र 2nd and 3rd quarter of 11th  
century ; a. of नीतिकल्पतरु and  
नीतिलता, चारुचर्या, लोकप्रकाश.

क्षेमेन्द्र 2. of दानपारिजात.

खण्डमट्ट, son of मयूरेश्वर, surnamed  
अपाधित ; a. of संस्कारभास्कर, रुद्र-  
बुधानप्रयोग.

खण्डेराय, son of नारायणपण्डित. Be-  
tween 1400-1600 A. D. ; a. of  
परशुरामप्रकाश, first part of which  
is आचारोद्भास.

खण्डेराय, son of हरिमट्ट, son of  
नारायण, who belonged to महो-  
पाध्यायवंश honoured by the king  
of विदर्भ ; a. of कृष्णल or कृष्ण-  
रत्नाकर. Mentions हेमाद्रि, माधव,  
रत्नाकर. So later than 1400 A. D.  
Also wrote संस्काररत्न.

खादिर a. of ब्राह्मपण्यह्न.

गङ्गादेन 2. of चातुर्वर्ण्यविचार.

गङ्गादास द्विवेदिन a. of तिथिप्रकाश.

गङ्गादिन्य Or गङ्गाधर, son of गोपीनाथ-  
मिश्र ; a. of स्तुतिचिन्तामणि. About  
1450-1500 A. D.

गङ्गाधर a. of आचारतिलक Or आह्निक.  
( The D. C. ms. No. 135 of  
1886-92 though described as  
आचारतिलक appears to be a  
different work. It quotes आचार-  
तिलक ( folio 6a ) and explains  
sacrificial terms like प्रणीता,  
प्रोक्षणी and sacrificial materials  
like कुश.

गङ्गाधर a. of पाकयज्ञपद्धति, प्रयोगपद्धति  
( गोपायनीय ).

- गङ्गाधर a. of आह्निक, ऋतुकाह्निक.  
 गङ्गाधर a. of कापस्थोत्पत्ति, चातुर्वर्ण्य-  
 विवरण.  
 गङ्गाधर a. of आह्निकगङ्गाधरी, संस्कार-  
 गङ्गाधरी.  
 गङ्गाधर a. of तिथिनिर्णय, दायभागटीका.  
 गङ्गाधर a. of निर्णयमञ्जरी.  
 गङ्गाधर a. of उन्मयनिर्णयमञ्जरी ( com-  
 posed in 1632 A. D. ).  
 गङ्गाधर a. of प्रतिष्ठाचिन्तामणि and  
 प्रतिष्ठानिर्णय.  
 गङ्गाधर a. of विधिरत्न.  
 गङ्गाधर a. of षोडशकर्मपद्धति.  
 गङ्गाधर a. of तीर्थकाशिका.  
 गङ्गाधर, son of नारायण. About 1600  
 A. D. ; a. of मनोरमा, a com. on  
 कुण्डमण्डपदर्पण of his father.  
 गङ्गाधर, son of भैरव देवज्ञ ; a. of सद्ग-  
 र्भेश्वर, सद्गर्भालङ्कार ( composed in  
 1633. A. D. ).  
 गङ्गाधर, son of अग्निहोत्रिराम ; a. of  
 संस्कारपद्धति.  
 गङ्गाधर, son of रामचन्द्र ; a. of प्रवास-  
 कव्य ( composed at Khambayat  
 or Cambay in 1606-7 A. D. ).  
 गङ्गाधर son of सदाशिव महाडकर ; a.  
 of प्रवचसारविवेक or भवसारविवेक  
 ( ms. dated 1784 A. D. ).  
 गङ्गाधर चक्रवर्तिव a. of com. भाषार्थ-  
 दीपिका on आञ्जलसूत्र of रघुनन्दन.  
 गङ्गाधर दीक्षित a. of संस्कारगङ्गाधरी ;  
 probably same as preceding.  
 गङ्गाधरसरस्वती, pupil of रामचन्द्रसर-  
 स्वती ; a. of प्रकाश com. on प्रणव-  
 कल्प.

- गङ्गाधर a. of धर्मप्रदीप.  
 गङ्गाधर a. of आपस्तम्बप्रयोगसार.  
 गङ्गाधर, son of सदाशिव महाडकर ;  
 probably the same as गङ्गाधर  
 महाडकर above ; a. of आरामादि-  
 पतिष्टायपद्धति.  
 गङ्गाधर a. of com. on दायभाग.  
 गङ्गाधर a. of निचन्द्रसिद्धान्तबोध.  
 गङ्गाधर a. of युद्धजयोत्सव.  
 गङ्गाधर, patronised by त्रिविक्रम ; a.  
 of आञ्जलसूत्र. Earlier than 1750  
 A. D.  
 गङ्गाधर m. in आञ्जलसूत्र of कुल्लूक-  
 गङ्गाधर a. of चाणक्यनीतिदर्पण.  
 गङ्गाधर, son of पीरेश्वर ( पीरेश्वर ? ) ; a. of  
 गङ्गाधरभक्तिरत्निका ; says his grand-  
 father was patronised by king  
 नान्य of मिथिला. If नान्य is identi-  
 cal with the कार्णाट king of  
 मिथिला of that name, then गङ्गाधर  
 flourished about 1350 A. D.  
 Vide B. O. mss. cat. No. 86 p.  
 88.  
 गङ्गाधर, son of हरिश्चन्द्र रावल ; a. of  
 पूर्वनिर्णय ( composed in 1685-  
 86 A.D. ), सद्गर्भगणपति, शान्तिगणपति  
 and संबन्धगणपति, ग्रहशान्तिपद्धति,  
 दशकर्मपद्धति.  
 गङ्गाधर a. of com. on राजमार्तण्ड of  
 भोज.  
 गङ्गाधर m. in. सुमिहप्रसाद. Earlier  
 than 1500 A. D.  
 गङ्गाधर, son of ज्ञानेश्वर, son of महादेव,  
 son of लालभट्ट ; a. of तिथिमञ्जरी.  
 गङ्गाधर a. of हरिभक्तिदीपिका.

गणेशदास a. of ऐन्दवभासनिर्णय, अष्टाधिकभासविभूति.

गणेशदेवज्ञ, son of केशव, of नन्दिग्राम; about 1520 (in which year he composed his ग्रहलाघव); a. of महलनिर्णय, of a com. on सुहृत्तत्त्व and on विवाहवृन्दावन.

गणेश पाठक a. of प्रयोगकौस्तुभ.

गणेशभट्ट a. of उद्वाहविवेक.

गणेशभट्ट a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रोदय.

गणेशभट्ट a. of दायभागव्यवस्थामंक्षेप (part of व्यवस्थामंक्षेप) or दायमंक्षेप.

गणेशमित्र महामहोपाध्याय a. of प्रायश्चित्तपरिजात (N. vol. V. p. 222).

गणेशाचार्य a. of निर्णयदर्पण.

गणेश्वर मन्त्रिन्, son of देवादित्य (who was father of वीरेश्वर) and uncle of चण्डेश्वर; m. in हरिनाथ's स्मृति-सार, श्रीधर's आचारादर्श; about 1300-1325 A. D.; a. of सुगति-सोपान and गङ्गापत्तलक (B. O. mss. cat. No. 84 p. 85).

गणेश्वर (महामहोपाध्याय महलक) a. of आदिकोद्धार for वाजसनेयशास्त्र. B. O. mss. cat. vol I No. 38, p. 36. Probably same as the preceding.

गद, surnamed दिवेदिन; a. of संग्रहाय-प्रदीप composed in संवत् 1610 (1553-54 A. D.) in वृन्दावन, while गिरिधर and other grandsons of बल्लभाचार्य were living.

गदाधर a. of राघसिंहप्रकाश.

गदाधर a. of सत्यप्रदायप्रदीपिका.

गदाधर a. of कृत्यकल्पद्रुम; m. by वाचस्पति. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

गदाधर, son of वामन; later than 1550 A. D.; a. of com. on आद्य-कृत्यसूत्र or नवकाण्डिकाशास्त्रसूत्र, of com. on पारस्करपुस्तकसूत्र, of com. on आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्र; mentions कर्क, जयरामभाष्य, मदनपारिजात, राम-वाजपेयिन्, हरिहर.

गदाधर, son of राघवेन्द्र; a. of तन्त्र-प्रदीप a com. on शिवदातिलक; about 1450. A. D.

गदाधर, son of नीलाम्बर. About 1450-1500 A. D.; a. of कालसार (pt. in. B. I. series), आचारसार, व्रतसार, शुद्धिसार.

गदाधर a. of ग्रहयामपद्धति (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. p. 113).

गदाधर a. of वासिटीशान्ति.

गदाधर a. of com. लघुदीपिका on रामा-चन्द्रचन्द्रिका by ब्रह्मवदन.

गदाधर दीक्षित a. of व्रतार्क.

गवदेवल, m. in. प्रायश्चित्तमयम्.

गवविष्णु, m. in. नि. सि.

गव-वास, m. in कालविवेक of जीमूत-पादन, by हलायुध in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

गभासि a. of a स्मृति; m. by अपरार्क (p. 549), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 50).

गर्ग a. on politics; m. in com. on नीतिशास्त्राष्टक.

गर्ग a. of a स्मृति; m. in अपरार्क (pp. 124, 196, 368), in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

गर्ग a. of. गर्गपद्धति on पारस्करपुस्तकसूत्र.



सर्ग, a. of एकनक्षत्रजननशान्ति.

सागामट्ट— Vide under विश्वेश्वरभट्ट.

सार्ग्य a. of a स्मृति; sec. 20.

सालव a. of a स्मृति; m. by हेमाद्रि.

सिरिभट्ट, son of यल्लभट्ट; a. of संस्कार-  
कौमुदी.

सीर्वाणयोगिन्त्र a. of com. on प्रपञ्च-  
सार.

सीर्वाणेन्द्र सरस्वती, pupil of विश्वेश्वर  
सरस्वती; a. of गायत्रीपुष्करावलि.

सुगुण्ड, son of क्षुद्रक, a. of छान्दोग्य-  
मन्त्रभाष्य; m. by रघुनन्दन in  
उद्गाहतरुच, आहृतत्त, मठप्रतिष्ठातरुच.

सुकताय vide पञ्चाक्षर सुकताय.

सुकप्रसादगर्भव a. of शालमासार्थसंग्रह.

सुकप्रसाद न्यायभूषणभट्टाचार्य a. of  
com. on शुद्धितत्त्व.

सुदडमल a. of विवाहपद्धति.

सोकुलचन्द्रवर्मन, a. of आह्निकचन्द्रिका.

सोकुलजित, son of हरिजित; a. of  
सत्रपतिविधिनिर्णयसार (composed in  
1632-33 A. D.).

सोकुलदेव, son of अरुन्धदेव; a. of तीर्थ-  
कल्पलता, मयाश्वाद्धविधि.

सोकुलनाथ मङ्गलमहोपाध्याय, son of  
विवानिधि; a. of कुण्डकादम्बरी and  
कुण्डकादम्बरिसारोद्धार (B. O. mss.  
cat. vol. I No. 65-66 pp. 59-60),  
of पदीय or कादम्बरी a com.  
on दैनिकनिर्णय of वाचस्पति and of  
मातृमीमांसा (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I  
No 54 p. 50 gives कादम्बरीपदीय  
as the name of the com.),

सोपिडमित्र, son of हरपति under  
king वाहुदेव son of रविवर (of  
मिथिला); a. of शत्रुचागविवेकपद्धति;

ms. copied in ल. सं. 592 (1611  
A. D.),

सोपाल a. of आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिकावली.

सोपाट्ट a. of कामधेनु. Vide pp. 294-  
296 above.

सोपाल, m. in आह्निककल्पतरु of श्री-  
वृन्; probably the same as the  
author of the कामधेनु.

सोपाट्ट a. of सोपालपद्धति.

सोपाल a. of सत्क्रियासारदीपिका;  
between 1500-1565 A. D.

सोपाल, a. of कुण्डसुदत्त.

सोपाट्ट a. of सून्यनिरूपण, a. of com.  
on सून्याध्याय of कात्यायन.

सोपाल a. of आचारनिर्णय, आशीचनिर्णय  
(composed in 1613 A. D.), तिथि-  
निर्णय, शुद्धिनिर्णय, विवादनिर्णय.

सोपाल a. of आचारकौमुदी.

सोपाट्ट a. of चातुर्मास्यकारिका.

सोपाट्ट, son of हरिवंशभट्ट, a ग्राहिक; a.  
of कालकौमुदी.

सोपाल a. of प्रायश्चित्तकारिका or प्राय-  
श्चित्तशतद्वीपकारिका.

सोपाल a. of रत्नाकर.

सोपालजित a. of com. on सून्याध्याय  
of कात्यायन.

सोपालदेविकाचार्य, son of आश्वेय कृष्णार्थ.  
Later than 1620 A. D.; a. of  
आह्निक and जयन्तीनिर्णय, सुसिद्ध-  
जयन्तीनिर्णय, रामनवमीनिर्णय, अवण-  
हृदशीनिर्णय.

सोपालन्यायपञ्चानन a. of सदाचारसंग्रह  
(according to रामानुज).

सोपालन्यायपञ्चानन About 1570-1620;  
composed com. on the तत्त्व of

- रघुनन्दन called निर्णय viz. आचार-  
निर्णय, उद्वाहनिर्यय, काव्यनिर्णय,  
निधिर्यय, दापनि°, दूषोत्तपनि°, पा-  
पक्षितनि°, विचारनिर्णय, विद्यानि°,  
शुद्धिनि°, आशुनि°, संक्रान्तिनि°,  
संचयनि°, and प्रापक्षितकर्मनि°.
- गोपालपण्डित a. of गुह्यभाष्य.
- गोपालभट्ट, son of कृष्णभट्ट, sur-  
named उदास; a. of छद्मपद्धति  
( Vide Baroda O. I. ms. No.  
8975 ). He quotes शुद्धितन्त्र and  
मयस्य. Later than 1650 A. D.
- गोपालभट्ट, pupil of प्रबोधनानन्द; a. of  
हरिभक्तिविलास ( B. O. mss. cat.  
vol. I. No. 454 p. 534 ) and  
a. of भगवद्भक्तिविलास. About  
1560 A. D.
- गोपालभट्ट a. of सत्क्रियासारदीपिका.
- गोपालयज्वन ( गार्ग्य ) a. of पितृमेघ-  
सार, पितृमेघन्याख्या or भाष्य.
- गोपालव्यास a. of नवरात्रनिर्णय.
- गोपालसिद्धान्त m. in आचाररत्न of  
लक्ष्मण. Earlier than 1640 A. D.;  
a. of आशौचमाला.
- गोपालसिद्धान्तवागीश a. of नवग्रहारा-  
लोक, विवादन्यवहार.
- गोपालाचार्य a. of पितृपद्धति. Later  
than 1450 A. D.
- गोपालानन्द a. of निर्याचारपद्धति.
- गोपीनाथ a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.
- गोपीनाथ, son of महादेव; a. of  
दीपिका com. on स्नानसूत्र of  
कान्यायन.
- गोपीनाथ a. of तिथ्यादिनिर्णय.
- गोपीनाथ a. of उद्वाहादिकालनिर्णय.
- गोपीनाथ, son of शार्ङ्गधर, son of  
विश्वनाथव्यास of वासिष्ठमोक्ष who  
was one of the four sons of  
सामराज and resident of प्रत्यङ्गपुर;  
a. of जातिविवेक. Earlier than  
1600 A. D. Ulwar cat. No. 1323  
and I. O. cat. p. 518 cause con-  
fusion and make it appear that  
there were two writers of जाति-  
विवेक of the same name.
- गोपीनाथ अग्निहोत्रिन् a. of संन्यास-  
दीपिका.
- गोपीनाथदीक्षित a. of आषाढीकर्म  
( हिरण्यकेलीय ).
- गोपीनाथपाठक, son of अग्निहोत्रिपाठक,  
son of काशीपाठक; a. of प्रणयो-  
पासनविधि.
- गोपीनाथभट्ट a. of निर्णयरत्नाकर.
- गोपीनाथभट्ट a. of आह्निकचन्द्रिका,  
तुलापुरुषमहादानपद्धति, प्रेतदीपिका,  
आत्मिकआह्निकपद्धति, संस्काररत्नमाला.
- गोपीनाथमिश्र a. of कृष्णकौस्तुभ.
- गोपीनारायण, son of लक्ष्मण; a. of  
निर्णयसूत्र ( written at the bidding  
of prince सूर्यसेन ). Probably  
there is some confusion. The  
author of निर्णयसूत्र was अल्लाह-  
नाथसूरी who wrote under सूर्यसेन.
- गोभिल a. of गुह्यसूत्र and of a सूक्ति  
( also called कर्मप्रदीप of कान्यायन ).  
Vide pp. 218-220 above).
- गोभिल ( reputed ) a. of उरनयनतन्त्र.
- गोभिलपुर a. of गुह्यामेघद.
- गोवर्धन उपाध्याय a. of उद्वाहचन्द्रिका.
- गोवर्धन कविमण्डन a. of आपस्तम्बाह्निक.

गोवर्धनदीक्षित, son of वेणीदास ; a. of छन्दोगाह्निक.

गोवर्धन पाठक a. of पुराणसर्वस्व ( compiled in शके 1396 under Bengal Zamindar श्रीसत्य ).

गोविन्द, son of गृहपांचार्य, son of वासुदेव ; a. of आशीचरिण्य.

गोविन्द, son of मदाशिवमिश्र ; a. of संग्रहसंस्कार.

गोविन्द a. of पूजाप्रदीप m. in दीक्षा-तत्त्व. Probably the same as the next.

गोविन्द a. of प्रायश्चित्तश्लोकपद्धति.

गोविन्द, son of केशव. Earlier than 1550 A. D.; a. of पूजाप्रदीप m. in the दीक्षातत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. He wrote पूजाप्रदीप at the bidding of मवानन्दराय ( B. O. mss. cat. No. 264 p. 287 dated ल. सं. 432 i. e. 1551 A. D. ).

गोविन्द a. of स्मार्तार्थानुपद्धति.

गोविन्द, son of पुरुषोत्तम ; a. of लक्ष-होमपद्धति.

गोविन्द, son of नीलकण्ठ ; a. of पीयूष-धारा com. on मूर्तचिन्तामणि of राम who was his uncle ; com. composed in शके 1550.

गोविन्द उपाध्याय m. by हेमाद्रि.

गोविन्ददत्त, son of गणेश्वरमान्जिव, who was younger brother of वीरेश्वर and son of देवादिन्य who was minister of king हरसिंह ; a. of मानसोल्लास (?). A work called गोविन्दमानसोल्लास is mentioned in मलमासतत्त्व ( p. 822 ) and एकादशीतत्त्व ( p. 12 ) of रघुनन्दन.

( Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. pp. 107-109 ). About 1300-1370 A. D.

गोविन्द देवज्ञ, son of गदाधर of the माध्वन्दिनशाखा and गौतमगोत्र ; a. of कृष्णमार्तण्ड ( composed at Junnar in 1691-92 A. D. ).

गोविन्दपण्डित, son of रामपण्डित ; a. of आश्वपद्धति.

गोविन्दपण्डित a. of आश्वदीपिका. Earlier than 1560 A. D.; m. in आश्व-कल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.

गोविन्दभट्ट a. of com. on क्रमदीपिका.

गोविन्दभट्ट, m. in आश्वसाधर of कल्लुकभट्ट ( on आश्व ). Earlier than 1250.

गोविन्दभट्ट m. in मलमासतत्त्व ( p. 787 ) by रघुनन्दन as भाष्यकार of पराशर. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

गोविन्दभट्ट a. of दर्शनाश्वसंयोग.

गोविन्दभट्ट बुद्धि a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

गोविन्दराज, son of माधव ; a. of com. on मनुस्मृति and of स्मृतिमञ्जरी. Sec. 76. सहस्रनामविधि is ascribed to him.

गोविन्दराय a. of परसूयकरण ( composed between 1740-49 A. D. ).

गोविन्द वासुदेवभट्ट a. of दत्तपुत्रविचार.

गोविन्दस्वामिन् a. of com. on बोधा-यनधर्मसूत्र.

गोविन्दानन्द कविकृष्णाचार्य, son of गणपतिभट्ट. Sec. 101. Flourished between 1500-1540 A. D. ; a. of दानकौमुदी, वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी, छुट्टि-कौमुदी, आश्वकौमुदी and of अर्थ-

- कौमुदी com. on छुद्दिदीपिका of श्रीनिवास and सत्त्वार्यकौमुदी ( com. on छुडपाणि's प्राग्व्यतविषेक ).
- मोविन्दोपाध्याय a. of मल्लभासे निषेध-विचार ( B. O. mss. cat. No. 292 p. 332 ).
- मोस्वामिन् a. of निर्णयसार.
- मौतम a. of धर्मसूत्र ( sec. 5 ) and quoted as a writer on politics in the com. to नीतिवाक्यावृत.
- मौतम a. of आह्निकसूत्र, पितृमेघसूत्र.
- मौतम a. of दानचामिका.
- मौरीकान्त ( and others ) a. of विषा-दाणवभञ्जन.
- मौरीदत्त son of रामभद्र ; a. of वाग्पती-तीर्थयात्राप्रकाश.
- मौरीनाथचक्रवर्तिन् a. of कालभाष्यनिर्णय, नवाक्षभाष्यनिर्णय.
- मौरीपति son of दामोदर ; a. of com. on आचारदर्श of श्रीदत्त. Composed at Benares in 1640 A. D.
- मौरीशब्दु son of दामोदर, son of नायकपण्डित. दामोदर was born in महाराष्ट्र on the banks of a holy river in Yajñabhūmi, but studied at Benares and was honoured at the court of Akbar. मौरीश-ब्दु wrote अनुमरणप्रदीप. He composed it after 67 years of Akbar's era ( अकबरमहान्त्रस्य मते-हृन्वर्तुषन्तरे : । पुरतः कार्तिकेष्टभ्यां काश्यां मौरीशशर्मणा ), i. e. 1609 A. D. He mentions बालोक ( बालक ? ), निकन, छलपाणि, मदन-परिजात, अनुमरणविषेक and several other works. He mentions also विठ्ठलविलास of his father. Vide D. C. Ms. 76 of 1892-95.
- मौरीशङ्कर a. of विषाहपद्धति.
- मोहेश्वरमिश्र m. as a jurist in विषाद-रत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर ( pp. 46, 483 ) and in वर्धमान's दण्डविषेक where his work seems to be called व्यवहारतरङ्ग. Earlier than 1300 A. D.
- चटकर्पूर ( reputed ) a. of नीतिसार.
- चक्रधर a. of पैतृकतिथिनिर्णय.
- चक्रपाणिपाठक a. of com. on सिध्द-प्रकाश of महादास. Ms. ( in B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 163 p. 178 ) is dated शके 1700.
- चक्रपाणिमिश्र a. of व्यवहारादर्श.
- चण्डमारुतस्वामिन् a. of हरिदिनतिलक.
- चण्डीराम son of दुर्गादत्त ; a. of संक्षि-प्तमालिकगणपति ( composed at the desire of रणवीरसिंह of काश्मीर ).
- चण्डूक a. of स्मार्तकर्मतृह्यन्तर्धरण or चण्डूतिचन्द्र ( vide Baroda O. I. ms. No. 296 dated संवत् 1593, ज्येष्ठ शु. 93 शुक्ले ). He is styled महामात्य and सद्वाद.
- चण्डेश्वर ठाकुर son of श्रीरेश्वर. Sec. 90; a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर ( divided in- to seven parts on कृत्य, गृहस्थ, दान, पूजा, विवाद, व्यवहार and श्राद्ध ) and of कृत्यचिन्तामणि, रात्रनीति-रत्नाकर, दानवाक्यावलि and शिव-वाक्यावलि, शेषमानसोद्भास.
- चतुर्भुज a. of रामनिवार्यनपद्धति.
- चतुर्भुज a. of विषाहपद्धति.
- चतुर्भुज a. of अद्भुतसागरसार and of अष्टादशसंस्काराः.

चतुर्भुज a. of लघुपञ्चसूति.

चतुर्भुज भट्टाचार्य m. in शुद्धितन्त्र (p. 243) by रघुनन्दन.

चतुर्भुज भट्टाचार्य a. of आशौचप्रकाश and आशौचसंग्रह (both works are probably identical). He is probably the same as the चतुर्भुज m. by रघुनन्दन.

चतुर्भुजाचार्य a. of सङ्ग्रामनितरङ्गिणी.

चन्द्र a. of स्मृति, m. in निर्णयदीपक.

चन्द्रचूडभट्ट or चन्द्रशेखरशर्मन्, son of उमापति (alias वृद्धभट्ट), son of धर्मेश्वर or धर्मभट्ट पौराणिक. Between 1575-1650 A. D., a. of कालदियाकर, कालसिद्धान्तनिर्णय, गृह-वान्तुनिर्णय, वाक्यज्ञनिर्णय पिण्डपितृ-यज्ञप्रयोग, भ्रातृनिर्णय, संस्कारनिर्णय alias चन्द्रचूडीय.

चन्द्रमौलि a. of आचार्यसार or आचार-रत्न.

चन्द्रशेखर a. of धर्मविवेक.

चन्द्रशेखर a. of पुरश्चरणदीपिका.

चन्द्रशेखर महामहोपाध्याय a. of स्मृति-प्रदीप.

चन्द्रशेखर वाचस्पति, son of विद्याभूषण; a. of द्वैतनिर्णय or -निर्णयसंग्रह, धर्म-दीपिका or स्मृतिप्रदीपिका, स्मृतिसार-संग्रह.

चन्द्रशेखरशर्मन् a. of दुर्गभजन or स्मृतिदुर्गभजन or सङ्कल्पस्मृतिदुर्गभजन.

चक्रवर्तिरित्थम्पय्यन्, son of लक्ष्मणभट्ट; a. of षट्कर्मचन्द्रिका.

चाणक्य m. as a writer on राजनीति by माहिनाथ on रघु० V. 50.

H. D. 88,

चाणक्य a. of राजनीतिशास्त्र in verse (various recensions) pr. in Dr. N. Law's Calcutta Oriental Series; and of the कौटिलीय. Hultsch's R. II. No. 993 (and p. 85 extract) is a चाणक्यसप्तति the last verse of which is 'श्लोका-नामिति सप्तत्या नीतिसारसमुच्चयम्'. चन्द्रमुद्राय चाणक्यः संक्षेपेणोपादिष्ट-वान्. Vide under चाणक्यनीति and similar works.

चारायण m. in the com. on the नीतिशास्त्रासुत.

चारायण a. of एहामुख.

चित्रपति, son of नन्दीपति, son of मधुसूदन, a Pandit of Colebrooke; a. of स्ववहारसिद्धान्तपरिपूष (composed in 1803 A. D.; vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 356).

चिदम्बरेश्वर a. of स्मृतिमुक्ताफलसंग्रह.

चिदानन्दनाथ, pupil of स्वयंप्रकाशा-नन्दनाथ; a. of ललितार्चनपञ्चसूति.

चिद्वनानन्दनाथ a. of कर्मपञ्चसूति.

चिन्तामणि न्यायवागीशभट्टाचार्य, a गौड; a. of स्मृतिव्यवस्था (divided into parts on उद्वाह, तिथि, दाय, प्राय-श्चित्त, शुद्धि and भ्रातृ). Earlier than 1680 A. D.

चूडामणि, son of राघवेन्द्रचट्ट; a. of ज्ञानाङ्कुर.

चूडहमल (sometimes said to be) a. of श्रीतिचन्द्रोदय composed by दामोदरपण्डित in the 2nd half of 16th century in Akbars's reign.

चेतन्यगिरि a. of महाविष्णुपूजापञ्चसूति and द्वात्रिंशपञ्चसूति, द्वैतीपूजनपञ्चसूति.

चौण्डपायं, son of चिन्नापायं and कामान्वा and pupil of भारतीतीर्थ ; a. of सम्प्रदायाध्य (आम्बलायन), composed at request of चाण्डिड, son of भातु. Bows to भारतीतीर्थ and चिन्नापायं as भाव्यकार and describes them as प्रथममहार्णवी. Probably flourished about 1350-1375 A.D. Vide Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4214.

च्यवन Sec. 21; a. of a धर्मसूत्र.

छलारिनारायण a. of स्मृतिसंग्रह.

छलारि or छलारि सुमिह (or नरसिंह) son of नारायण ; a. of स्मृत्यर्थसार (of which कालतरङ्ग is first part) and आह्निक for मन्त्र. Later than 1675 A.D.

छान वाशिकचक्रचूडाचिन्तामणि a. of com. on स्नानसूत्र.

छागल or छागलेय a. of स्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (on यज्ञ. III. 290, 326). कल्पतरु, स्मृतिचक्र, अपराक pp. 442, 533, 932.

जगदानन्द a. of कृत्यकौमुदी.

जगदीश a. of भावार्थदीप com. on शूलपाणि's ब्राह्मणविवेक.

जगन्नाथ a. of अनुबोधकल्पतरु.

जगन्नाथ a. of विवाहपद्धति.

जगन्नाथ तर्कप्रज्ञान. Sec. 113; a. of विवाहप्रज्ञान.

जगन्नाथ वाशिक, son of शङ्करगुरु ; a. of संस्कारकल्पद्रुम.

जगन्नाथधरि a. of समुदायप्रकाश.

जगन्नेजय (reputed) a. of नीतिप्रकाशिका (which is said to have

been imparted to him by वैशम्पायन).

जगन्नि a. of a स्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (on यज्ञ. I. 256 in prose), by हरदत्त, कल्पतरु, अपराक (pp. 267, 468, 501, 880, 1064) and स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

जगन्नाथ सभाषीश, son of हेमाद्रि ; a. of प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति.

जयकृष्ण a. of गङ्गास्नानसङ्कल्पवाक्यदीप (B. O. mss. cat. vol. No. 90 p. 91).

जयकृष्ण or श्रीकृष्ण तर्कालङ्कार a. of दीप com. on शायभाग and of द्वायाधिकारक्रमसंग्रह.

जयकृष्ण तर्कवागीश a. of ब्राह्मणार्णव alias ब्राह्मणदीप.

जयतीर्थ pupil of आनन्दतीर्थ ; a. of com. on कर्मनिर्णय of आनन्दतीर्थ, of पूजापद्धति. For latter vide ms. No. 8685 of Baroda O. I.

जयतुङ्ग (Is he an author?) m. in टोडरानन्द and निर्णयसिन्धु.

जयनारायण तर्कप्रज्ञान a. of नीरानन्दप्रकाश (composed for शिबनारायण घोष), सुरसंक्रान्तिदीपिका.

जयन्त or जयन्तस्वामिन्, son of कान्त, son of कल्याणस्वामिन्. He was father of जमिनन्व. End of eighth century ; a. of आम्बलायनीय सूत्रकारिका and विमलोदयमाला com. on आम्बलायनपद्धतसूत्र. हेमाद्रि (III. 1. 1339) says that हरिहर refuted the view of जयन्तस्वामिन् on the verse अन्यभावे तु विप्रस्य. He is m. by गदाधर in his भाष्य on परस्करसूत्र, in ब्राह्मणकारिका

- of रघुनाथ and प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट. For विमलोदय (com. on आश्वलायनश्रुति vide D. C. ms. No. 45 of 1899-1915).
- जयराम a. of शतचण्डीविद्यानपद्धति.
- जयराम a. of com. on कामन्दकीय-नीतिसार.
- जयराम a. of दानचन्द्रिका (abstract of हेमाद्रि's work).
- जयराम a. of सुदृताङ्कुर.
- जयराम, son of बलभद्र, son of दामोदर of भारद्वाजगोत्र. Between 1200-1400 A. D.; a. of सज्जनबल्लभा (a com. on वारस्करश्रुतसूत्र). In Ulwar cat. extract No. 39 the date (of composition probably?) is संवत् 1611 (1554-5 A. D.).
- जयशर्मन् m. in तीर्थचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति.
- जयसिंहदेव, king of गोरक्षपुर. Earlier than 1750 A. D.; (reputed) a. of जयमाधवमानसोद्भास.
- जयस्वामिन् m. in मलमासतत्त्व (p. 782) of रघुनन्दन.
- जयानन्द a. of सुदृताङ्कुर.
- जातुकर्ण- vide sec. 22.
- जानकीरामसार्वभौम a. of सप्तस्मृतिमार.
- जाबाल or -लि a. of a स्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (on पाञ्च. III. 24, 260, 263-64, 315, 322, 326), अपराक प. 736.
- जिकन Earlier than 1250 A. D.; m. in आश्वलायन of कुल्लुभट्ट, in शूलपाणि's द्रुगोत्सवविवेक and प्रायश्चित्तविवेक, by रघुनन्दन in सुदृतिष्व
- (p. 237 vol. II. refers to his अन्येष्टिषिधि and अनुमरविवेक) and in मलमासतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 774).
- जितामित्र Earlier than 1250 A. D.; m. in एकादशीतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 46) of रघुनन्दन as referred to by श्रीदत्त.
- जितेन्द्रिय Sec. 66; flourished about 1000-1050 A. D.
- जीवतवाहन Sec. 78; a. of कालविवेक, व्यवहारमातृका, दायभाग.
- जीव a. of दुर्गासङ्गमनी a com. of भक्ति-रसासुतसिन्धु.
- जीवदेव, son of आपदेव and younger brother of अनन्तदेव; latter half of 17th century; he names निर्णय-सिन्धु and मण्डल; a. of आशौच-निर्णय and मोक्षप्रवरनिर्णय (extracted in संस्कारकौस्तुभ).
- जीवनाथ देवज्ञ a. of वास्तुरत्नावली.
- जीवराम a. of स्वस्तिवाचनपद्धति.
- जैत्रसिंह a. of भैरवाचार्यपारिजात.
- जैमिनि a. of स्मृति m. in मिता (on पाञ्च. III. 20), कालमाधव (p. 259), एकादशीतत्त्व, नि. सि.
- जैमिनि a. of स्मृतिमीमांसा (m. by अपराक).
- जैमिनि a. of श्रुतश्रुत (pr. in Punjab Oriental series).
- जोरेश्वर महामहोपाध्याय a. of द्वैतनिर्णय (B. O. mss. cat. vol I. No. 225 p. 237.)
- जोगलोक- vide योगलोक.
- ज्ञानभास्कर a. of आह्निकसंक्षेप and आह्निक.



ज्ञानस्वरूप a. of com. on प्रपञ्चसार.  
 ज्योतिर्गर्भ m. in निर्णयसिन्धु.  
 ज्योतिर्गाय m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.  
 ज्योतिर्नारद m. in निर्णयसिन्धु.  
 ज्योतिर्नार्थ a. of शैवरत्नाकर.  
 ज्योतिर्वसिष्ठ m. by भट्टोजि in चतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्यान.  
 ज्योतिर्वृहस्पति m. by हेमाद्रि ( III, 2, 472 ), in निर्णयदीपक.  
 ज्योतिर्वसिष्ठ m. in संस्कारकौमुद.  
 ज्योतिष्पराशर m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, कालमाधव ( p. 91 ), in एकावशीतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.  
 ज्योतिषितामह m. in कालमाधव ( p. 91 ).  
 ज्वालानाथमिश्र a. of छन्दोगप्रकाश and उदक्याष्टादिप्रकाश.  
 शिङ्गम्य कोषिद् ( or शिङ्गम्य ), son of पेञ्जल मन्त्रनाथार्य ; a. of प्रयोगपद्धति ( for आपस्तम्बीय, also called शिङ्गम्य-भट्टीय ).  
 टीकाराम a. of दापमुक्तावली.  
 टीकाकारशर्मन् a. of विष्टपशुखण्डन ( ms. No. 2436 of Baroda O. I. ). He was of गार्ग्यगोत्र and followed पारानन्दद्वैतवेदान्त.  
 टोडरमल Sec. 104 ; ( reputed ) a. of टोडरानन्द ( several parts of which are separately noted, as कालनिर्णयसौख्य &c. ).  
 टाण्डू ( or मिश्रभीटोडू ) ; a. of आश्व-विधि for माध्याग्निदीपः. Mentions कर्क, कल्पतरु, श्रीकण्ठ, इलायुध ( BBRAS. cat. p. 236 No. 736 ).  
 टाण्डि a. of मांसनिर्णय and मायादिनिर्णय.

टुण्डिरान son of पुरुषोत्तम and pupil of रामपण्डित father of नन्दवाण्डित. About 1600 A. D ; a. of कुण्ड-कल्पलता.

टुण्डू ( or टुण्डू ). Earlier than 1555 A. D. ; a. of पद्धति m. in अन्त्येष्टि-पद्धति of नारायणभट्ट and in आश्वतथ.

टोण्डू a. of आश्वविधि ( माध्याग्निदीप ) Same as टाण्डू above. Between 1200-1500 A. D.

टोडामिश्र son of प्राणकृष्ण ; a. of आश्व-विषेक.

तकनलाल Later than 1686 A. D ; a. of com. on अग्निस्मृति, of com. on आचारार्क, of com. on दशस्मृति, com. on दत्तकचन्द्रिका, com. on हारीतस्मृति.

तर्कतिलक vide under मोहनमिश्र.

तातयार्य a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर.

तातादास a. of प्रवक्ष्यगतिदीपिका.

तान्याशास्त्रिण् a. of दत्तकानिर्णय.

तानपाठक a. of संस्कारमुक्तावली.

ताम्रपर्णाचार्य a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर.

तालवृन्तनिवासिन a. of आपस्तम्बश्रुत-प्रयोगकृति ; follows देवस्वामिन, कपर्दिन, कुमारसिद्धान्तिन.

तिग्गलभट्ट a. of श्रीरथलप्रकाश.

तिप्पामट्ट, son of रामभट्ट, son of बाल-म्हट्ट surnamed गह्वर ; a. of स्मार्तप्राय-श्चित्त, संस्कारनिर्णय ; wrote संग्रह-दीपिका in 1776 A. D.

तिम्मणभट्ट a. of स्मृतिकोशदीपिका.

तिम्मयज्वन् चक्रूरि a. of षट्कर्मचन्द्रिका.

तिरुमलकवि of पराशरगोत्र a. of आश्वनिर्णयदीपिका.

तिरुमलपञ्चन a. of संध्यावन्दनभाष्य.

तिरुमलसोमयाजेनु, son of तिरुमल-  
पञ्चन; a. of आश्वलायनप्रयोगदीपिका.

तिरिपिलियुरि a. of प्रयोगमुक्तावली.

तिर्मल of वराहमहोदय a. of धर्मनेतु.

तुरगवदनपाण्डित a. of शालग्रामलक्षण.

तुलजाराम a. of उन्मत्तनिर्णय.

तुलजाराम Tanjore king (1765-  
1788 A. D.); (reputed) a. of  
आदिधर्मसारसंग्रह, राजधर्मसारसंग्रह.  
He is said to have com-  
posed सङ्गीतसारसूत्र also.

तोडकाचार्य a. of कान्दनिर्णय.

तोडप्पर, son of श्रीनिवासाचार्य; a. of  
इतकचन्द्रिका.

त्रिकाण्डमण्डन (भास्कर). Between 1100  
and 1250 A.D.; a. of आपस्तम्बसूत्र-  
ध्वनितार्थकारिका (pr. in B. I.  
series) m. by हेमाद्रि, मदन-  
वारिजात and he wrote प्रवरनिर्णय.  
Mentions कर्क, केशवसिद्धान्त, दामो-  
दर, भवभाष्य, रुद्रदत्त, धामन.

त्रिलोचनमिश्र earlier than 1450  
A. D.; a. of धर्मकोश.

त्रिलोचनशिख a. of प्रायश्चित्तसमुच्चय.

त्रिविक्रम. Earlier than 1550 A. D.;  
a. of त्रिविक्रमपद्धति or त्रैविक्रमी or  
प्रतिष्ठापपद्धति (on the consecra-  
tion of idols &c.) m. in टोडरान-  
न्द and निर्णयसिन्धु.

त्रिविक्रम a. of न्यायपद्धति.

त्रिविक्रमज्ञ, pupil of श्रीरामभारती; a.  
of सृष्टार्थदीपिका (or सृष्ट<sup>०</sup>) com.  
on शारदातिलक.

त्रिविक्रमसूरि, son of रघुसूरि; a. of  
आचारचन्द्रिका; m. in टोडरानन्द.  
Probably the same as above.

त्रैविक्रम a. of आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रयोग.

ब्रह्मक, pupil of पद्मेश a. of गार्हपत्य-  
दीपिका.

ब्रह्मक a. of तत्त्वदीप.

ब्रह्मक a. of स्त्रीधर्मपद्धति.

ब्रह्मक, son of नारायण, surnamed  
माटे; a. of आचारनेतु. (composed  
in 1838 A. D.), प्रतिष्ठेन्दु.

ब्रह्मक, son of राम, surnamed ओक;  
a. of आचारसूत्र (composed in  
1819 A. D.).

ब्रह्मक पाण्डित, son of नारायण of the  
आङ्गिरससमुद्रलङ्घन; about 1760 A.D.;  
a. of आशीचनिर्णय.

ब्रह्मकभट्ट मोल्ह, son of कृष्णभट्ट; a. of  
जातिविवेक, प्रायश्चित्तसार, प्रायश्चित्त-  
प्रयोग.

दश sec. 43; a. of स्मृति.

दत्त vide गौरीदत्त.

दत्तपाण्डित a. of चुडाकर्म.

दत्तात्रेय m. in. स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, अपराक  
(p. 971), मदनवारिजात, निर्णयसिन्धु.

दयाराम a. of दानप्रदीप, पद्मचन्द्रिका,  
स्मृतिमंथन

दयाशङ्कर, son of धरणीधर; a. of उपाकर्म-  
विधि, जोषधेद्विकल्पपद्धति, तिथिनिर्णय,  
दर्शोद्भासप्रयोग, दानप्रदीप, नीतिविवेक,  
प्रयोगदीप (or -रत्नाकर), शास्त्रायनसंग्रह,  
शुद्धिल्ल, भास्करपद्धति, आश्वप्रयोग.

दण्डपतिराज, son of बल्लभ; sec. 99; a.  
of नृसिंहप्रसाद (several parts of  
which are separately noted in

the catalogues, such as आह्निकसार, कालनिर्णयसार ).

दशपुत्र ( probably this is only the surname ) a. of मलमासतिर्णय.

दावा, son of माधव son of सुमित्र, surnamed Karajgi. He was a माधव and of वसिष्ठगोत्र and resided at Nasik; mentions मयूर and कौस्तुभ; a. of वृत्तार्क ( composed in शके 1691 शशिबृहत्-समुद्रवशाककेन्द्रे ). Aufrecht is wrong in giving the date as 1661.

दामोदर a. of इष्टिकाल.

दामोदर a. of लघुकालनिर्णय.

दामोदर a. of जातकर्मपद्धति.

दामोदर a. of आचारपद्धति.

दामोदर a. of मांसविषेक.

दामोदर, son of शङ्करभट्ट and eldest brother of नीलकण्ठ. About 1610 A.D.; a. of कलिवर्जनिर्णय, द्वैतनिर्णय-परिशिष्ट.

दामोदर गार्ग्य a. of प्रयोगपद्धति ( alias संस्कारपद्धति ) following पारस्करपञ्च. Names कर्क, गङ्गाधर and हरिहर.

दामोदर ठाकुर Earlier than 1575 A.D.; a. of दिव्यनिर्णय ( compiled under संग्रामसिंह ) and विषेकदीपक; N. vol. V. p. 282 speaks of दिव्य-दीपिका ( compiled under श्रीमद्-माहेश्वर ), while N. vol. VI p. 40 says that दिव्यनिर्णय was compiled under संग्रामसाह; but the works appear to be the same.

दामोदरठकुर a. of प्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय ( B. O. mss. cat. Vol. I No. 276 p. 313 ).

दामोदरपाण्डित. Latter half of 16th century; a. of कीर्तिचन्द्रोदय ( under the patronage of चूड-मह ).

दामोदरीय m. in शुद्धिमयूख and निर्णय-दीपक.

दारिल a. of com. on कौशिकयुद्धम्.

दास्य a. of धर्मशास्त्र ( D. C. ms. No. 267 of 1887-91 ) in verse ( with a few prose passages about प्रयोग ) on प्रेतक्रिया, एकादशाहभास्व, नवकआस्व, सपिण्डीकरण, वृषोत्सर्ग ( मैत्रेय asks दास्य ) and of a पद्धति.

दास्य a. of नारायणचलिपद्धति.

दिनकर son of सुमित्र from the दशार्ण country. Earlier than 1600 A. D.; a. of गोपालपद्धति.

दिनकर a. of प्रायश्चित्तसहस्र.

दिनकर alias दिवाकर, son of रामकृष्ण-भट्ट; a. of कर्मविवाकसार, प्रायश्चित्त-सार, शान्तिसार, दिनकरोद्घोत ( completed by his son विश्वेश्वर alias गामाभट्ट ). Between 1575-1640 A. D.

दिवाकर son of महादेव, son of बाल-कृष्ण, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र. His maternal grand-father was नीलकण्ठ author of the twelve मयूख; a. of धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि of which अन्ये-ष्टिप्रकाश, आचारार्क ( composed in 1686 A. D. ), दानद्वाराचलिप्रकाश, आद्यचन्द्रिका, तिथ्यर्क, प्रायश्चित्तसुका-थली, सुर्वादिपञ्चायतनप्रतिष्ठापद्धति and others were parts. Aufrecht ( part I. p. 253 ) confounded

this with the next, but corrected himself (part II. p. 54).

दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of रामेश्वर, surnamed काल (काळे in Marathi). He was daughter's son of रामरुणभट्ट, father of कमलाकर. About 1620-1670 A.D.; a. of दानचरित्रका (or दानसंक्षेपचन्द्रिका), आह्निकचन्द्रिका or संक्षेपाह्निकचन्द्रिका, कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका, स्मार्त-प्रायश्चित्तोद्धार, पतितन्यासविधि, पुनरुपनयनप्रयोग.

दिवाकर, son of दिनकर; a. of दानदिनकर.

दिवाकरभट्ट a. of त्रिवेणीपद्मति.

दिबोदास Earlier than 1550 A. D.; a. of दिबोदासप्रकाश; m. by कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका of दिवाकर and seems to be the same as दिबोदासीय m. by निर्णयसिन्धु, विधानसारिजात, श्राद्धमयूख.

दिन्यसिंह महापात्र a. of कालदीप (or-प्रदीप), शास्त्रदीप and of दिन्यसिंहकारिका (which summarises the two preceding).

दीक्षित About 1050-1100 A. D.; m. by दाघभाग (on daughter's succession) and कालविवेक (pp. 92, 102, 237, 264, 541). Earlier than 1100 A. D.

दीनदयालु पाठक a. of मुहूर्तभैरव.

दीर्घतमस m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 260) and by मस्करीय (on गौतमपर्मयूख).

दुःखमखन a. of मुहूर्तकल्पाकर, सुखलय-प्रकाश.

दुर्गदत्त a. of शुद्धदीपिका.

दुर्गप, son of चान्ददेव; a. of com. on दायदशश्लोकी or दायसंग्रहश्लोकदशक.

दुर्गानंदाय a. of मुहूर्तरचना.

दुलाल a. of दुलालीय.

देवकीनन्दन a. of एकादशीव्रतनिर्णय.

देवजानि (?) a. of देवजानीपभाष्य on निर्णयदीपक.

देवणभट्ट, son of केशवभट्ट. Sec. 85; a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

देवदासमिश्र, son of नामदेव, son of अर्जुन of the गौतमगोत्र and honoured by मालव king; between 1250-1500 A.D.; mentions कल्पतरु, कर्क, सर्वव (महार्णव), मिताक्षरा, स्मृतिसार, विश्वादर्श; a. of देवदासप्रकाश or सङ्ग्रह्यचूडामणि, तिथि-निर्णय. निर्णयावृत and विधानपारिजात mention a देवदासीय which is probably the देवदासप्रकाश.

देवनाथ ठाकुर. Earlier than 1620 A. D.; a. of स्मृतिकौमुदी, दिन्यतन्त्र or तन्त्रकौमुदी. B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 60 p. 54 is a काल-कौमुदी of देवनाथ, which is probably a part of the स्मृतिकौमुदी.

देवपाल, son of हरिपाल; a. of भाष्य on काठकण्डमुद्र.

देवरोध a. of com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति, m. by रघुनन्दन in सुखितल्ल (p. 236).

देवभट्ट a. of पार्वणआख्यप्रयोग (for याज्ञवल्क्य).

देवभट्ट पाठक a. of दशमुखकोटिहोम प्रयोग.

देवभद्र पाठक, son of बलभद्र ; a. of प्रयोगसार (काव्यायनीय).

देवपात्रिक vide पात्रिकदेव.

देवपात्रिक a. of सूत्रकमिदान्त.

देवपात्रिक a. of a पद्धति ( पद्धतवेदीय ); pr. in Kashi S. series.

देवराज a. of com. on नीतिमञ्जरी of चाक्षिपेदिन.

देवराज a. of प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह ( compiled under orders of prince जेतसिंह of Benares, 1770-1781 A. D. ).

देवराज a. of सुहृत्तपरीक्षा.

देवराज a. of आश्वलायनीयदर्पण.

देवराज a. of a work on धर्मशास्त्र ( probably a निबन्ध ) m. in स्मृति-चन्द्रिका for the view that दुहितरः in याज्ञवल्क्य's verses on inheritance means पुत्रिका. The सरस्वतीविलास ( p. 414, Mysore ed. ) attributes the same view to him along with धारेश्वर, देव-स्वामिन and श्रीहर.

देवराज a. of आश्वलायनश्रुति.

देवराज a. of सुहृत्तल्लकाचली.

देवल vide sec. 23.

देवस्वामिन. Vide sec. 65. About 1000-1050 A. D.; a. of भाष्य on आश्वलायनश्रुति and of a निबन्ध on धर्मशास्त्र.

देवीदास a. of राजनीति.

देवीदासपण्डित a. of कर्मविपाकचिकित्सासूतसागर.

देवेन्द्राश्रम, pupil of विष्णुदेन्द्राश्रम. Earlier than 1696 A. D.; a. of

पुरुषरक्षणचन्द्रिका ( D. C. ms. No. 33 of 1898-99 is dated संवत् 1753 ).

दादुमिश्र a. of प्रेतमञ्जरी.

चाक्षिपेदिन, son of लक्ष्मीधर, son of अत्रि, son of मुकुन्द of आनन्दपुर ; a. of नीतिमञ्जरी and com. thereon ( composed in 1494 A. D. ). Aufrecht ( I. p. 263 ) said that चाक्षिपेदिन composed in 1054 but corrected himself later ( II. p. 56 ).

इचिह m. as an author in the स्तुत्यर्पणसार of श्रीधर.

ब्रह्मरायण a. of ब्रह्मरायणसहाय्य ( attributed to चाक्षिपेदिन ).

ब्रह्मण Earlier than 1100 A. D.; a. of रत्नकरण्डिका.

हारकानाथयज्वल, son of टीकाभट्ट; a. of उपाकर्मप्रयोग.

हैषांग ( reputed ) a. of वनकदर्पण.

हैषांगनाथार्य a. of स्मार्तपदार्थानुक्रमणिका.

धनञ्जय Earlier than 1500 A. D.; a. of धर्मप्रदीप and सम्बन्धविशेषपरिशिष्ट; m. in संस्कारतत्त्व ( vol. I p. 891 ) of रघुनन्दन ). In उदाहृतत्त्व ( vol. II. p. 145 ) we have only सम्बन्ध-विशेष of धनञ्जय.

धनपति, son of रुचिपति, son of विश्वनाथ, son of रतिधर of खोजालवंश ; a. of आश्वदर्पण. The author resided at बेजोलि and is later than 1500 A. D.

धनराम son of गोवर्धन ; a. of आश्व-प्रदीप. Earlier than 1750 A. D.

धनिराम a. of सिद्धान्तशेखर.

परणीधर Earlier than 1250 A. D.; a. of com. on मनुस्मृति m. by कुल्लुक.

परणीधर son of देवाधर; a. of सापिण्ड्या-  
तत्त्वप्रकाश (probably same as  
next).

परणीधर, son of सुगर्भ, a. of एकादशी-  
निर्णयसार composed in शके 1408  
(1492 A. D.); ms. No. 12052  
(Baroda O. I.) was copied in  
संवत् 1620 मार्गशीर्ष (Dec. 1553  
A. D.). It recites that the work  
was composed during the reign  
of king वीरसेनदेव and mentions  
विज्ञानेश्वर, अतनूतभट्ट, विश्वरूप and  
योगदेवपण्डित.

परणीधर पन्थ a. of com. on काल-  
निर्णय (of माधव), of चातुर्वर्ण्यविवेचन,  
of चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्था.

धर्म a. of भाष्य m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका  
and हेमाद्रि (III. 2, 747).

धर्मकोषाध्याय a. of तद्वागादिप्रतिष्ठा-  
पद्धति, पुष्करिणीपत्रलक (B. O.  
mss. cat. vol. I. No. 263  
p. 286). Both works are pro-  
bably the same.

धर्मराजाध्वरीन्द्र, son of माधवाध्वरीन्द्र;  
a. of दक्षरत्नाकर. Later than  
1650 A. D.

धर्मेश्वर, son of रामचन्द्र; a. of  
सुहृत्तशिरोमणि.

धर्मेश्वर a. of com. on वाजपेय्यस्मृति;  
m. in शुलभाषि's प्रार्षभिनविवेक.  
(p. 529).

धर्मेश्वर a. of com. on चमत्कारचिन्ता-  
मणि of नारायणभट्ट.

H. D. 89.

धवल Earlier than 1050 A. D.; m.  
in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन  
(pp. 134, 264, 543).

धवल a. of a निबन्ध; धवलनिबन्ध is  
m. in the अन्वयेष्टिपद्धति of नारा-  
यणभट्ट, in निर्णयामृत. Probably  
the same as the preceding.

धारेश्वर. Vide sec. 64.

धीरमति (queen of नर्मिहदेव of  
मिथिला) reputed author of  
दानवाग्रथावली (real author being  
विद्यापति) and दानार्णव. About  
first half of 15th century.

धीरेन्द्रपञ्चीभूषण, son of धर्मेश्वर; a. of  
निष्कर्मलता.

धोम्य a. of a स्मृति; m. in मिताक्षरा  
(on वाज. III. 290).

नन्द, son of देवशर्मन्; a. of ज्योति-  
सारसमुच्चय, स्मार्तसमुच्चय.

नन्दन a. of आश्वचन्द्रिका.

नन्दन, younger brother of लक्ष्मण;  
a. of नन्दिनी, com. on the  
मानवधर्मशास्त्र.

नन्दनमिश्र a. of रुद्रविलासनिबन्ध.

नन्दपण्डित alias विनायकपण्डित, son  
of रामपण्डित धर्माधिकारि. Sec.  
105; a. of काशीप्रकाश, तत्त्व-  
मुकावली, तीर्थकल्पलता, दत्तकमीमांसा,  
नवरात्रप्रदीप, प्रमिताक्षरा (com. on  
मिताक्षरा), विद्वन्मोहरा (com. on  
पराशरस्मृति), वैजयन्ती alias केशव-  
वैजयन्ती (com. on विष्णुधर्मसूत्र),  
शुद्धिचन्द्रिका (com. on बहशीति of  
कौशिकदिन्य), आश्वकल्पलता, स्मृति-  
सिन्धु (of which संस्कारनिर्णय is  
a part), हरिवंशविलास (of which

कालनिर्णयकौतुक is a part). He probably composed ज्योतिःसार-समुच्चय and स्मार्तसमुच्चय.

नन्दभट्ट a. of विवाहनिरूपण.

नन्दराममिश्र, son of दीपचन्द्रमिश्र ; a. of निर्णयसार (composed in 1780 A. D.).

नरराज vide under नरराज.

नरसिंह a. of ब्रह्मयज्ञशिरोरत्न.

नरसिंह a. of आपस्तम्बब्रह्मयज्ञकारिका-सुप्ति ; composed in 1614 A. D.

नरसिंह vide छलारि सुप्ति.

नरसिंह a. of तुलसीकाहमालाधारणनिषेध.

नरसिंह or सुप्ति ठक्कर About 1300-1325 A. D. ; a. of प्रमाणपादप ( vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 270 p. 209 ).

नरसिंहदेव ( reputed ) a. of दुर्गाप्रति-तरङ्गिणी or दुर्गापद्धति. About 1425-50 A. D.

नरसिंहभट्ट a. of धनुर्वेदचिन्तामणि.

नरसिंह राजपेयिन्, son of मुरारि of कौत्सवंश. Later than 1400 A. D. ; a. of नित्याचारप्रदीप. Pr. in B. I. series.

नरसिंह सोमपाणिन्, son of माधवाचार्य ; a. of विष्णुप्रतिष्ठाविधिदर्पण.

नरहरि a. of विवाहपद्धति.

नरहरि a. of संस्कारसुप्ति.

नरहरि उपाध्याय a. of श्रौतनिर्णय ( B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 223 p. 236 ).

नरहरिभट्ट सन्नर्षि a. of मण्डपकुण्डमण्डन and com. प्रकाशिका thereon and of a work on सविष्टय ; m in com. on सा विष्टय कल्पलतिका.

नरोत्तम a. of स्मृतिसंक्षेप.

नरोत्तमदास a. of प्रातःपूजाविधि ( for followers of चैतन्य ).

नरोत्तमदेव a. of आर्यप्रकरण.

नवरत्नोत्तर्यभट्ट a. of छात्राचारसंग्रह or सञ्चयशास्त्र.

नरराज, son of देवसिंह of the डोग family ; a. of दानपञ्जी and जल-पञ्जी and दानवाक्यावलि. The real author was सुर्यकर. Often read as नरराज in the catalogues ; vide Peterson's 5th Report p. 177 extract and B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 195 p. 210 where we have both नरराज and सुर्यकर.

नागदेव flourished before 1435 A.D. ; a. of आचारदीप or- प्रदीप ( ms. No. 3858 Baroda O. I. copied in 1491 शके माघे ) and निर्णय-तत्त्व ; m. in आचारमण्डप and छत्रकमलाकर.

नागदेव a. of मुहूर्तसिद्धि and मुहूर्तदीपक.

नागदेव, son of शिव. Later than 1612 A. D. ; a. of तिथिनिर्णय based on निर्णयसिन्धु.

नागदेवश, son of शिव ; a. of निर्णय-तत्त्व ( which is an abstract of निर्णयसिन्धु ), आचारप्रदीप, प्रथित-तिथिनिर्णय. Most probably the same as the preceding.

नागेश, son of बेङ्गुदेश of Haldipur in North Canara ; about 1741-1782 A. D. ; a. of आगमग्रन्थ, तान्त्रिकमुक्तावलि, स्मृत्यर्थमुक्तावलि.

नागेशभट्ट or नागोजिभट्ट, son of शिव-भट्ट and सती. Sec. 110 ; a. आचा-



- रेन्दुशेखर, आशीचनिर्णय, आशीचन्दु-  
शेखर, कुण्डपद्धति, तिथीन्दुशेखर,  
तिथिनिर्णय, त्रिस्थलीसेतु or- सारसंग्रह,  
मोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, चण्डीप्रयोग, तीर्थेन्दु-  
शेखर, प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखर, प्रायश्चित्त-  
सारसंग्रह, आदेन्दुशेखर, संस्काररत्न-  
माला, सापिण्डीमञ्जरी or सापिण्ड्य-  
दीपिका, सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय (probably  
same as preceding).
- माहीनन्द m. as a स्मृतिकार in निव्वा-  
चारप्रदीप ( p. 20 ).
- नारद Sec. 361.
- नारद ( reputed ) a. of मयूरचित्रक  
or मेघमाला.
- नारायण a. of a स्मृति m. in अपराक  
pp. 135, 146, 500, 508. In the  
Mad. Govt. Oriental Library  
there is a नारायणस्मृति in 9  
chapters, where नारायण asks  
दुर्वासस about sins.
- नारायण m. in भास्वसागर of कुल्लुकभट्ट.
- नारायण, son of अनन्त, son of हरि ;  
a. of कुण्डमण्डपदर्पण ( composed  
in 1578 A. D. ) and of मुहूर्त-  
मार्तण्ड and its com. मार्तण्डचन्द्रमा  
( composed in 1572 A. D. ).
- नारायण a. of a पद्धति ; m. in ज्योति-  
स्तत्त्व ( p. 616 ) and मलमासतत्त्व ( p.  
746 ) of रघुनन्दन.
- नारायण, son of कृष्णनीलिवेदिन, son  
of श्रीपति. Probably earlier  
than 1570 A. D. He was from  
श्रीपाटलपुरी in सुमेरवेश ; a. of com.  
सुहृद्दीपक on शाङ्खायनसुहृदसूत्र and  
of a सुहृदपद्धति also.
- नारायण a. of प्रदीपभाष्य on पार्ष्ण्यभाष्य.  
नारायण Earlier than 1600 A. D. ; a.  
of चमत्कारचिन्तामणि.
- नारायण Earlier than 1450 A. D. ; a.  
of com. अपेक्षितार्थचोतिनी ; m.  
in मदनरत्नप्रदीप ( शान्ति portion ).
- नारायण, son of महाबल. Earlier than  
1500 A. D. ; a. of भाष्य on गोबिल-  
सुहृद् ; m. in भास्वतत्त्व and छन्दोग-  
होतृस्तर्गतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.
- नारायण, son of लक्ष्मीधरभट्ट, sur-  
named भारद्वाज ; a. of सुहृद्भाष्यसार  
or प्रयोगसार and भास्वसार, भास्व-  
पद्धति. Later than 1650 A. D.
- नारायण, son of विचारक of the नैष्ठिक-  
गोत्र ; a. of com. on आम्बलायन-  
सुहृद्. It is probably this नारायण  
that is m. in पराशरमाधवीय.
- नारायण a. of आम्बलायनसूत्रपद्धति.
- नारायण a. of चलाचार्यपद्धति. Later  
than 1450 A. D.
- नारायण a. of दिनत्रयमीमांसा ( for  
माध्व followers ).
- नारायण a. of सुबोधिनी.
- नारायण a. of स्मृतिसर्वस्व. Before  
1675 A. D.
- नारायण a. of मातृगोत्रनिर्णय.
- नारायण a. of दक्षिणद्वारनिर्णय.
- नारायण a. of com. on शारदातिलक.
- नारायण, pupil of विज्ञानेश्वर ; a. of  
व्यवहारशिरोमणि. About 1100 A.D.
- नारायण a. of नीतिमाला.
- नारायण ( छलारि ) a. of स्मृतिसंग्रह and  
स्मृतिसार.

नारायण उपाध्याय ; m. in एकादशीतत्त्व ( p. 30 ), ज्योतिस्तत्त्व ( p. 708 where his explanation of the last सूत्र of आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र is given ), in श्राद्धसामर of कुल्लुक, in श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी of मोघिनदानन्द.

नारायण उपाध्याय son of गौण ; a. of परिशिष्टप्रकाश com. on कर्मप्रदीप.  
नारायणचक्रवर्तिन a. of शान्तिकतत्त्वामृत.  
नारायणठक्कुर a. of ब्रह्मसंस्कारमञ्जरी or संस्कारमञ्जरी.

नारायणतर्काचार्य a. of दोषोपात्रामृत.

नारायणदीक्षित, son of चापम्भट्ट. Later than 1400 A. D. ; a. of प्रयोगदर्पण.

नारायणदीक्षित a. of स्मार्तसंस्कृतपद्धति.

नारायणदेव, son of रामकृष्ण, son of सदाशिवदेव. He was pupil of नागेश. About 1750-80 A. D. ; a. of com. on सावित्रहचकल्पलतिका of his grandfather.

नारायणवर्णिङ्ग, son of विश्वनाथवर्णिङ्ग, pupil of भट्टनीलकण्ठ. Earlier than 1720 A. D. ; a. of पिटृपञ्चसूत्रहन्मीमांसा ( ms. No. 8831 of Baroda O. I. is पिटृपञ्चमीमांसा of नारायण, son of विश्वनाथ ), पिटृपञ्चमीमांसाकारिका.

नारायणवर्णिङ्ग, son of विश्वनाथद्विज ( acc. to Stein's cat p. 107 ) and son of हितार्थमुरि ( acc. to Bik. cat. p. 449 ) ; a. of सदाचारस्मृतिटीका.

नारायणवर्णिङ्ग a. of संघाचन्दनभाष्य.

नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट. Sec. 103 ; a. of अल्पेष्टिपद्धति, अयननिर्णय, आरामोत्तर्गपद्धति, आतुरसंन्यास-

विधि, जीवच्छाद्यप्रयोग, त्रिस्थलीसेतु, प्रयोगरत्न, आदिताश्चिमरणदाहादिपद्धति, महाकटपद्धति or कटपद्धति, काशीमरण-सूक्तिविवेक, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, तिथिनिर्णय, तुलापुरुषदानप्रयोग, दिव्यानुष्ठानपद्धति, मांसमीमांसा, कालनिर्णय-कारिकाव्याख्या, वृषोत्सर्गपद्धति, लक्ष-होमपद्धति, विष्णुश्राद्धपद्धति. Portions of his प्रयोगरत्न and other works are separately entered in the catalogues as distinct works.

नारायणभट्ट a. of दशकर्मपद्धति.

नारायणभट्ट between 1400-1600 A.D. ; a. of धर्मप्रवृत्ति.

नारायणभट्ट a. of जातिविवेक ( ms. No. 11147 of Baroda O. I. ).

नारायणभट्ट a. of प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह.

नारायणभट्ट a. of विधानरत्न.

नारायणभट्ट, son of राम, son of नारायण ; a. of काशीरहस्यप्रकाश ( composed by order of कामदेव ).

नारायणवज्रवद a. of आपस्तम्बप्रयोगरत्न.

नारायणवन्दोपाध्याय a. of शुद्धिकारिका.

नारायणशर्मन् a. of धर्मसंग्रह.

नारायणशर्मन् a. of व्यवस्थासार ( a different work from व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह ).

नारायणशर्मसिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य a. of व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह.

नारायणसर्वज्ञ a. of मन्वर्धविहित com. on मनुस्मृति, of कामधेनुदीपिका, of शुद्धिदीपिका. As रायमुकुट ( 1431 A. D. ) mentions him, he is earlier than 1400 A. D. Vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 p. 62.

नारायणानन्दनाथ a. of शिवार्चनशिरो-  
मणि.

नारायणार्थ a. of com. on गोत्रप्रवर-  
निर्णय of अभिनवभाष्यवाचार्य.

नारोतिपण्डित, son of विश्वनाथ ; a. of  
लक्षणशतक and com. लक्षणरत्नमा-  
लिका thereon.

निजानन्द a. of प्रयोगसार.

नित्यानन्द a. of क्रमदीपिका.

नित्यानन्द a. of षट्कर्मव्याख्यानचिन्ता-  
मणि.

निधिराम a. of आचारमाला.

निबन्धनकार m. in सरस्वतीविलास  
( pp. 51, 349 ).

निम्बार्कशिष्य a. of संन्यासपद्धति.

निरवयवियोद्घोत m. in the द्वायभाग-  
of श्रीकृतवाहन.

निर्दुरिबससोपाध्याय a. of व्याख्यानदी-  
पिका com. on मिताक्षरा of विज्ञा-  
नेश्वर.

निर्मलरामभट्ट a. of व्रतोपवाससंग्रह and  
संन्यासरोत्सवकालनिर्णय.

नीलकण्ठ or श्रीपति ; a. of दैवज्ञवल्लभ.

नीलकण्ठ a. of आशौचशतक.

नीलकण्ठ a. of कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि or  
विधान.

नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट ; a. of  
कुण्डमण्डपनिर्णय.

नीलकण्ठ a. of com. on द्वायभाग.

नीलकण्ठ a. of प्रतिभाप्रतिष्ठा.

नीलकण्ठ a. of com. on आद्यविवेक of  
सूर्यपाणि.

नीलकण्ठ a. of निर्णयभास्कर.

नीलकण्ठ son of अनन्त, son of चिन्ता-  
मणि. About 1600 A. D. ; a. of

तिथिरत्नमाला and com. on सहस्र-  
चिन्तामणि.

नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट. Sec.  
107 ; a. of भगवन्तभास्कर ( divided  
into 12 मण्डल ). अथहारतत्त्व, कुण्डो-  
द्घोत.

नीलकण्ठ son of भास्कर ; a. of दान-  
दीपिति.

नीलकण्ठ a. of आशौचशतक.

नीलकण्ठ a. of दानचन्द्रिका.

नीलकण्ठ a. of दानपरिभाषा.

नीलकण्ठ a. of कुण्डमण्डपविधान and  
कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि.

नीलकण्ठदीक्षित son of अप्यवदीक्षित  
श्रद्धेताचार्य, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र ; a.  
of अग्रविषेक.

नीलकण्ठ पतीन्द्र a. of पतिधर्मप्रबोधिनी.

नीलकण्ठसुरि a. of परशुप्रकरण.

नीलकण्ठाचार्य a. of स्तुत्यर्थसार.

नीलकमल ( लाहादी ) a. of काल्यार्चन-  
चन्द्रिका.

नीलाम्बरभट्ट son of गदाधर ( author  
of कालसार ). Before 1500 A. D. ;  
a. of कालकौस्तुभ ; m. in छादि-  
कौस्तुभ ( p. 275 ) of सोविन्दानन्द.  
He is probably the same as  
नीलाम्बर m. as भाष्यकार of कान्यापन  
in the पञ्चवेदिभाष्यतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन  
( vol. II. p. 496 ).

नीलासुर (?), son of शङ्करेण ; a. of  
com. on आद्यकल्पसूत्र or नवकण्ठ-  
कामसूत्र of कान्यापन. It is probable  
that नीलासुर is a misreading of  
नीलाम्बर meaning हलासुष.

सुसिंह ( कम्भासुर ). Later than 1400  
A. D. ; a. of आशौचदीपिका and  
तिथिप्रदीपिका.

हसिंह a. of निबन्धशिरोमणि.

हसिंह, of the कौण्डिन्यगोत्र, son of रामचन्द्राचार्य. Between 1360-1435 A. D.; a. of प्रयोगपारिजात.

हसिंह of अग्निगोत्र, resided on the बहुमती near चन्दनगिरि in वैराटदेश. Earlier than 1565 A. D. and later than 1300 A. D.; a. of विधानमाला. He mentions चतुर्भुजविन्तामणि.

हसिंह a. of भौतस्मार्तकर्मप्रयोग.

हसिंह, son of माधवाचार्य बाजपेय-बाजिन; a. of com. on वैखानसधर्म-प्रश्न and वैखानससूत्रवर्णन.

हसिंह, son of रामचन्द्राचार्य surnamed शेष. 1400-1450 A. D.; a. काठ-निर्णयदीपिकाविवरण, and of com. on तिथिनिर्णयसंग्रह (of रामचन्द्र), तिथिप्रदीपिका, गोविन्दार्जव or धर्म-तत्त्वाकलोक; ms. 10410 (Baroda O. I.) gives date of composition (?) as शशाङ्ककालानलविश्व-संमति विरोधिचर्ये (i.e. 1330 शके).

हसिंहठक्कर a. of प्रमाणपत्र.

हसिंहपण्डित a. of गोत्रासुत.

हसिंहभट्ट, son of सिद्धभट्ट of कण-शास्त्र; a. of संस्काररत्नावलि.

हसिंहभट्ट a. of दत्तकपुत्रविधान.

हसिंहभट्ट, son of सोमभट्ट; a. of विष्णुधर्ममीमांसा.

हसिंहभट्ट (मीमांसक) a. of स्मृति-निबन्ध.

हसिंहभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. Be-  
tween 1500-1600 A. D.; a. of  
प्रयोगरत्न.

हसिंहबाजपेयिन a. of श्रुतिमीमांसा.

हसिंहारण्य or हसिंहाचार्य. Earlier  
than 1440 A. D. Vide Bhandar-  
kar's Report, 1883-84 p. 76; a.  
of विष्णुमन्त्रिचन्द्रोदय.

हसिंह a. of शास्त्रप्रदीप alias निबन्धसार.  
Before 1607 A. D.

हसिंह, surnamed पञ्चरसुर; a. of  
प्रासादप्रतिष्ठा.

हसिंह, pupil of मध्व; a. of सदाचार-  
स्मृतिटीका.

हसिंह अग्निहोत्रिन a. of शास्त्रदीप.  
न्यायवैश्वानर (probably गोपाल) a.  
of दुर्गोत्सवनिर्णय.

पक्षधरमिश्र, son of महामहोपाध्याय बटे-  
श्वर. Earlier than 1600 A. D.; a.  
of तत्त्वनिर्णय (N. vol. V. p. 155).

पक्षधरमिश्र a. of तिथिनिर्णय. Prob-  
ably he is identical with the  
preceding.

पक्षधरमिश्र a. of तिथिचन्द्रिका;  
ms. of विष्णुपुराण was copied in  
1464 A. D. by him; probably  
the same as above (B. O.  
mss. cat. vol. I. No. 145  
p. 146).

पञ्चाक्षर गुरुनाथ a. of कर्मप्रकाशिका.

पञ्चानन m. in काठसार of मदाधर.

पञ्चाननसिंह m. in जटमलविलास.

पक्षिकाकारमिश्र m. in काठविशेष  
(p. 63) of जीवतपादन.

पण्डितपरितोषकार m. by हेमाद्रि (III.  
2. 481) as refuting गोविन्दराज's  
view. Between 1075-1225 A. D.

पद्मनाभ a. of माध्यन्दिनीपाचार्यसंग्रह-  
दीपिका.

पद्मनाभ, son of बलमह. Between 1460-1550 A. D. ; a. of दुर्गावती-प्रकाश or समयालोक ( under दुर्गावती, queen of दलपति, king on the गर्मदा ).

पद्मनाभ a. of शीतप्रवरनिर्णय.

पद्मनाभ Earlier than 1700 A. D. ; a. of तिथ्यादिनिर्णय.

पद्मनाभ a. of संन्यासरत्नावली ( according to मध्वमत ).

पद्मनाभदत्त, son of दामोदरदत्त, son of श्रीदत्त. Between 1340-1400 A.D., as he composed his सुपद्यव्याकरण in 1367 A. D. ; a. of आचार-चन्द्रिका.

पद्मनाभदीक्षित, son of गोपाल, son of नारायण, residing on the banks of the प्रवरा at निवासपुर ; a. of प्रतिष्ठादर्पण and प्रयोगदर्पण. ( Vide Bhandarkar's Report 1883-84 p. 355 for both ).

पद्मनाभमिश्र a. of व्यवहारप्रदीप.

पद्मोमीभट्ट, son of लक्ष्मणभट्ट ; a. of समपकल्पतक.

परमहंस, son of सीताराम. Later than 1685 A. D. ; a. of com. on सुहृत्-मणपति.

परमाचार्य a. of शास्त्रपूजनपद्धति.

परमानन्दशर्मन् a. of दुर्गार्चाकौमुदी.

परमानन्द a. of व्यवहारनिर्णय ( on मत्स्यादिभक्षणाभक्षण ).

परमानन्दधन, pupil of चिदानन्दब्रह्मेन्द्र-सरस्वती ; a. of स्मृतिमहोदधि and प्रयोगरत्नावली.

परमेश्वरपरिव्राजक a. of अमल a com. on बौधायनधर्मसूत्र.

परशुराम a. of द्विजकल्पलता or संख्या-त्रयभाष्य.

परशुराम a. of सुपालवल्गुभ.

परशुराम, son of कर्ण, an उदीच्यब्राह्मण ; a. of महाकठपद्धति composed in 1458 A. D.

परशुराममिश्र. Later than 1685 A. D. ; a. of com. on सुहृत्मणपति.

पराशर. Sec. 35 ; a. of स्मृति.

पराशर a. of जातिविवेक.

पराशर or पराशर m. as an author on politics in com. on नीति-वाक्यामृत.

पद्मपति, minister of जह्मणसेन and son of धनराज. About 1160-1200 A. D. ; a. of प्रवराध्याप, दशकर्मदीपिका or दशकर्मपद्धति, आश्व-पद्धति and वाक्यशपद्धति.

पाण्डुरङ्ग, son of चिन्तामणि, sur-named टकले, a. of प्रतिष्ठासार-दीपिका ( composed in 1780 A. D. ) at पञ्चवटी near Nasik and बहु-शास्त्राभिवृत्तनिर्णय.

पाण्डुरङ्ग मोरेश्वर भट्ट a. of कालचन्द्रिका पराशर a. of सुहृत्सूत्र.

पाराशर्य m. in the प्रायश्चित्तनयसूत्र.

पालकि m. as a writer on politics in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

पितामह. Sec. 44 ; a. of a स्मृति.

पीताम्बर son of काश्यपाचार्य. Between 1500-1675 A. D. ; a. of धर्मार्णव and स्मार्तप्राधानप्रयोग.

पीताम्बर a. of दानवाक्यावली ( B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 193 p. 208 ).

पीताम्बरसिद्धान्तवागीश a. of दाष-  
कौमुदी and विषादकौमुदी. About  
1604 A. D.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of पुष्पाहुवाचनप्रयोग.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of दुराणसर्वस्व.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of वृत्तसंघटन, संवत्सरनिर्णय-  
प्रदान.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of संवत्सरोत्सवकालनिर्णय  
(D. C. mss. No. 177 of 1884-  
86 is dated संवत् 1816 i. e. 1759  
A. D.). It deals with उत्सव  
from भाद्रपद to आषाढ for the  
followers of बह्मचार्य. Based  
upon जनराज's work.

पुरुषोत्तम son of पीताम्बर. Born  
संवत् 1724 (1668 A. D.) and died  
संवत् 1781 (1725 A. D.); a. of  
शङ्खचक्रधारणनाद, इन्द्रशुद्धिदीपिका,  
संन्यासनिर्णयविवरण. He was  
7th from the great Vallabhā-  
cārya.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रनिर्णय.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of संन्यासनिर्णय.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of कर्मसिद्धान्त or कर्म-  
सिद्धिसिद्धान्त (ms. No. 8361  
Baroda O. I.).

पुरुषोत्तम son of देवराजार्थ; a. of  
प्रयोगपारिजात.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of धर्मसार. Earlier than  
1675 A. D.

पुरुषोत्तम prince of गजपति dynasty;  
(reputed) a. of मुक्तिचिन्तामणि.  
About 1500 A. D.

पुरुषोत्तमपण्डित Earlier than  
1450 A. D.; a. of गोत्रप्रवर-

मञ्जरी or प्रवरमञ्जरी and महाप्रवर  
भाष्य.

पुरुषोत्तम विद्यावागीश a. of प्रयोगरत्न-  
माला.

पुरुषोत्तमानन्दसरस्वती pupil of पूर्णानन्द;  
a. of यतिधर्म, यतिपत्नीधर्मनिरूपण,  
स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

पुलस्त्य Sec. 45; a. of a स्मृति.

पुलह a. of स्मृति; m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

पुष्कर m. in संस्कारमण्डल.

पुष्करसाहि m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19.  
7. and I. 10. 28. 1.

पृथिवीधरमिथ्याचार्य m. in छुद्दितच  
(p. 314) by रघुनन्दन.

पृथ्वीचन्द्र, son of नागमल्ल; a. of  
आशौचप्रकाश (part of धर्मतत्त्व-  
कलानिधि).

पृथ्वीधर a. of दशकर्मपद्धति.

पृथ्वीमल्लराज a. of महाधर्म. Probably  
the same as the महाधर्म attribut-  
ed to मान्धातु who was a brother  
of पृथ्वीमल्ल and son of मदनपाल.

पैङ्गव a. of स्मृति; m. in मिताक्षरा  
(on याज्ञ. III. 18, a prose pas-  
sage), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (on आशौच,  
Mysore ed. p. 14).

पैङ्गवनिधि Sec. 24.

प्रथेतस् Sec. 46.

प्रजापति Sec. 47.

प्रतापकृष्ण Sec. 100; (reputed)  
a. of प्रतापमार्तण्ड or श्रीप्रताप-  
मार्तण्ड, सरस्वतीपिलास and निर्णय-  
संग्रह. His कौतुकचिन्तामणि (vide

- D. C. ms. No. 981 of 1887-9: is not a work on धर्मशास्त्र, but on erotics and poetic fantasies like शिवप्रबन्ध, प्रदेलिका and magician's tricks &c.
- प्रतिहस्त a. of a पद्धति; m. in कृत्य-निर्णय of वर्धमान.
- प्रदीपकार m. in सरस्वतीविलास p. 361. Vide sec. 80.
- प्रद्युम्नशर्मन्, son of श्रीधरशर्मन्; a. of आनन्दप्रदीप. Earlier than 1525 A.D.
- प्रद्योतनभट्टाचार्य, son of बलभद्र. Latter half of 16th century. He wrote शारदागम or चन्द्रालोकप्रकाश by order of वीरभद्रदेव, a Bundella chief; a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रकाश.
- प्रभाकर a. of काशीतत्त्वदीपिका and काशीखण्डकथाकेलि and गद्यापद्धति-दीपिका.
- प्रभाकर वैद्य a. of वाक्पुष्पमाला a com. on the गोत्रनिर्णय of केदाव-वैद्य.
- प्रभाकर Earlier than 1600 A. D.; a. of धर्मसार.
- प्रभाकरभट्ट a. of प्रभाकराह्निक.
- प्रह्लादभट्ट a. of नवरत्नमाला.
- प्रेमनिधि a. of नैमित्तिकप्रयोगरत्नाकर.
- प्रेमनिधि ठक्कर, son of इन्द्रपति, son of रुचिपति. A रुचिपति lived under भैरव's reign in मिथिला; a. of पर्माधर्मप्रबोधिनी (completed in 1410, of what era is rather doubtful; probably संवत्). Vide under पर्माधर्मप्रबोधिनी.
- प्रेमनिधि पन्थ (or पन्त), son of उमा-पति, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र; a. of घृत-दानपद्धति, घृतप्रदानरत्न, प्रयोगरत्न, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप (composed in शके 1675), शान्तार्थचिन्तामणि com. on शारदातिलक, वृध्वीप्रेमोदय (D. C. ms. No. 126 of 1884-86 says it was composed in शके 1659).
- प्रेमनिधि a. of प्रयोगरत्नसंस्कार.
- फकीरचन्द्र a. of धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्ध.
- वटिय vide under पचिय or वटिय.
- वधू a. of स्मृति.
- वलदेव a. of बलदेवाह्निक.
- वलभद्र a. of निव्यानुदानपद्धति.
- वलभद्र m. in शुद्धिकौमुदी (p. 33) of गोविन्दानन्द and in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व pp. 690 and 686 (where we have कृत्याचिन्तामणौ बलभद्र:). Earlier than 1500 A. D. He is probably the same as the author of आशीचसार.
- वलभद्र a. of आशीचसार.
- वलभद्र a. of आह्निक.
- वलभद्र a. of महाकद्वपद्धति, महाकद्वन्यास-पद्धति.
- वलभट्टकर्कशागशिष्यभट्टाचार्य a. of दायभाग-सिद्धान्त.
- वलभट्टशुक्ल, son of स्वावर of the वन्स-गोत्र. He came from सन्धलीय (modern Cambay); a. of कुण्ड-तत्त्वप्रदीप (composed in 1623 A. D.) and com. composed in विक्रम 1699 i. e. 1643 A. D. (vide D. C. mss. No. 204 of 1884-87) and of चातुर्मास्यकौमुदी.



बलभद्ररि a. of कुण्डादमणिदीपिका.

बहुलसेन Sec. 83 ; a. of अद्भुतसागर, आचारसागर, दानसागर and प्रतिष्ठासागर.

बसन्तनाथक a. of शिवतत्त्वस्मरण.

बसन्तोपाध्याय vide under निर्दुरि.

बाणेश्वर ( and others ) ; a. of विचारार्णवसंग्रह ( compiled in 1773 A. D. ).

बादरायण a. of स्मृति ( m. in प्रायश्चित्तमहत्त्व ) and as a writer on politics in the com. on the नीतिशास्त्रावृत्त.

बादरायण a. of सुहृत्तदीपिका.

बापुभट्ट a. of मृत्पाध्याय or मृत्संग्रह ( N. vol. X. p. 238 ). Mentions गोपालभाष्य.

बापुभट्ट alias अनन्तभट्ट ; a. of प्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

बापुभट्ट, son of महादेव, surnamed केलकर ( modern Kelakara ) ; a. उत्तरार्जुनोपाकर्मप्रयोग, प्रायश्चित्तमञ्जरी ( composed in 1814 A. D. ) and भास्करमञ्जरी ( composed in 1810 A. D. ). Vide N. vol. IX p. 302 for the first.

बापुभट्ट, son of महादेव, surnamed केलकर of the चित्तपावन caste ; a. of कृत्यमञ्जरी ( composed in स्वयंवरसंज्ञाके i. e. 1640 ) at सप्तर्षिसिन्धु on southern bank of the river कृष्णा. Vide N. vol. X. pp. 217-219. Therefore either this date is wrong or there were two बापुभट्ट केलकर, whose father's name also was the same. कृत्यमञ्जरी further says

that बापुभट्ट was originally an inhabitant of कण्ठीग्राम ( in the Ratnagiri District ). Baroda O. I. No. 8442 gives the date as स्वयंवरसंज्ञाके ( i. e. 1740 ) and seems to be the correct date. This would show that he is the same as the above. In the कृत्यमञ्जरी he refers to भास्करमञ्जरी as his work.

बापुभट्ट or बापुभट्ट a. of स्मार्तप्रयोग and of बापुभट्टदीप, जातकर्म ( आपस्तम्बीय ).

बावदेवभट्ट, surnamed आटले ( modern Athlye ). About 1740 A. D. ; a. of परभूषणकरण.

बाबा alias काशीनाथ बापे. Sec. 112. Vide under काशीनाथ बापे above.

बाबूदीक्षित, surnamed जडे ; a. of कृष्णमण्डपविधि or सिद्धि.

बाबादेव a. of शालग्रामदानपद्धति.

बालक. Sec. 67.

बालकृष्ण a. of होमविधान.

बालकृष्ण, a दाक्षिणात्य residing in गोलकुलग्राम ; a. of प्रयोगसार.

बालकृष्ण a. of पुनर्विवाहमीमांसा.

बालकृष्ण a. of बालमुखा com. on तत्त्वमुक्तावलि of नन्दपण्डित.

बालकृष्ण, son of देवभद्र, surnamed फट्ठनिकर ; a. of वृत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी.

बालकृष्ण a. of श्रौतस्मार्तविधि.

बालकृष्ण, son of महादेव ; a. of सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग.

बालकृष्ण त्रिपाठिन, son of काशीराम, of the महारङ्ग family ; a. of गुणमञ्जरी ( on प्रायश्चित्त ).

बालकृष्णदीक्षित a. of निर्णयार्णव.

बालकृष्णभट्ट, son of रङ्गोजिभट्ट ; a. of जीवन्मुक्तकृत्यनिर्णय. Earlier than 1725 A.D.

बालकृष्ण भारद्वाज a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

बालदीक्षित a. of उपाक्रमप्रमाण.

बालम्भट्ट a. of शोधनिर्णय.

बालम्भट्ट, son of विश्वनाथभट्ट, surnamed शतार ; a. of आह्निकसार-मञ्जरी.

बालम्भट्ट or बालकृष्ण, son of वैद्यनाथ, surnamed पायगुण्ड. Sec. III ; a. उपाकृतितत्त्व, बालम्भट्टी ( com. on मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर ), धर्मशास्त्र-संग्रह, जीवन्मुक्तकृत्यनिर्णय.

बालरूप. Sec. 68.

बालशास्त्रिन् कागलकर, son of शेषभट्ट, son of नारायण ; a. of प्रापञ्चित-प्रयोग or सर्वप्राप.

बालसूरी, son of शेषभट्ट ; a. of कुण्ड-रचनारीति.

बालसूरी a. of हेमाद्रिसर्वप्रापञ्चित.

बालाग्निहोत्रिन् a. of ब्राह्मणपुस्तक-कारिका.

बाष्कल m. by मिताक्षरा ( on याज्ञ. III. 58 ) and in धर्मपदीप of भोज.

ब्रह्मण a. of निर्णयविन्दु.

बुद्धिकरगुह्य a. of द्विविधतलाशयोत्सर्ग-प्रमाणदर्शन ( B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 222 p. 235 ).

बुध. Sec. 25 ; m. by कालविवेक of जीवन्मुक्तवाहन.

बृहच्छुद्ध.

बृहच्छास्त्रातप m. in मिताक्षरा ( on याज्ञ. III. 290 ).

बृहच्छोणक.

बृहत्काल्याण m. by व्यवहारमातृका of जीवन्मुक्तवाहन.

बृहत्कौण्डिन्य.

बृहत्पराक्षर. Vide sec. 35, pp. 195-196 above.

बृहत्त्वचेतन m. in मिताक्षरा, by हरदत्त on मौ. च. सू. 22. 18, अपराक्ष ( pp. 910, 1125, 1171 ), भास्कर.

बृहत्संवर्त m. in मिता० ( on याज्ञ. III. 256, 265 ) and in प्रापञ्चितमयूख.

बृहदक्षिण m. in the मिताक्षरा ( on याज्ञ. III. 272 ).

बृहदाम्बलायन.

बृहदगर्ग m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

बृहदगर्ग.

बृहदम m. in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व of हलायुध, by हरदत्त on मौ. च. सू. 23. 12, अपराक्ष p. 1074, मिता० ( on याज्ञ. III. 255 ).

बृहद्याज्ञकन्य m. in मिताक्षरा ( on याज्ञ. III. 290 ), कालमाधव ( p. 140 ).

बृहद्योगलोक m. by कालविवेक of जीवन्मुक्तवाहन.

बृहद्वारीत m. in मिता. ( on याज्ञ. III. 254, 261 ).

बृहद्वारद m. by रघुनन्दन, in निर्णयसिन्धु.

बृहन्मह m. by मिताक्षरा ( on याज्ञ. III. 20 ), कालविवेक of जीवन्मुक्तवाहन, संस्कारमयूख, शांतिमयूख.

बृहस्पति m. in मिताक्षरा, कालचिपेक (p. 386) of श्रीमत्वाहन, आचार-मण्डल, कालमाधव (p. 114).

बृहस्पति m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. II 135 and III. 20), मरस्वतीविलास, प्रायश्चित्तमण्डल, अपरांक pp. 909, 1070, 1243.

बृहस्पति m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 290), प्रायश्चित्तमण्डल.

बृहस्पति a. of बृहस्पतिपद्युति composed at the bidding of king हरिसिंह. (B. O. Mss. cat. vol. I, p. 111).

बृहस्पति a. of बृहस्पतिस्कन्ध.

बृहस्पति Sec. 26, 37.

बृहस्पति son of भयदेव; a. of मलमास-रहस्य composed in 1681 A. D. and मलमासनिर्णय (probably the same as the preceding).

बैजवाप a. of a युद्धसूत्र; m. in the तन्त्रवार्तिक of कुमारिलभट्ट.

बैजवाप m. in अपरांक pp. 27, 51, 229, 533, हारलता, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

बोपदेव vide under बोपदेव; a. of आचारदर्पण; m. in पुस्तकमलकर.

बोपदेवपण्डित a. of भास्वकाण्डदीपिका or भास्वदीपकलिका (com. on वसुधा-मप्रताप), of बोधप्रवरनिर्णय com. on लक्ष्मीसुख, चतुर्विंशतिमत, चतुर्विंश-श्लोकी.

बोधपाप a. of युद्धसूत्र and of a धर्मसूत्र; sec. 6; a. of a स्मृति; a. of नागप्रतिष्ठा; a. of नक्षत्रशान्ति.

ब्रह्मवर्म a. of स्मृति; m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 262, 268), अपरांक (pp. 447, 536, 880), स्मृति-चन्द्रिका.

ब्रह्मवर्म. Earlier than 1100 A. D.; a. of भाष्य on शाङ्ख्यनिरुद्ध; m. by रघुनन्दन in सुवित्तसूत्र (p. 312) as referred to by धर्मवर्क.

ब्रह्मविद्यालार्थ a. of युद्धप्रयोग.

ब्रह्माण्डानन्दनाथ a. of सुविहारचर्यनपद्युति.

ब्रह्माण्डानन्दनाथ a. of शिवार्चनाशिरोमणि.

ब्रह्माण्डभारती, pupil of रामराजसरस्वती; between 1420-1554 A. D.; a. of पुरुषार्थप्रयोग.

ब्रह्माण्डिन् a. of संन्यासपद्युति.

ब्रह्मार्क, son of मोक्षेश्वर; a. of प्रश्न-ज्ञानदोषवृत्ताप्रकरण.

ब्राह्मणबल, son of माधवाध्वर्यु; a. of com. on काठकसूत्रसूत्र.

ब्राह्मणम. in मिता<sup>०</sup> (on याज्ञ. III. 257).

भजीभट्ट a. of हेमाद्रिसंक्षेप (कालनिर्णय, Stein's cat. p. 110).

भट्टसूत्र a. of मण्डनविजय.

भट्टस्वामिन् a. of com. प्रतिपदप्रश्निका on कौटिलीय.

भट्टाचार्य. Earlier than 1520 A. D.; ms. No. 3883 (Baroda O. I.) is dated संवत् 1579 (1522 A. D.); a. of com. on विश्वसूत्रोक्ती and com. on आशीचसंग्रह or शीच-संग्रहविधिति (same as the preceding work).

भट्टारिभट्ट a. of com. on कौशिकसूत्र-सूत्र.

भट्टोजिदीक्षित, son of लक्ष्मीधर and brother of रत्नोजिदीक्षित. About 1575-1650 A. D.; a. of आचारप्रदीप, of com. on विश्वसूत्रोक्ती, आशीच-निर्णय, आह्निक, कालनिर्णय (संक्षिप्त),

निधिनिर्णय or निधिनिर्णयसंक्षेप, तिथि-  
प्रदीपक, त्रिशूलीभित्तुसारसंग्रह, of com.  
on दशश्लोकी, of धर्मशास्त्रसंग्रह,  
प्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय, मासनिर्णय, सर्प-  
सारसंग्रह, प्रयोगरत्न, मापिकद्वयनिर्णय,  
सूतकनिर्णय, हेमाद्रिकाव्यनिर्णयसंक्षेप.

भगत, son of सूर्यदास and brother of  
रामचन्द्र; a. of com. on समरसार  
by his brother रामचन्द्र.

भगत (reputed) a. of कर्मविषयक.

भरद्वाज. Sec. 27; a. of गृह्यसूत्र and  
of a work on politics.

भरद्वाज a. of पितृमेधसूत्र.

भर्तृयज्ञ. Sec. 59; a. of आश्वकस्य and  
of com. on पारस्करगृह्य.

भट्ट m. in निर्णयदीपक.

भवदेव styled बालबलभीभुजङ्ग, which  
may (apart from what is said  
on p. 305 above) also mean a  
young gallant of बालबलभी (pos-  
sibly the village where भवदेव  
lived). Sec. 73; a. of कर्मा-  
नुष्ठानपद्धति or दशकर्मपद्धति, दशरु-  
तिलक (part of व्यवहारतिलक),  
प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण, व्यवहारतिलक, सम्ब-  
न्धचिन्तेक.

भवदेवभट्ट, son of कृष्णदेवसन्मिश्र  
मैथिल. Earlier than 1635 A. D.;  
a. of दानधर्मप्रक्रिया or दानप्रक्रिया  
(composed at bidding of कृ-  
ष्णदासभट्टिन, son of रामोदर). B. O.  
mss. cat. vol. I No. 189 p. 203.

भवदेवशर्मान भ्यापालङ्कार, son of हरिहर;  
a. of स्मृतिचन्द्र (composed in  
1720-22 A. D.), its parts being  
called कला such as आश्वकला.

भवनाथ a. of com. on आशीच-  
त्रिशूलीश्लोकी. (B. O. mss. cat. vol.  
I. No. 175 p. 186). This is  
probably a misreading for भट्टा-  
चार्य. Baroda O. I. ms. No.  
765 by भट्टाचार्य has the same  
opening verses and opening  
words.

भवशर्मान of the खोपालवंश. First half  
of 14th century; a. of सोदश-  
महादानपद्धति (written at the  
bidding of रामदत्त, minister of  
king नृसिंह of मिथिला of the  
काशीवंश). I. O. cat. p. 549.  
It is probably he who is re-  
ferred to in the ह्यगतिसोपान as  
गणेश्वर's contemporary.

भवानन्दशर्मान a. of प्रायश्चित्तचारिणि.

भवानीप्रसाद a. of पूजनमालिका.

भवानीशङ्कर a. of स्मृतिचरण.

भागुणिमिश्र a. of जलाशयप्रतिष्ठा and  
पासादप्रतिष्ठा.

भागुरि m. in कालचिन्तेक (p. 14) of  
जीमूतबाहन and वि. र. (p. 104),  
where he appears to be regard-  
ed as earlier than कल्पतरु and  
even मेधातिथि.

भानुचन्द्रगणि a. of com. on वसन्त-  
राजीव or शकुनार्जव. Between  
1550-1600 A. D.

भानुजिदीक्षित, son of भट्टोजिदीक्षित.  
About 1650 A. D.; a. of दान-  
चिन्तेक.

भानुदत्त a. of मुहूर्तमार.

भानुदत्त a. of पारिजात (B. O. mss.  
cat. vol. I. No. 257 p. 278).

भानुनाथ दैवज्ञ, son of चन्दनानन्द, of the भीमालवंश. He was a मैथिल ; a. of व्यवहाररत्न (astrology in relation to religious rites, foundation of houses &c.). N. vol. V. p. 191.

भानुभट्ट, son of मीलकण्ठभट्ट, son of शङ्करभट्ट. 1620-1680 A. D. ; a. of एकवक्त्रसुतानविधि, द्वैतनिर्णयसिद्धान्त-संग्रह and होमनिर्णय.

भारतीतीर्थ a. of व्रतकालनिर्णय.

भारद्वाज. Sec. 27 ; a. of पृथग्वृत्त, of a work on अर्थशास्त्र and of a स्मृति ( in verse on व्यवहार ). Possibly these are the compositions of three different authors.

भास्वि. Sec. 61.

भाष्य m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and भास्व-मयूख and in the com. of नीति-वाक्यामृत. In some cases भाष्य probably stands for शुक्ल's work on politics.

भार्गवराम a. of वर्णसङ्ख्यजातिमाला or पराशरपञ्चति.

भालुक (?) भट्ट m. in शुद्धिचन्द्रिका ( p. 31 ) of नन्दपण्डित.

भाषधन m. in कालविवेक of जीमूत-बाहन.

भास्कर a. of com. on गोत्रप्रवर.

भास्कर of the लौगाक्षिगोत्र ; a. of मातृगोत्रनिर्णय, तिथ्यादितत्त्वनिर्णय. Later than 1400 and earlier than 1680 A. D.

भास्कर a. of प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका, प्राय-श्चित्तविधि, प्रायश्चित्तशतहृषी or-परीपिका, प्रायश्चित्तसमुच्चय.

भास्कर<sup>2</sup> a. of सुहृत्सुकावली.

भास्कर, son of आपानि or आपाजिभट्ट, son of हरिभट्ट of काश्यपगोत्र ; a. of आचारप्रकाश, मुक्तिशेखरप्रकाश, शुद्धिप्रकाश ( composed in 1695-96 A. D. ), यशवन्तभास्कर ( under the patronage of यशवन्तदेव, king of Bundelkhand ), स्मृतिप्रकाश, संवत्सरकृत्यप्रकाश ( part of यशवन्त-भास्कर ).

भास्करदीक्षित a. of तत्तत्सुग्राहचरण.

भास्करदीक्षित, pupil of राघवेन्द्रारण्य ; a. of पारस्करपृथग्वृत्ति and com. on पारस्करपृथग्वृत्ति.

भास्करदीक्षित, son of रामकृष्ण ; a. of रुद्रपञ्चति ( शाङ्खायनीय ).

भास्करभट्ट पण्डित a. of दत्तसिद्धान्त-मञ्जरी.

भास्कराभिध विष्णुवर्मण्डन, son of कुमार-रवामिन. Between 1000-1200 A. D. ; a. of आपस्तम्बवृत्तध्वनितार्थकारिका and प्रवरनिर्णय.

भास्करराम son of गम्भीररामदीक्षित ; a. of सहस्रभोजनसूत्रव्याख्या.

भास्करविरचन a. of सरोजकलिका.

भीमनाथ m. by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व.

भीममहामहोपाध्याय of काञ्चिचिल्लीयकुल ( in राठा ) ; a. of शुद्धिसुकावली, आन्वदीपिका.

भीमसेनकवि a. of दत्तसंग्रह.

भीमाशङ्करशर्मन a. of संन्यासग्रहणरत्न-माला.

भुजबलभीम said to be a. of अग्नीचार-निर्णय.

श्रुतिमित्र a. of तिथिनिर्णय. Mentions हेमाद्रि and भोज. (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No 157 p. 171).

शृपाल or राजा refers to भोजदेव. Vide under भोज; m. in समवयदीप of श्रीवत्स, दानरत्नाकर, कृत्यरत्नाकर (25 a. of कृत्यसमुच्चय).

शुक्लेश्वर son of श्रीमानन्द; a. of हरि-  
भाक्तिभास्कर. About 1827 A. D.

शुभाक son of विशाखभट्ट; a. of सद्य-  
कारिका (सामवेदीय).

शुषण m. in आह्निकतत्त्व (p. 417).

शुषणभट्ट a. of गायत्रीपद्धति,

शुषु sometimes treated as the pro-  
mulgator of मनुस्मृति. In many  
works verses are quoted as शुषु's  
which are not found in the  
मनुस्मृति; (reputed) a. of कर्म-  
विपाक.

शुवदेव a. of प्रवराध्याय.

शैषाभट्ट, son of भट्टारकभट्ट; a. of धर्म-  
रत्न; ms. No. 12524 (Baroda O.  
I.) is आह्निकदीपिति from it.

शैरवभट्ट a. of संहिताहोमपद्धति.

शैरेवेन्द्र (reputed) a. of महादाननिर्णय  
or महादानप्रयोगपद्धति (the real  
author being वाचस्पतिमित्र) and  
of विष्णुपूजाकल्पलता (vide B. O.  
mss. cat. vol. I. No. 340 p.  
383). About 1440-1460 A. D.

भोज a. of विविधविधिविचारचतुरा (ms.  
dated 1490 A. D.)

भोजदेव Sec. 64; a. of शृपालपद्धति,  
शृपालसमुच्चय or शृपालकृत्यसमुच्चय,  
भुजबलभीम, चारुचर्पा, युक्तिकल्पतरु,

राजनीति, राजमार्तण्ड, शिवतत्त्व-  
प्रकाशिका.

भोजदेव son of भारमल्ल, king of कच्छ.  
Between 1400-1600 A. D.; a.  
of धर्मप्रदीप. Vide p. 279 above.

भोजानाथ a. of शैषणवाचुत.

भोजनाचार्य a. of आन्वलायनसूत्रप्रयोग-  
दीपिका.

भञ्जरदास a. of धर्मपरीक्षा.

भणिराम a. of अन्वयक्रियाविधि. Probably  
the same as the author of ऊर्ध्व-  
विलास.

भणिराम a. of धर्मसिन्धु 01- सिन्धुसार.  
Probably same as author of  
धर्माभोधि above.

भणिराम दीक्षित, son of गङ्गाराम, son  
of शिवदत्त. About 1630-1660  
A.D.; a. of अनुपविलास or धर्माभोधि,  
आचाररत्न (a part of ऊर्ध्व-  
विलास), शुद्धिरत्न, and समवरत्न,  
सखबोधिनी com. on मानवधर्मशास्त्र  
(Stein's cat. pp. 98, 313).

भणिराम दीक्षित a. of कृतिचत्वर.

भणिरामदीक्षित a. of कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोक-  
दीपिका. Later than 1640 A. D.

भणिरामदीक्षित a. of गणापात्राप्रयोग.

भणेश्वर a. of conf. on वाचमाग.

भधुरानाथ चक्रवर्तिन a. of शुद्धिरत्नाङ्कुर.

भधुरानाथकैवाशीशम्भुदाचार्य a. of पाणि-  
ग्रहणादिकृत्यविवेक.

भधुरानाथशुक्ल a. of अपवधविवेचन,  
अपवधवष्टि, आचारमञ्जरी, आचाराकं,  
आचारोल्लास, आशौचनिर्णयटीका,  
कालमाधवचन्द्रिका (com. on काल-  
माधव), कृत्यसार, क्रियाकोमुदी, तिथि-

- निर्णय, विषयतत्त्वलघुटीका, दुर्गाचर्या-  
सुतरहस्य, मलमासतत्त्वटीका, मिताक्षरा  
(com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति), शुद्ध-  
ज्योत्स्नवद्विष्णुनी, शारदातिलकप्रकाश  
(com. on शारदातिलक).
- मधुरानाथशर्मन् a. of शुद्धिदीपिकावृत्ति.
- मधुरानाथशर्मन् a. of छन्दोगाह्निक  
written to please prince साधव-  
सिंह (B. O. ms. cat. vol. I  
p. 126).
- मधुरेश a. of ज्योतिःसारसार.
- मदनबाल Sec. 93 ; ( reputed ) a.  
of मदनपारिजात, स्मृतिकौमुदी (or  
शूद्रधर्मबोधिनी), महार्णवधर्मविपाक,  
तिथिनिर्णयसार.
- मदनमनोहर or प्रदनमोहन, son of  
मधुसूदन पण्डितराज, son of  
रामचन्द्र. Both names occur  
in mss. ( vide B. O. mss.  
cat. vol. I No. 252 p. 274 and  
No. 253 p. 275 ); a. of पलपी-  
पलता and आश्वपदीप. One ms.  
of पलपीपलता is dated शके 1694  
(B. O. mss. cat. No. 253 A  
p. 275 ).
- मदनसिंह, son of शक्तिसिंह Sec. 94 ;  
( reputed ) a. of मदनरत्न alias  
मदनरत्नपदीप, the several parts  
of which such as आचारविवेक  
are separately entered in the  
catalogues.
- मधुपतिठक्कर a. of आश्वविधि ( com-  
posed at the bidding of his  
mother's sister's son हृदयनाथ  
and based on आश्वरत्न and पितृ-  
भक्तिरङ्गिणी ). Later than 1600  
A. D.
- मधुमिश्र or मधुशर्माश्रम m. in चतुर्वर्ग-  
चिन्तामणि ( III. I. 1134 and  
1343 ).
- मधुसूदन a. of नीतिसारसंग्रह.
- मधुसूदन a. of आश्वदर्पण.
- मधुसूदनगोस्वामी, son of ब्रजराज ; a.  
of मोदानविधिसंग्रह, जीवन्पितृकवि-  
भागवद्वस्था and व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह  
and तद्भागविप्रतिष्ठाविधि, निर्णय-  
संग्रह, मिताक्षरसार (com. on  
मिताक्षरा), व्यवहारसारोद्धार or व्य-  
वहारार्थसार. Ulwar cat. extract  
No. 306 gives for जीवन्पितृकसंग्रह  
the date संवत् 1812.
- मधुसूदनगोस्वामी a. of न्यासपद्धति.
- मधुसूदनगोस्वामी a. of पञ्चकशालीविधि,  
मृतशान्तिविधि.
- मधुसूदन दीक्षित, son of महेश्वर ; a. of  
स्मृतिरत्नावली.
- मधुसूदनमिश्र a. of सुहृत्सिन्धु.
- मधुसूदनमिश्र ठक्कर. Later than 1500  
A. D. and earlier than 1624 A. D.;  
a. of द्वैतनिर्णयप्रकाश or द्वैतनिर्णय-  
जीर्णोद्धार and जीर्णोद्धार com. on  
समयपदीप of श्रीदत्त.
- मधुसूदनवाचस्पति भट्टाचार्य a. of अशौच-  
संग्रह.
- मधुसूदन वाचस्पति of the चट्ट family ;  
a. of आशौचसंक्षेप.
- मधुसूदन वाचस्पति a. of दुर्गाचर्याकाण्ड-  
निरुक्तं, आश्वकालनिरूपण, व्रतकाल-  
निरुक्तं.
- मधुसूदनसरस्वती a. of भगवद्भक्तिरसायन.
- मधुसूदनानन्द a. of पतिश्रीविधि.
- मध्यमाक्षिरम् m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ.  
III. 243, 247, 257, 260 ).



मध्य vide under आनन्दतीर्थ.

महू Vide sec. 31.

मनोहरभट्ट son of महादेव; a. of आह्निक-  
प्रयोग (हिरण्यकेशिपु).

मय a. of वास्तुशास्त्र.

मयारामभिक्षु गौह. First half of 18th  
century; a. of स्वयंहरनिर्णय  
(under orders of जयसिंह, 1737-  
हारसार, मिताक्षरसार, स्वयंहराक्ष-  
स्मृतिसर्वस्व).

मरीचि Sec. 48.

मल्लारिदीक्षित मौनिन a. of मांसिकभ्रातृ-  
मानोपन्यास.

मस्करिन् a. of माध्य on गौतम्यमंथन.

महादेव a. of सन्तानदीपिका.

महादेव, son of मल्लिनाथ and nephew  
and pupil of गोविन्द; a. of पितृ-  
भक्तिचर्या com. on पितृभक्ति of श्री-  
वत्.

महादेव a. of तिथिरत्न.

महादेव, son of श्रीपति; a. of निबन्ध-  
सर्वस्व (3rd chap. of which is  
on प्रायश्चित्त).

महादेव, son of विश्वनाथ, of the  
भगवत्पगोत्र; a. of आशीर्वातच.

महादेव a. of सुबोधिनी.

महादेव a. of धर्मतत्त्वसंग्रह.

महादेव देवज्ञ a. of शीतनिर्णय and तिथि-  
निर्णय.

महादेव द्विवेदिन् a. of com. on स्नानसूत्र  
or त्रिकण्डिकासूत्र of कात्यायन.

महादेवभट्ट a. of सूर्यार्घ्यदानपद्धति.

महादेव राजकुल, son of कालनिहाड्य,  
who was the guru of हैयतराज

H. D. 91.

(Haibatrao, some Maratha chief);  
a. of कुण्डपदीप and com. thereon,  
सुहृत्पदीप (composed in 1661  
A. D. and com. thereon, and of  
सुहृत्सामन्त्रि).

महादेवचिद, son of कालजित् (which is  
probably a misreading for काल-  
जित्); a. of कालनिर्णयसिद्धांत  
(composed in 1652-53 A. D.)  
and com. thereon. He was ho-  
noured by the chief of Ginnar  
and composed the com. at मुज-  
पुर. From these details it appears  
that he is the same as the next.

महादेव सोमराजिन Earlier than 1650  
A. D.; a. of com. प्रयोगवैजयन्ती  
on हिरण्यकेशिपु and of a com.  
on हिरण्यकेशिपुमंथन. Vide pp. 49-  
50 above and BBRAS, cat. vol.  
II. p. 189.

महानन्द, son of विश्वनाथ; a. of  
वासिष्ठीशान्ति. Bik. cat. p. 490  
shows that he only 'revised'  
or 'restored' the वासिष्ठीशान्ति  
(स्वलेखां दृष्टिता शान्तिर्योसिद्धी सा  
प्रसोचिता).

महापद्म a. of माध्य on गोविलीप-  
भाद्रकल्प; m. in भाद्रकल्प (vol.  
I. p. 213) by रघुनन्दन.

महार्णवप्रकाशकर m. in भाद्रकल्प of  
कुल्लुभट्ट and in हेमाद्रि (III. 1.  
1440).

महार्णवोपाध्याय m. in भाद्रकल्प of  
कुल्लुभट्ट. Probably some one  
preceding.

महाशर्मन् a. of आचारसूत्राणि.

महीधर a. of अहुतविधेय.

महेश a. of अतीचारनिर्णय.

महेश, son of मारस्वत दुर्ग; a. of आचार-  
चन्द्रोदय or माधवप्रकाश.

महेश a. of व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह or व्यवस्था-  
संग्रह and स्मृतिसार.

महेश, son of महादेव, surnamed  
वैशम्पायन; a. of प्रयोगरत्न or स्मार्त-  
प्रयोगरत्न.

महेशाठकर a. of तिथितत्त्वचिन्तामणि  
(B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No.  
149 p. 153).

महेशाठकर महामहोपाध्याय a. of वाय-  
सार (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No.  
206 p. 221) and श्रुतितत्त्व (ibid.  
No. 372 p. 423). Later than  
1500 A. D.

महेशाठकर महामहोपाध्याय a. of हरिभक्ति-  
दीपिका (ms. in B. O. mss. cat.  
vol. I. p. 532 No. 451 is dated  
ल. सं. 546 i. e. 1665-1666 A. D.).  
Probably the same as above.

महेशाध्वानन a. of स्मृतिसंग्रहसार.

महेशाभट्ट, surnamed हर्ष; a. of अम्ये-  
ष्टिपद्धति and प्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

महेश्वर, son of मनोरथ; a. of वृत्तशतक.  
About 1100-1150 A. D.

महेश्वर Later than 1550 A. D.; a.  
of com. on वाचभाष.

महेश्वर a. of com. on चतुर्दशश्लोकी  
(of बहोति?). Baroda O. I. ms.  
No. 1488 He mentions आचार-  
रत्न. So later than 1650 A. D.  
महेश्वर simply says that some  
noble soul composed these 14  
verses.

महेश्वर a. of श्रुतिकौमुदी.

महेश्वरमिश्र a. of आचारदर्श.

माझिंदेव a. of महोत्सव.

माणिक्यदेव a. of श्रुतिचोसुकाग्रुष्टक.

माणिक्य m. in कालविषेक of जीवत-  
वाहन. Probably an astronomer.

माणिक्य a. of work in 12 अष्टायास on  
the Ganges (vide Tri. cat.  
Madras Govt. mss. 1919-22  
p. 5161).

माणिक्य a. of com. on हिरण्यकेशिपु-  
स्तक.

माधव, son of स्वातर and pupil of  
मोपाल; a. of दिव्यदीपिका (B. O.  
mss. cat. vol. I p. 225 No. 208  
and No. 209 p. 226, which is  
dated लक्ष्मणसंवत् 508). Men-  
tions मिताक्षरा and रत्नाकर. Be-  
tween 1350-1600 A. D.

माधव a. of दुर्गाभक्तिकरञ्जिनी.

माधव. Later than 1500 A. D.;  
a. of धर्मप्रकाश.

माधव a. of होमपद्धति. Later than  
1500 A. D.

माधव, son of कृष्णाचार्य of भारद्वाज-  
गोत्र; a. of ब्रह्मसूत्रतिलक of which  
होमपद्धति is a part.

माधव a. of com. on शारदातिलक.

माधव a. of माधवीशानि.

माधवपण्डित a. of वृत्तादर्श.

माधवपाठक a. of पुराणरत्नचन्द्रिका.

माधवभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर. About  
1520-1570 A. D.; a. of आक्षौच-  
निर्णय, सूर्यार्पणानुपद्धति.

माधवभट्ट a. of com. on सुहृत्दर्पण.

माधव महामहोपाध्याय, son of विष्णु-  
शर्मन्; a. of दानप्रदीप.

माधवमुनि a. of com. धोपणभट्टीय.

माधवयज्ज्वा a. of com. नयचन्द्रिका  
on अर्थशास्त्र.

माधवशर्मन्, son of गुरुनाथ, of the  
गुरुवाण family; a. of अज्ञानदर्पण.  
Later than 1200 A. D.

माधवशुक्ल, son of कृष्ण, son of ज्याम-  
नारायण, an औदीच्य वाङ्मय of  
काश्यपगोत्र; a. of कुण्डकन्यदुम  
(composed in 1656 A. D.)  
and com. thereon.

माधवस्वामिन् m. in the सुहृत्स्थगनाकर  
of चण्डेश्वर as explaining a सूत्र  
of शङ्खलक्षित.

माधवाचार्य a. of कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप or  
-माहात्म्य.

माधवाचार्य, son of मायण and सुकीर्ति.  
Sec. 92; several works are  
attributed to him, but their  
authenticity is doubtful; a. of  
पराशरमाधवीय and कालनिर्णय, इत-  
कमीमांसा, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, पुरुषार्थ-  
सुधानिधि, सुहृत्माधवीय, स्मृतिमंजरी,  
मात्यस्तोमपद्धति.

माधवाचार्य (अभिनव); a. of गोत्रप्रवर-  
निर्णय, अभिनवमाधवीय.

माधवाचार्य a. of सर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.

माधवाचार्य a. of कर्मविपाक.

मानसिंह a. of आचारविधेय and मान-  
सागरीपद्धति.

मानेश्वरशर्मन् a. of वर्षाहृत्यप्रयोगमतमाला  
or प्रयोगमाला; ms. dated 1477  
A. D. (ह. सं. 358).

मान्धातु, son of मदनपाल; (reputed  
in some mss. as) a. of महार्णव-  
कर्मविपाक.

मार्कण्डेय m. in मिताक्षरा (on बाह्य.  
III. 19).

मार्तण्डमिश्र a. of प्रायश्चित्तमार्तण्ड.  
Earlier than 1620 A. D.

मार्तण्डशोमपाणिन a. of संस्कारमार्तण्ड.

मालती alias वेदाङ्गपाप; a. of महा-  
रूपपद्धति. About 1627-1655 A. D.

मिश्रमिश्र, son of वरगुणामिश्र, son of  
हंसपाणिन. Sec. 108; a. of वीर-  
मिश्रोद्देश्य (com. on राजवन्धन्य)  
and वीरमिश्रोद्देश्य (a digest).

मिश्रसूरी ? तिर्थ लि a. of प्रयोगसुका-  
वलि. Later than 1650 A. D.

मिसरुमिश्र a. of विद्याचन्द्र (compos-  
ed by order of लक्ष्मिदेवी, wife  
of prince चन्द्रसिंह of मिथिला).  
Sec. 97.

मुकुन्द, son of माधवाचार्य वल्लभ; a. of  
पुरश्चरणकौमुदी.

मुकुन्दलाल a. of तीर्थमञ्जरी, प्रणवार्चन-  
चन्द्रिका, प्रायश्चित्तकुतुहल, प्रायश्चित्तच-  
न्द्रिका, मार्तण्डार्चनचन्द्रिका, of com.  
on मिताक्षरा, समयप्रकाश, आञ्ज-  
नञ्जरी, स्मृतिसार, स्मृत्यर्थसार.

मुकुन्दलाल a. of बद्धकर्मदीपिका.

मुदाकरद्वारि a. of कृत्यरत्नाकर. Earlier  
than 1700 A. D.; as it is men-  
tioned in रामनिबन्ध of क्षेमराम.

महाराष्ट्र. Baroda O. I. ms. No. 150 (in Telugu characters).

महारी २. of पर्यनिर्णय.

महारी, son of रुद्रशर्मन, son of हरिहर who was chief judge of देवसिंह, eldest son of मवेश. So about 1425-1450 A. D.; a. of शुद्धिनिर्णय.

मुरारिमिश्र, son of वेदामिश्र, son of विश्वरूपदीक्षित; a. of भाष्य on पारस्करसूत्रम्. Earlier than 1370 A. D.

मुरारिमिश्र, son of कृष्णमिश्र and pupil of रामभट्ट and केशमिश्र. About end of 15th century; a. of प्रापञ्चितमनोहन्, शुभकर्मनिर्णय, of com. on विनृमणि of श्रीधर (vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 262 pp. 285-286).

मृतभट्ट a. of मृतभट्टप्रयोग.

मृत्युञ्जय कोटिल a. of मृदार्ह and com. प्रभा thereon.

मेहनाथ, of the family of नर्वत; a. of रुद्रानुष्ठानपञ्चति.

मेधातिथि, son of श्रीश्वामिन. Sec. 63; a. of भाष्य on मनुस्मृति and of स्मृतिविशेष.

मेरेण a. of a सूत्र; m. by निर्णयमिश्र.

मैलुगि or मौलुगि, king, earlier than 1380 A. D.; a. of कर्मविषय; m. in हर्मिहप्रसाद and in साम्राट्-कर्मविषय by the son of काह्लदेव.

मोहनचन्द्रविद्यावाचस्पति a. of दापभाण-कारिका, प्रापञ्चितव्यवस्थासंग्रह, शुद्धि-कारिकादी.

मोहनमिश्र a. of सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि.

मोहनमिश्र तर्कतिलक, son of द्वारकादास; a. of com. on कालनिर्णय of भाष्य (composed in 1614 A. D.).

मौद्वन्य m. in बी. घ. सू. II. 2. 67.

यज्ञपति m. in सरस्वतीविलास (p. 362).

यज्ञपार्श्व a. of संग्रहकारिका; m. in मदाधर's भाष्य on पारस्करसूत्रम्, in मदनपाणिनात (pp. 543, 576).

यज्ञसुरि, son of विश्वनाथ; a. of कुण्डमण्डपचन्द्रिका.

यज्ञस्वामिन a. of com. on वसिष्ठधर्म-सूत्र (according to मोहिन्दस्वामिन on बी. घ. सू. II. 2. 51).

यज्ञेश a. of निर्णयोक्तान्तरवृद्धन (ms. No. 5247 Baroda O. I.). Later than 1350 A. D.

यतीश a. of कामधेनु and वार्तिकवाण (composed in विष्णुसूत्रसंक्षेप-मिलिते i. e. 1840 संवत् i. e. 1784 A. D.). He was son of त्रेकचन्द्र and belonged to लवपुर and was of कन्हणदुल (Stein's cat. p. 114). Wrote under विजय-राल, son of अशुतपाल.

यदुनन्दनवर्णित a. of सुदुर्तमश्री (composed in 1670 A. D.).

यम Sec. 19.

यदुभट्ट a. of शास्त्रोक्ति. वडवति.

यदुजति, son of यदुभट्ट; a. of यज्ञाजीय, वैतुमेधिक.

यशोवन्तभट्ट a. of प्रयोगव्याकर.

यशोधरभट्ट a. of प्रापञ्चितविनिर्णय.

- यशोधर a. of तिचन्द्रचूडामणि. Earlier than 1500 A. D.
- यशोधर a. of com. on गोभिलवृद्ध ; m. in दानक्रियाकौमुदी ( p. 77 ) and by रघुनन्दन.
- यज्ञवल्क्य Sec. 34 ; a. of स्मृति. Also reputed author of अप-दीपिका.
- यज्ञिकदेश or देशयज्ञिक son of महादेव alias प्रजापति, son of मनुष्य. Earlier than 1595 A. D. ; a. of स्नानविधिपद्धति, com. on the स्नान-विधिपद्धति of कान्यापन, of स्मृतिसार, वास्तुपुजनपद्धति. उत्तरक्रियापद्धति, दाहादिकर्तृपद्धति. आशुक्रम, स्मृति-सारसंग्रह ( probably same as स्मृति-सार ).
- पादवप्रकाश said to have been a dis- ciple of रामानुज ; a. of यतिधर्म-समुच्चय.
- पादवेन्द्रशर्मन a. of छडादिहाचार्य ( under orders of मयूदेव prince of बीड. ).
- पादवेन्द्रभट्ट or पादवविद्याभरण Earlier than 1600 A. D. ; a. of भूविहार.
- पेन्नुभट्ट ( कथे ) a. of स्मृतिकण्ठ.
- पोगीन्ध a. of मुहूर्तमुकापनी.
- पोगीश्वर Earlier than 1537 A. D. ; a. of दानवाक्यसमुच्चय. D. C. ms. No. 332 of 1880-81 is dated मंगल 1594 ज्येष्ठ व. 12 Sunday ( 1537 A. D. ).
- पोगीश्वर ( different from यज्ञवल्क्य ) ; m. in कालविचित्र of जीमूनाह्न ( p. 237 ), दानस्नान of चण्डेश्वर, कथवल्क्य ( pp. 81 and 113 ) as explaining a passage of the मन्व-पुराण ), मलमासतथ्य ( vol. I. p. 820 ).
- पोगीश्वर a. of दानवाक्यसमुच्चय. Earlier than 1530 A. D. Pro- bably same as above.
- पोग्लोक Sec. 69.
- पोद्दुराज a. of ग्रहशान्तिपद्धति.
- पोपनभट्ट (?) a. of आपस्तम्बवृद्धसार.
- रक्षपाल a. of पिष्टपक्षुमण्डनशास्त्रार्थ-दीपिका.
- रघु दैवज्ञ a. of com. on पीरुषधारा ( which is a com. on मुहूर्त-चिन्तामणि ).
- रघुनन्दन a. of आशीचनिर्णय.
- रघुनन्दन a. of विश्वविद्वर्षण, व्यवस्थाप्य ( on pre-emption ), सकून्य-चन्द्रिका.
- रघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्य a. of धर्मसाधन.
- रघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्य, son of हरिहरभट्टा-चार्य and pupil of श्रीनाथआचार्य-चूडामणि. Sec. 102 ; a. of स्मृति-तत्त्व ( divided into 28 तत्त्व, for which see p. 416 n. above ), com. on दायभाग, तीर्थतत्त्व or तीर्थयात्राविधितत्त्व, द्वादशयात्रातत्त्व, विष्णुहरशान्ति-तत्त्व, गयाआशुपद्धति and रामयात्रापद्धति.
- रघुनन्दनमिश्र. Latter half of 16th century ; a. of दोहप्रकाश.
- रघुनन्दन रेव a. of भक्तिप्रकाश.
- रघुनाथ a. of त्रयाभिव्यक्त्यात्म.
- रघुनाथ. Later than 1630 A. D. ; a. of तिचिनिर्णय.
- रघुनाथ a. of com. on अनुष्ठानपद्धति.

रघुनाथ a. of जातिविषेक.

रघुनाथ, surnamed नवहस्त ( modern Navāthe ); a. of प्रयोगरत्नमुद्रा.

रघुनाथ 1. of ब्रह्मसुद्धि.

रघुनाथ 1. of धर्मसेतु.

रघुनाथ 2. of पूर्वमाला.

रघुनाथ, son of गणेशभट्ट and pupil of अनन्तदेव ; a. of प्रापञ्चिकमुद्रा.

रघुनाथ 2. of सुदर्शन.

रघुनाथ, pupil of विद्वलेश ; a. of com. on मंथ्यासनिर्णय of पद्मनाभार्प.

रघुनाथ 2. of परमन्तकर्मपद्धति.

रघुनाथ, son of रुद्रभट्ट surnamed अपाचित ; a. of प्रयोगपद्धति, माहित-  
आख्यप्रयोग, राज्याभिषेकप्रयोग.

रघुनाथ a. of सुहृददर्शन com. on शाङ्खतपनष्ट.

रघुनाथ, son of अनन्तदेव ; a. of धर्मा-  
सूतमहोदधि.

रघुनाथ, son of भानुजि, of शाण्डिल्य-  
गोत्र ; a. of प्रयोगतत्त्व ( composed  
at Benares in 1656 A. D. ).

रघुनाथ, son of विश्वामित्र ; 2. of कर्त-  
वीर्याहुतवीपदानपद्धति.

रघुनाथ, son of सरस, of the चित्तपावन  
subcaste and शाण्डिल्यगोत्र ; 2. of  
सुहृत्तमाला.

रघुनाथ, pupil of रामदण्ड ; a. of  
काशीतत्त्वकौमुदी ( B. O. mss. cat.  
vol. I. No. 63 p. 57 ).

रघुनाथदास a. of काशीमाहात्म्यकौमुदी.

रघुनाथ दीक्षित a. of आश्वलायनपुत्र-  
कारिका.

रघुनाथभट्ट, styled सद्वादस्यपति, son of  
माधव, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट, Flourish-  
ed between 1545-1625 A. D. ;  
a. of आह्निकपद्धति, अष्टमहाहादशी-  
निर्णय, आह्निकप्रयोग, कालतत्त्वविषे-  
चन ( composed in 1620 A. D. ),  
गयापद्धति, मोक्षप्रवरनिर्णय, विशा-  
च्छोकीविषय or आशीचनिर्णय, दश-  
श्लोकीटीका ( composed in 1578  
A. D. ), वज्रवतिआख्यपद्धति, आख्य-  
पद्धति or दर्शनाख्यपद्धति, पर्यनिर्णय,  
श्विसंक्रान्तिनिर्णय.

रघुनाथभट्ट 2. of ज्योतिषज्ञनिर्णय.

रघुनाथभट्ट a. of com. on राजवल्क्य-  
सूक्ति.

रघुनाथभट्ट a. of स्वतिल.

रघुनाथभट्टानार्प a. of शक्तिधर्मसमुच्चय.

रघुनाथवाजपेयि a. of प्रयोगपारिजात  
and com. on मिताक्षरा of विज्ञाने-  
श्वर ( vide Peterson's 6th Re-  
port p. 10 for स्ववहार portion )

रघुनाथमार्वाभौम a. of स्वयंजयस्थार्णव-  
सेतुचन्द्र.

रघुनाथमार्वाभौम, son of मधुरेश ; a. of  
स्मार्तस्यवस्थार्णव ( composed in  
1661-62 A. D. at the order of  
king रत्नेश्वरगण ).

रघुनाथसुरि 2. of प्रयोगदर्शन.

रघुनाथेन्द्रशिष्योक्ति a. of काशीतत्त्व-  
प्रकाशिका or काशीसारोद्धार.

रघुनाथेन्द्रसरस्वती a. of काशीतत्त्व.

रघुपति a. of तद्भागविधि.

रघुपति 2. of सुद्धिचिन्तिका ( compos-  
ed at the bidding of king कप-  
र्दिन of पानादेश ). Vide B. O.  
mss. cat. vol. I. No. 369  
p. 419.

रघुमणि, said to be the real name of author of दत्तकचन्द्रिका. About 1800 A. D.

रघुराम a. of सिद्धान्तनिर्णय (probably same as above).

रघुराम, pupil of रघुमणि; a. of दाय-भागार्थदीपिका.

रघुरामतीर्थ a. of कर्मदीपिका.

रघुरामभट्ट, son of जयराम, son of वैकुण्ठ; (collected materials of कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्त).

रघुवर a. of सविण्हीश्रान्त.

रघुवीरदीक्षित, son of विद्वत्, son of ब्रह्म; a. of मरीचिमाला com. on the कुण्डाह of शङ्कर and of मुहूर्तसर्वस्व (composed in 1635-36 A. D.).

रघुनमलकेशिरोमणि a. of तिथ्यादिविधिसंग्रह.

रघुनमतीर्थ a. of दुर्गामौलिकहरी.

रत्नाथ a. of पितृमेधविषयन.

रत्नाथदेशिक a. of रत्नाथदेशिकात्रिक.

रत्नाथगुरुरि, pupil of कृष्णानन्दसरस्वती; a. of पुरुषार्थरत्नाकर.

रत्नभट्ट a. of सुहाययोगवृत्ति on भारद्वाज-सूत्रसूत्र.

रत्नोमिह a. of तीर्थसामान्यपद्धति or rather तीर्थलक्ष्मीवती. Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 170 p. 186.

रत्नधरमिश्र a. of स्मृतिमञ्जरी.

रत्ननाथभट्टाचार्य a. of चन्दनधेनु-सर्गापद्धति.

रत्नपाणि a. of मुक्तिकाशौचनिर्णय (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 428

p. 305). He mentions हरीश्वर. He was a मैथिल.

रत्नपाणशर्मन्, son of गङ्गोली सखीवे-  
श्वरशर्मन्, patronised by छत्रसिंह  
of मिथिला. Later than 1550  
A. D.; a. of आचारसंग्रह, एकोहिट-  
सार्गणी, कृष्णार्चनचन्द्रिका, क्षयमा-  
सादिविवेक, पार्वणचन्द्रिका, प्राय-  
श्चित्तपारिजात, महादानवाक्यावली, मि-  
थिलशास्त्रिक. गमचन्द्रप्रतिभाप्रतिष्ठा,  
लक्ष्मीप्रतिष्ठा, व्रताचार (probably  
his last work as it was written  
for महेश्वरसिंह grandson of छत्र-  
सिंह), सुचोधिनी (composed for  
रुद्रसिंह son of छत्रसिंह). In his  
गमचन्द्रप्रतिभाप्रतिष्ठा (composed at  
the bidding of रुद्रसिंह of मिथिला)  
he says that he follows the  
प्रतिष्ठातृत्व of रघुनन्दन. (Vide  
B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 300  
p. 341).

रत्नाकर a. of दानवाक्यावली (based  
on दानसागर). Vide B. O. mss.  
cat. vol. I No. 196 p. 111. Pro-  
bably same as above.

रत्नाकर a. of प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह, प्राय-  
श्चित्तरत्नाकर.

रत्नाकर, son of देवभट्ट; a. of जय-  
सिंहकल्पद्रुम (composed in 1713  
A. D.). The work is also called  
द्रुमोद्घोत.

रत्नाकरठक्कुर a. of दानपञ्जी.

रत्नाकरभट्ट m. in आर्यसागर of कुल्लुक.

रत्नेश्वरमिश्र महामहोपाध्याय. N. vol.  
VII p. 79; a. of आचारचन्द्रिका.

रमाकान्तचक्रवर्तिन, son of मधुसूदन;  
a. of स्मृतिसंक्षेपसार.



- रमानाथ a. of com. on नारदस्मृति  
रमानाथविद्यावाचस्पति a. of प्रयोगदर्पण.  
रमापति of the भैरववंश ; a. of प्राय-  
श्चित्तचन्द्रिका.  
रमापति a. of वैशाल्यप्रान्ताविधि.  
रमापति उपाध्यायसमिन्ध ; a. of आचार-  
रत्नोद्भवा, आचारशास्त्र and विवाह-  
विधि.  
रमापति (सिद्धान्त a. of तिथिनिर्णय.  
रविनाथसमिन्ध a. of आचारतरोद्गर्णी.  
राघवभट्ट a. of निर्णयसूत्र. Mentions  
रामकौतुक, माधव, निर्णयसिन्धु and  
हेमाद्रि. Later than 1612 and  
earlier than 1700 A. D.  
राघवभट्ट, son of वृधवाच. About  
1493-4 A. D. ; a. of युगोत्तम  
and com. पदार्थावली on शास्त्र-  
तिलक in. by युगबन्ध (in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व  
p. 580 ).  
राघवभट्ट. Later than 1640 A. D. ;  
a. of तिथिनिर्णय and तिथिनिर्णयसूत्र  
or लघुतिथिनिर्णय, स्मृतिदर्पण.  
राघवभट्ट, pupil of सुकुन्ध ; a. of  
com. called दीप on आशीषवि-  
शङ्खोकी.  
राघवाचार्य a. of com. प्रकाश on  
शुद्धिदीपिका of श्रीनिवास.  
राघवानन्दतीर्थिन. Earlier than 1600  
A. D. ; m. in आचारसूत्र of लक्ष्मण.  
राघवानन्दनाथ a. of शिवपूजापद्धति.  
राघवानन्दसरस्वती, pupil of अह्वयानन्द.  
Later than 1350 A. D. ; a. of  
समर्थचन्द्रिका com. on मनुस्मृति.  
राघवेन्द्र, son of काशीनाथ ; a. of  
रामप्रकाश and of a com. on काठ-

निर्णयदीपिका also called रामप्रकाश.  
Flourished in latter half of 17th  
century.

राघवेन्द्र a. of com. on जयसिन्धु's  
com. on कर्मनिर्णय and सदाचार-  
स्मृति of आनन्दतीर्थ.

राघवेन्द्र a. of श्रीपुनरुद्वाहखण्डनकारिका.  
रामकृष्णतर्कवागीशमठुआचार्य a. of आ-  
शीषचन्द्रिका.

रामचूडामणि, son of रामसेठ श्रीनिवास  
दाशित ; a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका.

रामनारायण मुखोपाध्याय a. of तुलसा-  
चन्द्रिका.

रामपुत्र a writer on politics ; m. in  
अद्भुतसागर and in com. on नीति-  
वाक्यामृत.

रामविभट्ट. Earlier than 1550 A. D. ;  
a. of चमकारचिन्तामणि.

रामागम, son of सोमेश्वर. Earlier  
than 1725 A. D. ; a. of आचार-  
कोसरी.

रामकान्तदेव a. of प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका.

रामकृष्ण a. of प्रतिष्ठापद्धति, शिवालय-  
प्रतिष्ठा.

रामानाथशर्मन a. of आशीषव्यवस्था  
( part of व्यवस्थादीपिका ).

रामामोहन मोसामिभट्टाचार्य. About  
1800 A. D. ; a. of commentaries  
on एकादशीतत्त्व, दायतत्त्व, प्रायश्चित्त-  
तत्त्व, मलमागतत्त्व, शुद्धितत्त्व, and  
of कृष्णराज, of सिद्धान्तसंग्रह a  
com. on the मिताक्षरा of विज्ञाने-  
श्वर.

राम a. of प्रपुनरोद्वाहश्रीमोक्षोद्दिष्टोमा.  
About 1660 A. D.

राम a. of com. on कृष्णमण्डपसिद्धि  
of विद्वान्.

राम a. of कुण्डसिद्धि.

राम a. of प्राशस्त्रिदीपिका or -प्रदीपिका.

राम, son of चौण्ड or चाउण्ड ; a. of योग्यतयुक्तप्रयोगमाहा.

राम Later than 1550 A. D. ; a. of com. on गोत्रवचनमञ्जरी of केशव.

राम a. of com. on प्रवरनिर्णय of भास्करमिश्रकृष्णदण्डमण्डन.

राम आचार्य a. of अन्वयेष्टिपद्धति.

रामकिशोर a. of दीक्षातत्त्वप्रकाशिका.

रामकृष्ण a. of कुण्डमण्डपसंग्रह.

रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट. Between 1510-1590 A. D. ; a. of अनन्तव्रतोपासनप्रयोग, उन्मत्ततेजःकर्मप्रयोग, कौटिल्योक्तप्रयोग, जीवितपुण्यकर्मनिर्णय or -कर्तव्यसमुच्चय, विभागतत्त्व or तत्त्वविचार, माणिक्यआशुनिर्णय, वास्तुशान्तिप्रयोग, दण्डतत्त्वपद्धति, शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाविधि.

रामकृष्ण a. of आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्रवासुशान्ति.

रामकृष्ण a. of आदिकदर्वण.

रामकृष्ण a. of विजयविलास.

रामकृष्ण a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण and आश्वप्रभा.

रामकृष्ण a. of आश्वलायनवर्णननिर्णय.

रामकृष्ण a. of com. कौमुदी on छलपाणि's प्रायश्चित्तविषेक.

रामकृष्ण a. of विवेककौमुदी. उपेत्यर्ग-कौमुदी, व्रतोपासनकौमुदी. Relies on हेमाद्रि.

रामकृष्ण a. of सायणवर्णनसंग्रह.

रामकृष्ण a. of सङ्क्षेपकौमुदी.

रामकृष्ण, son of कोनेर, son of प्रयागभट्ट of भारद्वाजगोत्र. He was patronised by विजयभट्ट. Vide I. O. cat. p. 560 footnote ; a. of com. called संस्कारमण्यपति on वास्तुकर्मसूत्र. About 1750 A. D.

रामकृष्ण, son of कौण्डभट्ट, son of प्रयागभट्ट of the भारद्वाजगोत्र residing in विश्वनाथदलपान on the यमुना river. He was a student of काण्वशास्त्रा ; a. of आश्वलायनपति or आश्वसंग्रह ( composed at Benares in 1751 A. D. ). Aufrecht treats the two रामकृष्ण as different, but this seems to be incorrect, as the grandfather of both is given as प्रयागभट्ट and कौण्डभट्ट is another form of कोनेर.

रामकृष्ण, son of योगीश्वर, surnamed शांभू ( modern शांभू ) ; a. of चिन्तापकण्ठ ( composed in 1702 A. D. ).

रामकृष्ण, son of माधव, son of नारायण of the पराशरगोत्र. Between 1500-1545 A. D. ; a. of तीर्थरत्नाकर or रामप्रभाद and प्रतापमार्तण्ड.

रामकृष्ण विपाठिव. son of दामोदर. About 1616 A. D. ; a. of com. on व्याससंग्रह, of उन्मत्तमाद्विकपद्धति.

रामकृष्णदीक्षित, son of नारायण, a. of माधवीनारोद्धार com. on पराशरसूत्र ( comp. and under उद्गमनचन्द्रदेव ). About 1575-1600 A. D.

रामकृष्ण न्यायालङ्कारभट्टाचार्य ; a. of आश्वलायनविवेककौमुदी ( com. on आश्वलायन and other works of छलपाणि. N. vol. X. pp. 119-

- 120). Probably same as the preceding.
- रामकृष्णपाण्डित a. of धर्मनिबन्ध.
- रामकृष्णभट्ट a. of प्रयोगदीपिका.
- रामकृष्णभट्ट a. of व्यवहारदर्पण.
- रामकृष्णभट्टाचार्य a. of स्मृतिबौद्धी, ब्रह्म-  
यागकौमुदी.
- रामकृष्णाचार्य a. of कर्मविपाक.
- रामगोविन्दचक्रवर्तिन, son of रामगो-  
पालचक्रवर्तिन of the चतुर्वंश and  
resident of बालिचामटग्राम ; a. of  
न्यायस्थासारसंग्रह (N. new series  
I. No. 345).
- रामचन्द्र, son of अनन्त of भारद्वाजगोत्र ;  
a. of अपरिवेचन.
- रामचन्द्र a. of पुरश्चरणदीपिका.
- रामचन्द्र a. of कुण्डभ्लोकदीपिका.
- रामचन्द्र a. of कुण्डोदधि.
- रामचन्द्र a. of कुरुक्षेत्रतीर्थनिर्णय or  
तीर्थनिर्णय.
- रामचन्द्र a. of धर्माष्टशोध.
- रामचन्द्र Earlier than 1600 A. D. ;  
a. of प्रतिष्ठासार.
- रामचन्द्र, son of कृष्ण, son of लहरि,  
son of अनन्ताचार्य of the शेष  
family. About 1400 A. D.  
Wrote according to his son  
लुसिह three works on कालनिर्णय.  
रामचन्द्र's लुह was गोपाल परमहंस ;  
a. of कालनिर्णयदीपिका (com. on  
कालनिर्णय of माधव), तिथिनिर्णय-  
संग्रह (a summary of the तिथि-  
निर्णय of अनन्तभट्ट), वैष्णवसिद्धान्त-  
दीपिका.
- रामचन्द्र a. of कालनिर्णय (vide Ba-  
roda O. I. ms. No. 3871).

- रामचन्द्र a. of आश्वपद्धति. B. O.  
ms. cat. 399 p. 468.
- रामचन्द्र a. of आशौचनिर्णय.
- रामचन्द्र a. of निर्णयसूत्र.
- रामचन्द्र a. of शारदार्चाप्रयोग.
- रामचन्द्र a. of अर्जुनार्चापारिजात, अर्जु-  
नार्चनकल्पलता.
- रामचन्द्र, son of सूर्यदास ; a. of प्राय-  
श्चित्तपद्धति, समरसार, कुण्डाकृति or  
कुण्डलक्षण and com.
- रामचन्द्र a. of कृत्यपूर्तिमञ्जरी.
- रामचन्द्र, son of नारायण ; a. of com.  
on चतुर्विंशतिमतस्मृति.
- रामचन्द्र, surnamed जडे ; a. of कुण्ड-  
लतावलि, composed in śake  
1790.
- रामचन्द्र, son of पाण्डुरङ्ग of the  
अत्रिगोत्र ; a. of com. on शिवपूजा-  
श्रव.
- रामचन्द्र, son of विठ्ठल, son of बाल-  
कृष्ण, surnamed तन्तु. He was  
daughter's son of रघुनाथ, author  
of कालतत्त्वविवेचन. Between 1610-  
1690 A. D. ; a. of कुण्डभ्लोक-  
दीपिका, कालनिर्णयप्रकाश, रुक्मरत्ना-  
वली (composed in 1648-49  
A. D.), शाङ्खयनश्रवणपद्धति or  
आधानपद्धति. Ms. of कालनिर्णय-  
प्रकाश (Baroda O. I. No. 8455)  
is dated śake 1603 Magha  
(1682 A. D.).
- रामचन्द्र, son of विष्णु ; a. of लक्ष्म-  
नविष्णुचोपनिषद्पद्धति.
- रामचन्द्र, son of विष्णुभट्ट लजवलकर ;  
a. of पूजापद्धति. Earlier than  
1810 A. D.

- रामचन्द्र a. of विवाहपद्धति.
- रामचन्द्र अलुहीवार a. of राजनीतिप्रकाश.
- रामचन्द्रचक्रवर्तिन् a. of कृत्यचन्द्रिका.
- रामचन्द्रदीक्षित a. of प्रायश्चित्तलमाला.
- रामचन्द्रदेवगनपति (reputed) a. of दुर्गोत्सवचन्द्रिका (really composed by भारतीशृण्ण वर्धमानमहापात्र).
- रामचन्द्रपाठक a. of रुद्रजपसिद्धान्त-शिरोमणि.
- रामचन्द्रबुध a. of स्तुतिसिद्धान्तसुधा com. on अपपञ्चपटि.
- रामचन्द्रभट्ट a. of आचारार्क, प्रायश्चित्त-हतावली, आश्वचन्द्रिका.
- रामचन्द्रपण्णन् a. of सम्प्रकाश.
- रामचन्द्रशेखर, son of वेङ्कटनायक ; a. of आशौचसंग्रह.
- रामचरण a. of कुण्डश्लोकप्रकाशिका, तर्पणचन्द्रिका.
- रामचरण विद्यावाचस्पति a. of com. on तिथितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.
- रामजय तर्कालङ्कार a. of दत्तककौस्तुभ, दानकौस्तुभ.
- रामजित् a. of निबन्धनवनीत or नवनीतनिबन्ध and of भगविषेक and com. मितवादिनी. He was son of श्रीनाथ, son of हरिनाथ, son of वेङ्क, son of यज्ञेश्वर. Later than 1400 and earlier than 1600 A.D. For शिवन्धनवनीत vide D. C. ms. No. 102 of 1882-83 (dated संवत् 1673).
- राम ज्योतिर्विद् a. of वीरसिंहमित्रोदय.
- रामदत्त a. of मुहूर्तशृण्णटीका, शुक्लचोत्सवटीका.
- रामदत्त m. in यत्तुर्वेदितृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व (p. 640) of रघुनन्दन.
- रामदत्तठक्कर a. of शूद्रशास्त्रपद्धति.
- रामदत्तठक्कर a. of शूद्राचारपद्धति.
- रामदत्त मन्थिन्, son of शोभेश्वरठक्कर and nephew of श्रीश्वर. First half of 14th century ; a. of उपनयनपद्धति or व्रतबन्धपद्धति, दानपद्धति or षोडशमहादानपद्धति, नान्दी-आश्वपद्धति, विवाहपद्धति or विवाहा-दिपद्धति, गर्भधानादिदशसंस्कारपद्धति, यज्ञोपवीतपद्धति, शूद्रशास्त्रपद्धति. He seems to have written a comprehensive पद्धति for Vājasaneyins, parts of which on उपनयन, विवाह and other संस्कारs are separately noticed in the catalogues. Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. Nos. 315A, 316, 317 and pp. 353-355.
- रामदीक्षित a. of com. on शारदा-तिलक.
- रामदेव, son of शम्भु ; a. of तिथिनिर्णयदीपिका.
- रामदेव a. of रामप्रकाश a com. on कालतत्त्वार्णव.
- रामदेवज्ञ a. of आशौचादिनिर्णय, आशौचेन्दुशेखर.
- राम देवज्ञ, son of अनन्त, son of चिन्तामणि ; a. of मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि (composed at Benares in 1600-1601) with com. प्रमिताक्षरा.

रामनन्दिन a. of com. on प्रवर्तनिर्णय of भास्कर.

रामनवरत्न a. of एकादशीहोमनिर्णय.

रामनाथ a. of संस्कारपद्धतिरहस्य (2 com. on संस्कारपद्धति or कर्मा-  
नुष्ठानपद्धति of भवदेव composed  
in 1622-23 A. D.) and रामनाथ-  
पद्धति.

रामनाथ a. of प्रयोगसंग्रह.

रामनाथ a. of व्यवहारसारसंग्रह.

रामनाथविद्यावाचस्पति a. of दायभाग-  
विवेक or दायरहस्य (com. on दाय-  
भाग) which is part of स्मृतिरत्नावलि  
(composed in 1657 A. D.). He  
quotes अच्युत, चूडामणि, हरिनाथ.

रामपण्डित, son of विश्वेश्वर of the वस्तु-  
मोक्ष. Later than 1400 A. D.;  
a. of पुत्रस्वीकारनिर्णय.

रामपण्डित शेष a. of com. on धर्मा-  
गमादुवाचिभूतक or श्लोकचतुर्दशी of  
कुण्डशेष.

रामपति a. of सदाचारक्रम.

रामप्रसाद a. of तिथिनिर्णय, यज्ञसिद्धान्त-  
संग्रह and रत्नाकर.

रामप्रसाद देवशर्मन् a. of सारसंग्रहदीपिका.

रामभट्ट a. of com. on विश्वश्लोकी.

रामभट्ट a. of संक्षिप्तहोमप्रकार.

रामभट्ट, surnamed सिंह; a. of सा-  
पिण्डचर्चनिर्णय (called अनुकल्पसाध).  
Discusses the views of श्रीधर in  
his सापिण्डचर्चदीपिका. (D. C. ms.  
No. 208 of A 1882-83).

रामभट्ट, son of विश्वनाथ, son of सुब्रह्म,  
surnamed होसिङ्ग. About 1675  
A. D.; a. of अनुपविषेक, दानरत्ना-

कर, आहिताग्नेर्वाहादिनिर्णय, फल-  
प्रयोग following तीर्थदर्पण, दर्शभास्कर.

रामभट्टाचार्य a. of निर्णयसार.

रामभट्ट a. of प्रवक्रमदीपिका.

रामभट्टन्यायालङ्कार a. of शुद्धिकारिका or  
शुद्धितत्त्वकारिका (on रघुनन्दन's  
शुद्धितत्त्व).

रामभट्टन्यायालङ्कार, son of रघुनाथ; a.  
of उद्वाहव्यवस्था, स्मृतिसंग्रह (of  
which the first is a part).

रामभट्ट न्यायालङ्कारभट्टाचार्य, son of  
श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि. About  
1525 A. D.; a. of com. on the  
दायभाग and of स्मृतिरत्ननिर्णय or  
व्यवस्थापण.

रामभट्टशिष्य a. of मांसपीयूषलता.

रामबाजपेयिन् नैमिषरथ, son of सूर्य-  
दास, son of शिवदास, son of श्री-  
धर मालव, of the भारद्वाजयोग;  
a. of कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण or कुण्ड-  
निर्माणश्लोक with com. (कुण्डा-  
हिति composed in 1449-50  
A. D.), of समरसार and of com.  
on शारदातिलक at the bidding  
of king रामचन्द्र of रत्नपुर.

रामविद्यावाचस्पति a. of com. on तिथि-  
तत्त्व.

रामशङ्कर a. of शुद्धविवेक.

रामशर्मन् a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप.

रामलुङ्गण्यशास्त्रिन्, son of रामशङ्कर;  
a. of दत्ताशौचव्यवस्थापनवाद, धर्म-  
विवेचन. About end of 18th  
century.

रामसेवक a. of यज्ञसिद्धान्तविग्रह.

रामसेवक, son of श्लोकमणि or लेखराज;  
a. of तिथिप्रदीपिका or- प्रदीप

रामसेवक, son of देवीदत्त ; a. of  
सुहृत्तर्दीपक.

रामसेवक त्रिपाठिव a. of युद्धचिन्तामणि.

रामसेवक त्रिवेदिव ; a. of सुहृत्तर्दीपक or  
मञ्जरि.

रामाचार्य a. of अन्वेष्टिवृद्धति.

रामाचार्य a. of com. on सदाचार-  
रहसि of श्रीमध्वाचार्य.

रामानन्द a. of रामार्चनपद्धति.

रामानन्दतीर्थ or रामानन्दपति ; a. of  
कुण्डलतत्त्वप्रकाशिका, राजभूषणी or  
सुषभूषणी, संध्याविधिमन्त्रसंग्रहटीका.

रामानन्द न्यायशास्त्री a. of वैजय-  
चन्द्रिका.

रामानन्दपति a. of दत्तार्चनविधिचन्द्रिका.

रामानन्द वाचस्पति. About 1750 A.D. ;  
a. of आश्रिकाचाररत्न.

रामानन्दशर्मन् a. of सूत्रकुलदीपिका.

रामानुज a. of रामार्चनपद्धति.

रामानुजदीक्षित a. of 'आशौचनिर्णय'  
com. on आशौचशतक of वेङ्कट  
of the हारीतगोत्र.

रामानुजपण्ण्डित a. of दीपिका on अश-  
निर्णय or आशौचशतक of वेङ्कटेश.

रामानुजाचार्य a. of सत्त्वविरतरक्षा and  
com.

रामाश्रम. pupil of महादेव ; a. of  
संख्याभाष्य (composed in 1653  
A. D.).

रामेश्वर a. of आशौचशतक.

रामेश्वर a. of सुहृत्तर्दीपति and शोध-  
संस्कारसेतु.

रामेश्वर, pupil of सदाशिवेन्द्रसरस्वती ;  
a. of शिवाष्टवर्तिप्रकाश.

रामेश्वरभट्ट a. of धर्मरत्नाकर.

रामेश्वरभट्ट. Earlier than 1600 A. D. ;  
a. of पदार्थादर्श.

रामेश्वर भारती a. of com. on त्रिश-  
च्छोकी.

रामेश्वरशास्त्रि a. of सुदर्शनकालप्रभा.

रामेश्वरशुक्ल a. of com. on दत्तक-  
चन्द्रिका of कुबेरपण्डित.

रायसुकुट. His com. on the अमरकोश  
was composed in 1431 A. D. ;  
a. of a पद्धति m. in भास्करतत्त्व  
(p. 213) and सुहिततत्त्व (pp.  
281, 283) of रघुनन्दन.

रायभट्ट a. of वृत्तिसंस्कारप्रयोग.

रायसंवेङ्कटादि विदे under वेङ्कटादि ;  
a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

रायणशर्मन् of चम्पवह्नि family ; a. of  
वर्षावृत्त्य.

रिपुञ्जय a. of पूर्णचन्द्र (on प्रायश्चित्त),  
प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण.

रुचिक m. by सरस्वतीविलास p. 307.

रुचिदत्त a. of com. on अश्विवेचन.

रुचिदत्त a. of com. on मनुस्मृति.

रुद्र a. of युद्धकोश.

रुद्रकवीन्द्र a. of मातृगोत्रनिर्णय.

रुद्रदेव a. of सौतुकचिन्तामणि.

रुद्रदेव, son of नारायण, surnamed  
तेरो, and pupil of अनन्त ; a. of  
प्रतापनारसिंह (composed in 1710-  
11 A. D.). Several parts of it  
such as आपस्तम्बादिक, कुण्डप्रकाश,  
पाकयज्ञप्रकाश, पुर्वप्रकाश, संस्कार-  
प्रकाश are separately entered in  
the reports.

रुद्रधर, pupil of चण्डेश्वर. 1360-1400 A. D.; a. of कृत्यचन्द्रिका, विद्याचन्द्रिका and आद्यचन्द्रिका.

रुद्रधर a. of पुण्यमाला.

रुद्रधर महामहोपाध्याय, son of महामहोपाध्यायलक्ष्मीधर and younger brother of हलधर. Sec. 96; a. of वर्षकृत्य, व्रतपद्धति, शुद्धिविवेक, आद्यविवेक.

रुद्रधर्मन, son of राधचराय; a. of पुराणसार.

रुद्रस्कन्द, son of नारायण, residing at मसबाट; a. of com. on द्वादायण-सूत्र and स्वादिरसूत्र (called नाम-सूत्रवृत्ति).

रूपगोस्वामिन् a. of हरिभक्तिविलास.

रूपनारायण. Between 1420 and 1500 A. D.; a. of महादानपद्धति (ms. copied in 1530 A. D.).

रूपनारायण, son of मयानीदास, son of नाथभट्ट; a. of व्याख्यानचमत्कार (composed in 1580 A. D.).

रूपनारायण (उद्यमसिंह), son of शक्ति-सिंह; a. of रूपनारायणीयपद्धति (of which महादानपद्धति seems to be a part); ms. No. 2393 (Baroda O. I.) is रूपनारायणीयपद्धतिरत्न, wherein लक्ष्मीधर, भोजराज, हेमाद्रि, and चण्डेश्वर are relied upon. So it is later than 1350 A. D.

रेवकाचार्य, son of मोहेश्वर, son of सोमेश्वर of the शास्त्रिहृत्यगोत्र; a. of कारिका on पारस्करसूत्र (composed in 1266 A. D.).

रेव्य m. in the com. on the नीति-वाक्यावृत as a writer on politics.

लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्र a. of कृष्णमण्डपविधि.

लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्र, son of श्रीकृष्ण. Probably 12th century A. D.; a. of कार्तवीर्यार्जुनदीपदानपद्धति, शारदा-तिलक.

लक्ष्मण श्रीशैलवेङ्कोटीर a. of यत्तिस्न-नादिप्रयोग.

लक्ष्मणभट्ट, son of रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. Between 1585-1630 A. D.; a. of आचाररत्न or आचार-सार, गोत्रप्रवररत्न.

लक्ष्मणसेन, son of बहालसेन. Sec. 83; (reputed) a. of दानसार (which was begun by his father).

लक्ष्मणोपाध्याय m. in the प्रकाश of हलायुध on the आद्यकृत्य of कात्यायन.

लक्ष्मीचन्द्रमिश्र a. of शैवकल्पद्रुम.

लक्ष्मीदास, son of गोपाल; a. of सुहृत्सुखावली (composed in 1618 A. D.).

लक्ष्मीदेवी, wife of वैद्यनाथ पापगुण्ड. Sec. 111; (reputed) a. of बाल-म्हट्टी (com. on the मिताक्षरा) and of लक्ष्मी com. on कालनिर्णय of माधव.

लक्ष्मीधर, son of भट्टहृदयधर; a. of कल्पतरु. Sec. 77.

लक्ष्मीधर, son of मल्लदेव and श्रीदेवी; a. of विरुद्धविधिध्वंस. Earlier than 1525 A. D.

लक्ष्मीधर a. of दैवज्ञमनोहर. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

लक्ष्मीधर a. of कृत्यरत्नाकर.



लक्ष्मीधरभट्ट a. of कुण्डकारिका.

लक्ष्मीनाथ a. of गोपालार्चनचन्द्रिका.

लक्ष्मीनारायण a. of द्वायाधिकारिक्रम.

लक्ष्मीनारायण न्यायालङ्कार, son of-  
महाधर ; a. of व्यवहारलमाला.

लक्ष्मीनारायणपण्डित a. of कापरबलवि-  
पत्यब्रह्मवल्लकुठार.

लक्ष्मीनृसिंह a. of अघशोचिनी com. on  
पदशीति.

लक्ष्मीपति a. of com. on सुहृत्संग्रह.

लक्ष्मीपति a. of नीतिगर्भितशास्त्र.

लक्ष्मीपति ठाकुर, pupil of इन्द्रपति or  
महीन्द्रपति ; a. of आश्वरत्न. Relies  
on श्रीदत्त and वाचस्पति ; ms. No.  
401 F (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I.  
p. 472) is dated ल. सं. 525  
(1644 A. D.). So he flourished  
between 1500 and 1640 A. D.

लघुचाणक्य.

लघुनारद m. by निर्णयसिन्धु, संस्कार-  
कौस्तुभ.

लघुपराशर m. in प्रायश्चित्तमण्डल.

लघुबृहस्पति.

लघुपद्म m. by अपराक on याज्ञवल्क्य  
I. 238, by हलायुध in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

लघुविष्णु m. by अपराक (pp. 1031,  
1080), by हलायुध in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

लघुन्यास (vide Jivananda Sm. part  
II. pp. 310-320).

लघुशाङ्ग.

लघुशाततल्प (Anan.Sm. pp. 128-135).

लघुशौनक.

लघुहारीत m. by कालमाधव (p. 88),  
अपराक (pp. 145, 539, 543,  
547).

लघुवह्निरत्न.

लघुवज्र.

लघुवाञ्छरायण.

लम्बोदर a. of होमपद्धति.

ललित m. by नन्दपण्डित in शुद्धि-  
चन्द्रिका.

ललु a. of विधानमाला.

लालबहादुर a. of छद्मकृत्य.

लालमणि, son of अमरनाथ, son of  
मङ्गराम of अलकपुर ; a. of सुहृत्-  
वर्षण.

लालमणि भट्टाचार्य a. of निर्णयसार.

लिखित m. by मिता<sup>०</sup> (on याज्ञ. III.  
290), by अपराक pp. 1183, 38,  
138.

लोकनाथ a. of कृत्यरत्नाकर.

लोकनाथ, son of वैष्णवाधर ; a. of प्राय-  
श्चित्तदीपिका (part of सफलागम-  
संग्रह).

लोहट a. of आश्वमेधकरण. Between  
900-1100 A. D. ; m. in स्मृत्यर्थ-  
सार, आश्वमेधिका of नारायण, in  
पदशीति of नन्दपण्डित, in आश्व-  
मेधसार of कुल्लूक.

लोहित a. of स्मृति.

लौगाक्षि Sec. 50 ; a. of काठकृत्यसूत्र  
and प्रवर्गाध्याय ; m. by मिताक्षरा  
(on याज्ञ. II. 119 and III. 1-2,  
260, 289), अपराक (pp. 28, 30,  
33, 259, 269, 418, 460, 542,  
870, 942 &c.).

लौगाक्षि a. of उपनयनतन्त्र.

लौगाक्षि a. of श्लोक्तर्पण.

लौगाक्षि भास्कर, son of सुहृत्, son of  
रुद्रकवीन्द्र of लौगाक्षिकुल. Later

- than 1400 A. D. ; a. of मालुगोत्र-  
निर्णय. तिथ्यादितत्त्वनिर्णय.
- वंशीधर a. of कुशकाण्डिका
- वक्त्रिपुरेश्वर a. of वक्त्रिपुरेश्वरकारिका.
- वचिप Or वडिप a. of निवन्धसार ( D. C. ms. No. 123 of 1884-86 was copied in संवत् 1632 i. e. 1575 A. D. ).
- वक्षेश्वर, son of नरसिंह ; a. of दत्त-  
चिन्तामणि and मलमासनिर्णय.
- वत्स a. of स्मृति, m. in. कालमापव  
( p. 134 ), by मस्करिद.
- वत्सराज ( It is his son अचल who  
composed निर्णयदीपक ); a. of  
निर्णयदीपिका.
- वनमालिदास a. of वनमाला.
- वनमालिन a. of विष्णुतत्त्वप्रकाश.
- वनमालिन a. of प्रायश्चित्तसारकौमुदी.
- वनमालिमिश्र alias कृष्णदत्तमिश्र son of  
महेक्षमिश्र and pupil of भट्टोजि.  
About 1650 A. D. ; a. of कुरु-  
क्षेत्रप्रदीप, ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका ( सन्धा-  
मन्त्रव्याख्या ).
- वरद, son of श्रीनिवास ; a. of आशौच-  
निर्णय.
- वरदराज About 1450-1500 A. D. ;  
a. of व्यवहारनिर्णय ( of which a  
portion is called दापमाण ). It is  
probably this author that is  
mentioned in सरस्वतीविलास.
- वरदराज 18th century ; a. of व्यव-  
हारमाला.
- वरदराज a. of नवविधेकदीपिका.
- वरदराजबट्ट a. of सन्यासपद्मजरी.
- वरदराजभट्टारक a. of com. on कामन्द-  
कीयनीतिसार.
- वरदाचार्य a. of सारार्थचतुष्टय.
- वरदाचार्य of वास्यगोत्र ; a. of स्मृति-  
चूडामणि or -मणिसंग्रह.
- वरदापीशपञ्चन, pupil of वेङ्कटापीश ;  
a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका or -प्रदीप.
- वरकचि a. of आशौचाष्टक, of नीति-  
रत्न, of राजनीति.
- वर्म m. as a writer on politics in  
com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.
- वर्णिकुबेरानन्द a. of दानभागवत during  
the reign of संग्रामसिंह. Later  
than 1300 A. D.
- वर्धमान a. of आद्यप्रदीप, धर्मप्रदीप.
- वर्धमान a. of दत्तकोज्ज्वल.
- वर्धमान a. of कुवनिर्णय ( B. O. miss.  
cat. vol. I. No. 74 p. 66 ).  
Mentions लक्ष्मीधर and प्रतिहस्त-  
पद्धति.
- वर्धमान भारतीयशूचणमहापात्र a. of दुर्गो-  
त्सवचन्द्रिका.
- वर्धमान महामहोपाध्याय, son of भवेश,  
of the बिल्ववधक family. He was  
judge under भवेश and his son  
रामभद्र, king of मिथिला. 1450-  
1500 A. D. His elder brother  
was गण्डकमिश्र, and शङ्करमिश्र  
and वाचस्पति were his *gurus* ;  
a. of मङ्गलरत्नाविवेक, दण्डविवेक, धर्म-  
प्रदीप, द्वैतविषयविवेक, नानाशास्त्रार्थ-  
निर्णय, परिभाषाविवेक, आद्यप्रदीप,  
स्मृतितत्त्वविवेक or स्मृतितत्त्वामृत  
and its सारोद्धार, स्मृतिपरिभाषा.  
गयापद्धति, गयाविधिविवेक, द्वैतविवेक.

He is m. by वाचस्पति in विनृभक्ति and by रघुनन्दन in his व्यवहार-तत्त्व, आस्तत्त्व, एकादशीतत्त्व (generally as तत्त्वदर्पमान). Parts of स्मृतितत्त्वाभूत and स्मृत-सारोद्धार are separately labelled in the catalogues, such as व्यव-हारकोश and शान्तिपौष्टिक.

वल्लभ a. of सर्वधर्मप्रकाशिका.

वल्लभाचार्य, son of लक्ष्मणभट्ट of भार-ह्मजगोत्र and तैत्तिरीयशाखा. 1478-1530 A. D. His pedigree is वल्ल-भारायण-गंगाधर-भणपतिभट्ट-वल्लभभट्ट-लक्ष्मणभट्ट (wife इल्लमा) वल्लभाचार्य; a. of संन्यासनिर्णय and com. संन्यासविवरण.

वल्लभाचार्य of the भारह्मजगोत्र; a. of जगद्गुह्यमा.

वल्लभाचार्य a. of भक्तिवर्णिनी.

वल्लभेन्द्र, pupil of बाह्यदेवेन्द्र; a. of प्रदीपपूजापद्धति, शिवपूजासंग्रह.

वसन्तराज, son of शिवराज and younger brother of विजयरज. Before 1150 A. D.; a. of अकु-नार्णव (composed at request of चन्द्रदेव of मिथिला).

वसिष्ठ a. of धनुर्वेदसंहिता.

वसिष्ठ reputed a. of नवग्रहमन्त्र.

वसिष्ठ a. of धर्मसूत्र. Sec. 9.

वागीश्वरीदत्त a. of com. on पारस्कर-यज्ञ.

वाचस्पति a. of तीर्थकल्पलता (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I, No. 166 p. 181), of कृत्यकल्पलता.

B. D. 93.

वाचस्पति a. of जन्ममरणविवेक or जननमरणविवेक (vide ms. No. 12774 of Baroda O. I. I.).

वाचस्पति a. of शुद्धिप्रभा.

वाचस्पति a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

वाचस्पति a. of कृष्णमण्डप.

वाचस्पति (गोह) m. in आर्यसागर by कुल्लुक.

वाचस्पतिनिब. Sec. 98; a. of आचार-चिन्तामणि, आह्निकचिन्तामणि, कृत्य-चिन्तामणि, तीर्थचि०, द्वैताचि०, नीति-चि०, विवादाचि०, व्यवहाराचि०, शुद्धिचि०, द्वायाचारचि०, आर्यचि०; a. of निधिनिरूप, द्वैतनिरूप, महा-दाननिरूप, विवादनिर्णय, शुद्धिनिरूप; a. of कृत्यमहार्णव गङ्गाभक्तिस-द्विणी (extracted from तीर्थचि०), गणाआर्यपद्धति, चन्दनपेठप्रमाण, दन-कविचि०, विनृभक्तिसद्विणी; a. of कृत्यप्रदीप (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. p. 67 No. 75).

वाज्जेश्वर son of नरसिंह, son of माधव; a. of दत्तचिन्तामणि, मलमासनिर्णय.

वाद(दि)भयङ्कर, a follower of विज्ञानेश्वर; 1080-1130 A. D.; m. in कल्पतरु, वीरमित्रोदय (p. 350).

वापल a. of सङ्गसूत्र and of 1 स्मृति.

वामदेव m. by हेमाद्रि as a निबन्धकार in चतुर्वर्ग III. I. 159.

वामदेव a. of आह्निकसंग्रह (composed for लालादत्त).

वामदेव a. of मुनिमतमणिमाला.

वामदेव उपाध्याय a. of गृह्यार्थदीपिका or स्मृतिदीपिका. (B. O. mss. cat. Vol. I No. 111 p. 104).

वासुदेवभट्टाचार्य a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

वासुदेव महामहोपाध्याय a. of भावदीपिका com. on ध्याद्विचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति.

वासुदेव a. of स्वादिरगुह्यकारिका.

वासुदेव a. of a पद्धति m. in ध्याद्विचिन्तामणि (टोडरानन्द).

वासुदेवभट्ट a. of बृहन्नान्दर.

वासुदेव, भाष्य of, m. in कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका of कृष्ण.

वासुदेवाय m. in आप. प. सू. I. 10-28, 2.

वाल्मीकि a writer on politics; m. in com. on नीतिवाक्यावृत.

वासुदेव a. of मल्लमासनिर्णयतन्त्रसार.

वासुदेव a. of com. on कीशिकशुद्ध. सूत्र m. in. टोडरानन्द.

वासुदेव a. of द्वापयुक्तस्वविषय.

वासुदेव a. of परीक्षापद्धति.

वासुदेव, son of ईजट; a. of शाङ्खायन-सूत्रसंग्रह. As ms. is dated अश्वत्थ 1428 (1371-2 A. D.), he is probably identical with the commentator of the पारस्करसूत्रसंग्रह.

वासुदेव a. of वास्तुप्रदीप.

वासुदेव, son of शिवसूरि, son of अम्बक surnamed महाजन; a. of com. on कुण्डलमन्त्रकृति. Between 1680-1760 A. D.

वासुदेव, son of आपदेव, of the रचित-पावन caste; a. of प्रयोगरत्नमाला or वासुदेवी.

वासुदेव, son of श्रीपति; a. of आधर्वा-न्यासप्रतिपादिका. Vide ms. No. 7603 (Baroda O. I.); mentions हेमाद्रि, वैशिकमीपद्धति.

वासुदेवदीक्षित Earlier than 1250 A. D.; a. of com. on पारस्करसूत्रसंग्रह and of a पद्धति thereon. He is m. by हरिहर and रघुनन्दन.

वासुदेवदीक्षित a. of शुद्धपद्धति.

वासुदेवभट्टाचार्य, son of रत्ननाथ; a. of आत्मिकावृत (for वैखानस school of वैष्णव).

वासुदेव रथ a. of स्मृतिप्रकाश.

वासुदेवाश्रम a. of और्ध्वदेहिकनिर्णय, यतिधर्मप्रकाश.

वासुदेवेन्द्र a. of आचारपद्धति.

वाहिनीपति a. of प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका or-प्रदीपिका.

विक्रमभट्ट a. of सुहार्दसार com. on शारदातिलक.

विखनम् (supposed to be) a. of वैखानसकल्प (including सुहृद् and धर्म प्रश्न).

विजयीन्द्रभिक्षु, pupil of सुरेन्द्र; a. of पञ्चसंस्कारदीपिका.

विज्ञानेश्वर. Sec. 70; a. of मिताक्षरा (com. on पाञ्च.), आशीच-दशक or दशश्लोकी.

विठ्ठल, son of नृसिंह, son of रामचन्द्र; a. of com. on वैष्णवति-हान्तदीपिका of रामचन्द्र.

विठ्ठल, son of केशव; a. of स्मृति-रत्नाकर.

विठ्ठल, son of बालकृष्ण, surnamed वैष्णव and resident of बीपुर; a. of com. on सुव्याख्या.

विठ्ठल, son of बृहदशर्म, of the कृष्ण-त्रिगोत्र; a. of कुण्डलमन्त्रपसिद्धि or कुण्डलपसिद्धि (composed in 1619-20 A. D.) and com. there-

- on and of *सहस्रतल्पद्रुम* (composed in 1628 A. D.) and com. मञ्जरी thereon.
- विह्वल a. of तुलापुरुषदानप्रयोग. Probably the same as above.
- विह्वल, son of महादेव; a. of प्रयोग-लाघव.
- विह्वलदीक्षित a. of पदपदी.
- विह्वलदीक्षित a. of समयप्रदीप.
- विह्वलाचार्य a. of आह्निक.
- विह्वलेश्वर or विह्वलदीक्षित, son of बल्लभाचार्य; born in 1515 A. D. Said to have been a. of आह्निकपद्धति, आग्रयणपद्धति, जन्माष्टमीनिर्णय, रामनवमीनिर्णय, com. on the संन्यासनिर्णय of बल्लभाचार्य, समयप्रदीप, यलुवंतुभा (of which आह्निकपद्धति seems to be a part) or कर्मसरणि, भक्तिमार्गमर्यादा, भक्तिहंस, भक्तिहेतुनिर्णय.
- विदुर a. of नीति (which is taken from the उद्योगपर्व of the महा-भारत chap. 33-40 of the Bombay edition).
- विद्याकर राजपेविन्द, son of शम्भुकर. Earlier than 1500 A. D.; a. of आचारपद्धति, नित्याचारपद्धति, आह्निककृत्य; m. in एकादशीतत्त्व (vol. II. pp. 68, 75), देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व (vol. II. p. 505), आह्निकतत्त्व (vol. I p. 355), मलमासतत्त्व (vol. I p. 74) speaks of विद्याकराह्निकतत्त्व, शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II. p. 312).
- विद्याधर a. of दायनिर्णय and हेमाद्रि-प्रयोग.
- विद्याधर m. in. स्ववतारावलीपतिवन्द्य.
- विद्यापीशसुनि a. of दिनत्रयनिर्णय.
- विद्यापीशस्वामिन्द m. in. स्मृत्यर्थसागर.
- विद्यानन्दाय a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.
- विद्यानिधि a. of उपोत्तिःसगरमार.
- विद्यानिधि a. of सम्बन्धदीपिका.
- विद्यानिवास a. of दोलारोहणपद्धति, द्वादशवाचाप्रयोग.
- विद्यापति, son of गणपति, son of जय-दत्त. Between 1375-1450 A. D. A voluminous and versatile writer; wrote in Maithili also and on moral tales (as in पुरुष-परिक्षा, भूपरिक्रमण); a. of गङ्गा वाक्यावली (under the patronage of महादेवी विश्वासदेवी queen of पद्मसिंह, son of शिवसिंह), गद्यापनलङ्का, दानवाक्यावली (under patronage of महादेवी धीरमती, queen of नर-सिंहदेव दर्पनारायण), दुर्गाभक्तिरत्निकी (probably his last work), वर्ष-कृत्य, विभागसार (under orders of दर्पनारायण, son of हरिसिंह son of भवेन्द्र), शैवसर्वस्वसार (composed at the bidding of queen विश्वासदेवी). Vide Ind. Ant. vol. XIV p. 182 and vol. XXVIII. p. 57. His वर्षकृत्य is m. in मलमासतत्त्व (vol. I, p. 823). He is m. in. श्री-नाथ's कृत्यतत्त्वावली and by गोविन्दा-नन्द. His पुरुषपरिक्षा (N. vol. V. 245) distinctly says that पद्मसिंह was the son of शिवसिंह (and not brother as some suppose on account of the words in the शैवसर्वस्वसार, N. vol. V. p. 1). Vide Journal of

the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, for 1927 vol. XVI, where there is an informing paper on विद्यापति.

विद्यापतिभट्ट a. of ग्रंथापनौदिक.

विद्यापतिरवामिन m. in स्मृत्यर्थसागर.

विद्यामाधव a. of सुहृत्तर्पण.

विद्यारत्न स्मार्तभट्टाचार्य a. of स्मृतिसार-  
स्यचरवा.

विद्यार्णव a. of जातारंष्टवादिनिर्णय  
(which seems to be purely  
astrological); vide N. (new  
series) vol. II, No. 69.

विनतानन्दन a. of द्वायायथाशुद्धव-  
प्रयोग.

विनायकपण्डित vide under नन्दपण्डित.

विश्वेन्द्राधम a. of पुरावरणचन्द्रिका.

विभाकर a. of आचारद्वैतनिर्णय or-विवेक  
composed by order of king  
शम्भुदेव कल्याणगण son of शैव  
(vide B. O. ms. cat. vol. I.  
No. 24, p. 21). About 1500  
A. D.

विराज m. in अपराक (p. 112).

विर्भिटीक m. as a writer on politics  
in com. on नीतिवाक्याशुत.

विजय m. in. हरिनाथ's स्मृतिसार.

विजयन्त a. of स्मृति; m. in स्मृति-  
चन्द्रिका and in आचारमयूर.

विशारद earlier than 1500 A. D.; m.  
in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द  
and by ग्युनन्दन in उन्दोमहोपासनी-  
तत्त्व (vol. II. p. 275) and  
शुद्धितत्त्व.

विशालास a writer on politics; m. in  
the कौटिलीय, महाभारत, by विश्वरूप  
on वाङ्. I. p. 190 (Tri. S.  
series).

विश्वकर्मन् son of दामोदर and हीर  
and grandson of भीम; a. of धर्म-  
विवेक. Between 1450-1525  
A. D.

विश्वकर्मन् a. of यतिवृद्धभा or संन्यास-  
पद्धति.

विश्वकर्मन् m. in com. on नीतिवाक्या-  
शुत as propounder of वास्तुशास्त्र;  
m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 825).

विश्वकर्मन् a. of विधानमाला.

विश्वदास a. of सुहृत्तराज.

विश्वनाथ, son of गोपाल; a. of अन्वेषि-  
पद्धति, अन्वेषिप्रयोग, com. on वि-  
श्वकौमी, और्ध्वदेहिककल्पवृद्धी and  
और्ध्वदेहिकक्रियापद्धति.

विश्वनाथ a. of क्रियापद्धति (probably  
the same as विश्वनाथ, son of  
गोपाल). It deals with the rites  
from death to सपिण्डीकरण in the  
case of the माधवादिनशाखा.

विश्वनाथ earlier than 1660 A. D.;  
a. of दुष्टिद्वयताप.

विश्वनाथ son of श्रीपति, surnamed  
द्विषेदिन्. Between 1450-1615  
A. D.; a. of कुण्डरलाकर.

विश्वनाथ a. of अक्षौचनिर्णय.

विश्वनाथ, son of भास्कर; a. of सिद्धा-  
न्तशेखर.

विश्वनाथ, son of शम्भुदेव; a. of रुद्र-  
पद्धति; probably the same as विश्व-  
नाथ, son of शम्भुनाथ below.

- विश्वनाथ, son of कृष्ण a Gurjara brāhṃṇ of नैधुवमोक्ष ; a. of द्वायामुपनिषद् ( ms. No. 12708 of Baroda O. I. ) ; mentions मामाभट्ट, दिनको-इशत, and श्रीसुभ, so later than 1680 A. D.
- विश्वनाथ, son of गोपाल ; a. of व्रतभाज or व्रतप्रकाश ( compiled at Benares in 1736 A. D. ).
- विश्वनाथ a. of आश्विनानन्दसंस्कृत-पद्धति.
- विश्वनाथ a. of स्मृतिभारसंग्रह.
- विश्वनाथ, son of रुग्मिह, son of आशपर ; a. of वृत्तमुद्रप्रकाशिका on पारस्करसूत्र. About 1550 A. D.
- विश्वनाथ, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of त्रिविक्रम ; a. of विश्वप्रकाशपद्धति ( आपस्तम्बीय ) composed in 1511 A. D.
- विश्वनाथ a. of तिथिविग्रह or तिथिनिर्णय-ग्रह.
- विश्वनाथ a. of तिथिनिर्णयसार ( probably the same as विश्वेश्वर. )
- विश्वनाथ, son of हारि ; a. of com. on विधानमाला.
- विश्वनाथ, son of शम्भुनाथ, son of मुकुन्द, son of पुरुषोत्तम. He was the younger brother of रामदेव ; a. of कुण्डकौमुदी or कुण्डमण्डप-कौमुदी, कुण्डविधान, गोत्रप्रवर्गनिर्णय ( composed in 1584 A. D. ) or रामदेवप्रताप.
- विश्वनाथ a. of गोत्रप्रवर्गनिर्णयवाक्युपा-र्णव or -वाक्यमुपार्णव. Same as above ; ms. No. 9375 ( Baroda O. I. ).
- विश्वनाथ a. of ज्ञातिविवेकसंग्रह.
- विश्वनाथ आचार्य a. of काशीमोक्षनिर्णय or काशीस्मृतिसंक्षेप.
- विश्वनाथ उवाचयाय a. of इतकनिर्णय.
- विश्वनाथकवि a. of प्रवर्गप्रकाश.
- विश्वनाथदीक्षित a. of उपनयनपद्धति.
- विश्वनाथ द्वयज, son of दिवाकर ; between 1612-1632 A. D. ; a. of महर्तमणि.
- विश्वनाथ न्यायप्रधान About 1630 A. D. ; a. of माततत्त्वविवेक or -विशार.
- विश्वनाथभट्ट a. of आश्वपद्धति.
- विश्वपतिभट्ट a. of आह्निक ( जौधायनीय ).
- विश्वभरविदेन्द्र a. of चक्रनागापञ्चीय-निबन्ध or स्मृतिमार्गोद्धार. About 1600-1650 A. D.
- विश्वभानुदीक्षित, son of महेश्वरभट्ट, surnamed शिंदे, a resident of बैराज (modern Wai) ; a. of आह्निकप्रयोगरत्नमाला. Mentions भट्टोजिदीक्षित. Later than 1650 A. D.
- विश्वम्भरशास्त्रिन m. in शूद्रकमलाकर.
- विश्वरूप, Sec. 60 ; a. of बालक्रीडा ( com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति ).
- विश्वरूप a. of विश्वरूपनिबन्ध and विश्वरूपमनुवच.
- विश्वरुपाचार्य a. of आश्वलिकापित्रय.
- विश्वस्वामिन् m. by पुरुषोत्तम in गोत्रप्रवर्ग-मञ्जरी.
- विश्वामित्र. Sec. 51 ; a. of स्मृति.
- विश्वामदेवी ( reputed ) a. of गङ्गा-वाक्यचली ( really composed by विद्यापति ).



विश्वेश a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

विश्वेश्वर a. of पद्धति on संन्यास ( probably the same as the next ).

विश्वेश्वर a. of गृहपतिधर्म.

विश्वेश्वर. Earlier than 1500 A. D. ; a. of निर्णयकौस्तुभ.

विश्वेश्वर a. of स्तुतिसमुच्चय ( B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 445 p. 521 ).

विश्वेश्वर, son of लक्ष्मीधर. Later than 1650 A. D. ; a. of com. on आशीचीपदशास्त्रोक्त.

विश्वेश्वर, son of रामेश्वर, son of गङ्गाराम, of शाण्डिल्यगोत्र, sur-named महाशब्द ; a. of प्रतापार्क ( by order of king प्रताप, grand-son of जयसिंह ). About 1750.

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट a. of अष्टावक्र or दानसार.

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट a. of आपस्तम्बपद्धति.

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट a. of कुण्डसिद्धि.

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट, alias शागाभट्ट, son of दिनकर, son of रामकृष्ण. About 1620-1685 A. D. ; a. of आपस्तम्ब-पद्धति, आशीचदीपिका, कापरवधर्म-दीप or प्रकाश or कापरवधर्म-पद्धति, मुल्लादानप्रयोग, दिनकरोद्घोत ( on आचार, आशीच, काल, दान, पूर्ण, प्रतिष्ठा, प्रायश्चित्त, व्यवहार, वर्षकृत्य, व्रत, छद्म, आश्रम and संस्कार ), पिण्ड-पितृपूजाप्रयोग, प्रयोगसार, सुज्ञानदुर्गो-दय, समयमय, सारिण्यविचार. Be- sides he composed on पुरेमीमांसा the मीमांसाकुसुमाञ्जलि, शिवाकौदय and आशुचिन्तामणि and ( on अल-क्षुरसाह ) राकायम ( a com. on

the चन्द्रालोक ). He officiated at the coronation of the great Shivaji in 1674 A. D. Ms. No. 9670 ( Baroda O. I. ) shows that the कापरवधर्मदीप was com- piled in शके 1599 ( 1677 A. D. ).

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट, son of वेदिभट्ट, patroni- sed by मदनपाल. Sec. 93 ; a. of सुबोधिनी ( com. on the मितालरा of विज्ञानेश्वर ), मदनपारिजात, महा- र्णवकर्मविपाक, स्तुतिकौस्तुबी, महादान-पद्धति and ( probably ) तिथिनिर्णय-सार.

विश्वेश्वर सरस्वती, pupil of सर्वज्ञ-विश्वेश ; a. of कलिदुर्गधर्मसार or कलिधर्मसारसंग्रह, परमहंसपरिवाजक-धर्मसंग्रह or यतिधर्मसंग्रह or यति-धर्मप्रकाश or यतिधर्मसमुच्चय, यति-संस्कारप्रयोग ( from दाय्याचारसंग्रह ) ; earlier than 1600 A. D.

विष्णु a. of आश्वलायनप्रयोगवृत्ति.

विष्णु a. of कुण्डमरीचिमाला.

विष्णु a. of आह्निकपद्धति, composed in 1559 ( शके ? ) मार्गशीर्षसित ११ हुरी ( B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 35 p. 34 ).

विष्णु ( गृहस्वामिन् ) ; a. of com. on आश्वलायनदश.

विष्णुतीर्थ a. of संन्यासविधि.

विष्णुदत्त a. of आश्वलायिकार.

विष्णुदत्त a. of छान्दिदीपिकाप्रकाश.

विष्णुपण्डित a. of गोत्रप्रवरदीप.

विष्णुपुरी a. of भगवद्भक्तिरत्नावली and com. कश्मिमाला ( composed in 1634 A. D. ), हरिभक्तिकल्पलता.

विष्णुभट्ट ( मन्निहोषिन् ) ; a. of मोमिल-  
यज्ञपद्धति and विवाहकर्मन्.

विष्णुभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण, sur-  
named आठबले. Earlier than  
1780 A. D. ; a. of पुरुषार्थचिन्ता-  
मणि.

विष्णुभट्ट. Same as above ; a. of  
प्रदोषनिर्णय ( from पुरुषार्थचिन्ता-  
मणि ).

विष्णुभट्ट, son of केशवभट्ट, of विदुर-  
नगर ; a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर.

विष्णुराम सिद्धान्तवागीश, son of जयदेव  
विद्यावागीश ; a. of प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्वादर्श  
( com. on प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघु०  
and आश्रिततत्त्वादर्श ( com. on  
आश्रिततत्त्व of रघु० ).

विष्णुशर्मदीक्षित a. of संस्कारप्रदीपिका.

विष्णुशर्मन् m. as a writer on  
politics in the com. on नीति-  
वाक्यावृत.

विष्णुशर्मन्, a. of कीर्तिप्रकाश ( for  
king कीर्तिसिंह, son of कनकसिंह )  
parts of which are सनपप्रकाश  
etc.

विष्णुशर्मन् a. of निर्णयचिन्तामणि  
( composed at the instance of  
श्रीराजनालमदास, son of विदुर, a  
वैश्य ).

विष्णुशर्मन्, son of यज्ञदत्त ; a. of  
आश्रितनमहोदधि, आश्रितभास्कर.

विष्णुशर्मन्, son of देवदत्त ; a. of लघु-  
कारिका ( for माध्यमिद्वयशास्त्रा ).  
Earlier than 1450 A. D. He was  
माध्यमिनीय and yet dwelt in

Gauḍa. He bows to श्रीपराचार्य  
and वसिष्ठ and relies on पारस्कर  
and याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति. Later than  
1200 A. D.

विष्णुशर्मन् a. of स्मृतिसरोजकालिका.

विष्णुशर्ममिश्र a. of कर्मकौमुदी and  
महाराष्ट्रपद्धति.

वीथि ( वि ) नाथ of the कौशिकगोत्र ; a.  
of अष्टपञ्चपट्टि.

वीरराघव of वसिष्ठगोत्र ; a. of अष्टनिर्णय.

वीरराघव a. of प्रयोगचन्द्रिका, प्रयोग-  
दर्पण, प्रयोगतिलक, प्रयोगमुक्तावलि.

वीरराघव of नैधुवगोत्र ; a. of सत्यचरित्र-  
सुधानिधि.

वीरराघव of बापूलगोत्र ; a. of सत्यचरित्र-  
परिचरण.

वीरसिंह, son of देवशर्मन्, son of  
कमलसिंह of the तोमर race ; ( re-  
puted ) a. of वीरसिंहाचलकोक  
( composed in 1383 A. D. ).  
Aufrecht ( I. p. 595 ) is wrong  
in ascribing दुर्गाभक्तिरत्निणी to  
this वीरसिंह. That वीरसिंह was  
नरसिंहदेव of मिथिला of the कामे-  
श्वर dynasty. D. C. ms. 85 of  
1869-70 is dated संवत् 1572  
( 1515 A. D. ).

वीरेश्वर m. in छन्दोगहोतासर्गतत्त्व ( vol.  
II, p. 542 ), संस्कारतत्त्व ( vol.  
I. pp. 867, 900 ) of रघुनन्दन.

वीरेश्वर, son of देवादिन्य ; a. of साम-  
वेदीयदशकर्मवृत्ति. About 1300  
A. D.

परिव्रज, son of हरिवर्णित at पुणवस्तम्भ (modern Puntāmbē) on the गोदावरी; a. of आश्विनशरीटीका (composed in 1598 A. D.).

परिव्रज a. of आशीचनिर्णय.

परिव्रजभट्ट गोडघोले; a. of लघुचिन्तामणि.

रुद्रकाव्यायन m. in द्वापभाग, सरस्वती-चिन्तास (p. 320).

रुद्रगर्ग m. in अञ्जितसागर, हेमाद्रि (व्रतखण्ड), आश्विनशरी.

रुद्रगर्ग (reputed) a. of उत्पत्तेशमन्त्र.

रुद्रगर्ग m. by विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. I. 195, in अपराक (p. 880), कालमाधव (p. 326), संस्कारमण्डल, आश्विनशरी.

रुद्रगौतम m. by अपराक (p. 550) हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड), समर्थमण्डल.

रुद्रनाणक्य.

रुद्रनारदीय m. in प्रतापनारसिंह.

रुद्रपराशर m. by अपराक (p. 1235), पराशरमाधवीय (vol. I. part I, pp. 230), आश्विनशरी.

रुद्रप्रचेतन m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 265), अपराक (pp. 888, 897, 1090).

रुद्रउद्वसति m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 261), अपराक (pp. 602-603).

रुद्रवीर्यायन m. in हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 410).

रुद्रमन्त्र m. in मिताक्षरा and विश्वरूप (on याज्ञ. I. 60).

रुद्रयम.

रुद्रयाज्ञवल्क्य m. by विश्वरूप (on याज्ञ. I. 4-5), मिताक्षरा, अपराक (p. 33).

रुद्रचरित्र m. in विश्वरूप (on याज्ञ. I. 19), हरदत्त on गो. ध. सू. (23. 20), हेमाद्रि, सरस्वतीचिन्तास p. 467, अपराक (pp. 198, 420, 446).

रुद्रविष्णु m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 267).

रुद्रव्यास m. by रघुनन्दन, अपराक p. 751.

रुद्रशङ्ख m. in स्मृतिसिद्धिका, हेमाद्रि.

रुद्रशातातप m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. I. 221), द्वापभाग, व्यवहारमातृका of श्रीमत्वाहन, स्मृतिसिद्धिका, हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड); pr. in Anan. Sm. pp. 232-235.

रुद्रशौनक.

रुद्रहारीत m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 254), अपराक (pp. 1072, 1107).

रुद्राक्षिरम्.

रुद्राक्षि m. by हरदत्त.

रुद्रापस्तम्ब m. in the ब्राह्मणतर्कम् of इलायुध.

रुद्रावन a. of रुद्रावनवृद्धि.

रुद्रावन a. of रुद्रसिद्धयुगावृद्धि.

रुद्रावनशुक्र a. of तीर्थसेतु, of com. on दत्तकमीमांसा, of com. on द्वापतत्त्व, प्रतिष्ठाकल्पलता, of com. on मन्त्रमासतरव.

वेगराज a. of वेगराजसंहिता (composed in 1503 A. D.).

वेङ्कटनाथ a. of सत्यविरतरक्षा.

वेङ्कटनाथ a. of वज्रपादपरिवेक.

वेङ्कटनाथ a. of सत्त्ववितरक्षा.

वेङ्कटयज्ज्वन् a. of सदाचारसंग्रह.

वेङ्कटयज्ज्वन् a. of कालावृत्त and com.  
उज्ज्वला.

वेङ्कटयोगिन्, son of ओषधपाचार्य; a.  
of वैखानससूत्रादिक्रमदीपिका.

वेङ्कटराय a. of सर्वपुराणार्थसंग्रह.

वेङ्कटविजयिन् a. of कर्मप्रायश्चित्त.

वेङ्कटाचार्य, son of शतक्रतुताताचार्य;  
a. of आचार्ययुगादर्श.

वेङ्कटाचार्य a. of प्रणवदर्पण.

वेङ्कटाचार्य a. of संख्याभाष्य.

वेङ्कटाचार्य or वेङ्कटेश, son of रत्ननाथ  
of the हारीतयोग. Later than  
1200 A. D.; a. of com. on  
आशौचदशक, of आशौचशतक or  
अपनिर्णय and com. thereon,  
of स्मृतिरत्नाकर, दशनिर्णय, दर्श-  
निर्णय and शृङ्गारल and its com.  
विद्वधकण्ठध्वज, of पितृमेपसार and  
its com.

वेङ्कटाचार्य a. of स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्त-  
विनिर्णय.

वेङ्कटाग्रि a. of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ.

वेङ्कटाग्रि रायस a. of आशौचनिर्णय or  
स्मृतिकौस्तुभ or स्मृतिसारसर्वस्व.

वेङ्कटेश a. of आशौचसंग्रह.

वेङ्कटेश a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

वेङ्कटेश a. of स्मृतिसारनर्वस्व or  
आशौचनिर्णय.

वेङ्कटेश a. of स्मृतिसंग्रह.

वेङ्कटेश a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह; possibly  
the same as above.

H. D. 94.

वेङ्कटेशभट्ट a. of सुहृत्चिन्तामणि.

वेङ्कटेश वाजपेयिन् of वनसोत्र. Earlier  
than 1580 A. D.; a. of com.  
on प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी.

वेङ्कटराम a. of स्मृतिरत्नावलि.

वेङ्कटेश a. of औदीच्यप्रकाश.

वेङ्कटेश a. of com. on तत्त्वमुक्तावली  
of नन्दपण्डित.

वेङ्कटराम शाकदीपिन् a. of जातिसाङ्ख्य-  
वाद, मांसभक्षणदीपिका.

वेङ्कटभट्ट (reputed) a. of नीतिप्रदीप.

वेङ्कटभट्टभट्ट a. of वैष्णवप्रक्रिया.

वेङ्कटेश, son of विश्वरूपदीक्षित.  
Earlier than 1500 A. D.; a. of  
com. प्रकाश on पारस्करब्रह्म and of  
वासिष्ठी (a. com. on astrological  
वासिष्ठस्मृति), which is also  
called शान्तिभाष्य.

वेङ्कटराय (formerly called मालजित)  
son of तिलकभट्ट or त्र्यम्बकभट्ट, son  
of रत्नभट्ट of सीरपल in Gujerat.  
About 1643 A. D.; a. of आशौच-  
चन्द्रिका, महारूपपञ्चति or कर्त्तव्य-  
मञ्जरी, आशुदीपिका.

वेङ्कटाचार्य (between 1250-1500 A.  
D.); a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर (written  
under the patronage of the king  
of कामरूप).

वेङ्कटदास (शान्त्य) a. of वृत्तरत्न-  
दीपिका.

वेङ्कटदेशिक a. of हरिदिनतिलक. Later  
than 1400 A. D.

वेङ्कटरामभट्ट तातदास a. of संप्राप्ति-  
साधनचन्द्रिका and आशौचनिर्णय.

वेङ्कटदासभट्टाचार्य a. of हरितोषण.

वेङ्कटनाथचार्य a. of सुप्रपरिचित.

वेत्तानस (reputed) a. of सुप्रसूत and धर्मप्रज्ञ.

वेदिकसार्वभौम the same as वेङ्कटाचार्य or वेङ्कटेश, son of रत्नाथ.

वेदिकसार्वभौम an epithet applied to several scholars e. g. सुधीविलो-  
लोचन is ascribed to a वेदिकसार्व-  
भौम, so also प्रयोगदर्पण, स्मृति-  
चन्द्रिका.

वेद्यनाथ a. of धर्मकारचिन्तामणि (of  
which तिथिनिर्णय is a part). D.  
C. ms. No. 112 of 1895-1902  
was copied in संवत् 1719  
(1662-63 A. D.).

वेद्यनाथ a. of दत्तविधि.

वेद्यनाथ, son of दिवाकर, son of महा-  
देव. About 1675 A. D.; a. of अनु-  
क्रमणीs to several works of  
his father, such as आचारार्क,  
तिथ्यर्क, दानडीरावलि, प्रायश्चित्तसूका-  
वली, आश्वचन्द्रिका (all parts of  
दिवाकर's धर्मशास्त्रप्रधानिधि).

वेद्यनाथ a. of कालनिरूपण, विवाह-  
निरूपण.

वेद्यनाथ a. of उपाकर्मपद्धति (कान्या-  
यनीय).

वेद्यनाथ a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

वेद्यनाथ, son of महादेव पायगुड and  
वेणी and pupil of नागोजिभट्ट and  
father of बालभट्ट Sec. 111.  
Aufrecht (I. p. 612) is wrong  
in identifying वेद्यनाथ with बालभट्ट  
(who was really वेद्यनाथ's son);  
a. of com. on पराक्षरस्मृति.

वेद्यनाथ, son of रामचन्द्र तत्त्वतः, son  
of विठ्ठल; a. of अग्निहोत्रमन्त्रार्थ-  
चन्द्रिका and of com. on काल-  
माश्वकृतिका. He composed his  
उदाहरणचन्द्रिका in 1683 A. D.

वेद्यनाथ, son of रत्नेश्वर, son of केशव;  
a. of संस्थापद्धति.

वेद्यनाथ a. of आर्षचन्द्रिका.

वेद्यनाथदीक्षित About 1600 A. D.; a.  
of स्मृतिमुक्ताफल (parts of which  
are आद्रिक, दायभाग, संस्कार etc.),  
दशाहविवाह.

वेद्यनाथदीक्षित a. of प्रक्रियाजनटीका.

वेद्यनाथदीक्षित a. of वर्णसारमणि, वर्णा-  
श्रमधर्म (both are probably iden-  
tical).

वेद्याग्रपाद or वेद्याग्रपद a. of a स्मृति;  
m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III.  
17), अवतारक p. 41.

वेशम्पायन (reputed) a. of नीति-  
प्रकाशिका.

वेशम्पायन a. of a स्मृति; m. in मिता-  
क्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 326).

वेषदेव, son of केशव, and pupil of  
घटेज and protégé of हेमाद्रि;  
vide under वीरदेव.

वेषदेव a. of आशीचसंग्रह or त्रिश-  
ष्टिकी.

वेङ्कटेश a. of हरिवासरनिर्णय.

व्याघ्र see under वेद्याग्रपाद; m. by  
मिना<sup>०</sup>, अवतारक (pp. 132, 133, 145,  
521, 524, 1144, 1202), स्मृति-  
चन्द्रिका, हरदत्त on मौ. घ. सू.  
(23. 11). D. C. mss. No. 163  
of 1884-86 contains a व्याघ्र-

स्मृति in 388 verses on daily duties such as स्नान, तिलक, आभ्रमन, ब्रह्मयज्ञ, तपण, अतिथिपूजा, संध्याचन्दन and आहु &c. A ms. in the Bhadkamkar collection has an incomplete text in 260 verses.

व्याघ्रकण्ठ m. as स्मृतिकार (distinct from व्याघ्रपाद्) in नित्याचारप्रदीप (p. 20).

व्याघ्रपाद् or -पाद्. Probably same as व्याघ्र; m. by मिताक्षरा (on पात्र. III. 30), अपराध (pp. 112, 467, 892).

व्यास a. of स्मृति Sec. 52.

व्यास a. of सङ्गसंहिता.

व्यास a. of तीर्थवरिवाचा.

व्यास, pupil of सतिह; a. of सत्याभ्यास.

व्यासदेव a. of दापभागनिर्णयविशेष or -निर्णय.

व्रजनाथ विचारालय a. of दनदायप्रकाश.

व्रजराज a. of आश्रित (पुटिमार्गीय for followers of बह्मभाचार्य).

व्रजराज a. of संवत्सरोत्सवकल्पलता, संवत्सरकल्पलता. He was a devotee of विठ्ठलेश son of बह्मभाचार्य; probably same as the preceding.

व्रजराजशुद्ध a. of दानमञ्जरी, नीति-विलास.

शङ्कर, son of बह्मभट्ट, surnamed घारे of the चित्तदायन subcaste; a. of वायवीपुराश्चरण, तीर्थकीर्तनी, तीर्थयापन-कीर्तनी and व्रतोत्थापनकीर्तनी ( com-

posed in 1753 A. D. ), देवस्थापन-कीर्तनी, कृष्णानुष्ठानपद्धति (referred to in व्रतो).

शङ्कर a. of सदाचाराविचरण.

शङ्कर a. of वास्तुशिरोमणि (at the bidding of स्वामसाह, son of मान-मरेन्द्र).

शङ्कर a. of कुरुक्षेत्ररत्नाकर.

शङ्कर, son of रत्नाकर, of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र; a. of आश्वपद्धति.

शङ्कर a. of प्रतिष्ठाकीर्तनी and प्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

शङ्कर ताम्रिक a. of गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी; probably same as the preceding. Vide ms. No. 7659 (Baroda O. I.). Mentions ज्योतिर्निबन्ध and प्रघ्नवीपिका.

शङ्कर देवज्ञ, son of शिव; a. of गोत्र-प्रवरमञ्जरीसारोद्धार.

शङ्कर देवज्ञ a. of शांलग्रामपरीक्षा.

शङ्करपरिहृत a. of मतोद्धार.

शङ्करभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट; flourished between 1540-1600 A. D.; a. of द्वैतनिर्णय or धर्मद्वैतनिर्णय, निर्णयचन्द्रिका, धर्मप्रकाश or सर्वधर्म-प्रकाश, आश्वकल्पसार and its com. (Stein's cat. p. 316).

शङ्करभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठभट्ट, son of शङ्करभट्ट. Flourished between 1620-1680 A. D.; a. of कर्म-विपाक, कुण्डार्क, कुण्डभास्कर or कुण्डोद्दयोतद्दीप्त (composed in 1671 A. D.), व्रतार्थ, संस्कारमण्डप (of his father was revised by him), सदाचारसंग्रह (of which एकादशीनिर्णय is a part).

शङ्करमिश्र a. of स्मृतिसुपाकर. Vide शङ्करशर्मन् or ओझाशङ्कर below.

शङ्करमिश्र, son of भवनाथ. He was probably the शङ्करमिश्र, who was a *guru* of वर्धमान. If so he flourished about 1450-1475 A. D.; a. of उन्दोगाह्निकोद्धार, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप, आह्निकप्रदीप. Aufrecht (I. 625) assigns आह्निकप्रदीप to him, but it is a work of दयाशङ्कर.

शङ्करशर्मन् a. of समुद्रसूक्तन्यायिपद्धति.

शङ्करशर्मन् or ओझाशङ्कर, son of सुपाकर, son of शुचिपर; a. of ग्रन्थविधानधर्मकुण्ड, स्मृतिसुपाकर, of वर्षकृत्यनिघण्टु (composed in गतकलि 4678).

शङ्कराचार्य a. of संन्यासकर्मन्, संन्यासपद्धति and सप्तमहाभ्यासिक, पञ्चमाश्रमविधि, परमहंससंन्यासपासन, सदाचारप्रकरण.

शङ्करानन्द a. of पञ्चमुद्रानपद्धति.

शङ्करानन्द a. of सर्वपुराणसार.

शङ्करार्य a. of पञ्चिका जयमङ्गला on कामन्दकीयनीतिसार.

शङ्क Vide sec. 12.

शङ्क a. of स्मृति. Vide N. vol. I. p. 34 for a ms. of शङ्कस्मृति (in 6 अध्याय).

शङ्कधर. Earlier than 1050 A. D.; m. by कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन (pp. 139, 306), by हारलता (p. 117), by हेमाद्रि (III. 1 p. 412 and III. 2. 479, 594, 610), by आह्निकविवेक of शुलपानि, in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व (p. 498).

शङ्कल्लिखित Vide sec. 12.

शङ्ककोपदास a. of com. on आशौचनिर्णय of वैदिकनार्वभौम.

शतक्रतु a. of स्मृति; m. in मदनपारिजात.

शतानन्द a. of रत्नमाला (m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व vol. I. p. 596) and a शतानन्दसंग्रह (m. in the कालसार of गदाधर).

शत्रुघ्न a. of संन्यासभाष्य.

शम्भराचार्य m. by निर्णयसिन्धु (on आशौच).

शम्भु Between 900 and 1100 A. D.; m. in the स्मृत्यर्थसार, in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका as a स्मृतिसमुच्चयपर along with श्रीकर and देवस्वामिन् and by हेमाद्रि as refuting मेधातिथि (III. 1. p. 1148). Aufrecht ascribes the कामधेनु to him. But this is wrong. Vide p. 295 above.

शम्भुदास a. of सारसंग्रह.

शम्भुनाथमिश्र a. of कालभास्कर.

शम्भुनाथ सिद्धान्तवागीश pandit at the court of कामरूप prince; a. of अकालभास्कर (composed in 1715 A. D.), दिनभास्कर, दुर्गोत्सवकृत्य-कौमुदी, देवीपूजनभास्कर, वर्षभास्कर (composed by order of king धर्मदेव), सङ्केतकौमुदी.

शम्भुनाथार्य a. of सङ्केतकौमुदी. Probably the same as the preceding.

शम्भुभट्ट कविमण्डन or सदाशिव, son of बालकृष्ण and pupil of स्वर्णदेव; (he wrote his com. on भाट्टदीपिका in 1708 A. D.); a. of



- कालतत्त्वविशेषनसारसंग्रह, विशाखोकी-  
विचरणसारोद्धार, वाक्यतत्त्वप्रयोग. In  
his com. on विशाखोकी he men-  
tions निर्णयसिन्धु and स्मृतिकौस्तुभ  
(vide No. 12589 of Baroda  
O. I.).
- शम्भुराज (He was Sambhaji, son of  
Shivaji, the great Maratha king  
and ruled from 1680-1689);  
(reputed) a. of बृहत्सुत्र.
- शम्भुराज (a Tanjore prince); a.  
of नीतिमञ्जरी (of which दण्ड-  
नीतिप्रकरण is a part).
- शरभोजी (king of Tanjore, 1798-  
1833 A. D.); a. of व्यवहारप्रकाश,  
व्यवहारार्थस्मृतिसारसमुच्चय (pro-  
bably same as preceding).
- शाकटायन m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि,  
निर्णयसिन्धु, आद्यमण्ड.
- शाकल m. in व्यवहारमण्ड, दत्तक-  
मीमांसा.
- शाकलाचार्य a. of बहुचरुहकारिका or  
बहुचरुहकर्मप्रयोगकारिका.
- शाङ्खायन a. of गृह्यसूत्र.
- शाटघायन m. in कालविवेक of जीवत-  
वाहन (p. 303), हेमाद्रि, आचार-  
मण्ड.
- शाटघायनि (probably same as above)  
m. in अपराक (pp. 423, 424, 462,  
540), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि, माधवा-  
चार्य, मदनपारिजात.
- शाण्डिल्य a. of सूत्र (m. by रुद्रदत्त  
on आप. श्रौ. सू. 9. 11. 21) and  
of स्मृति m. by हरदत्त on गौ. ध.
- शु. 23. 19, by मिताक्षरा on याज्ञ-  
III. 280, by स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (on  
आशौच p. 190).
- शातातप Sec. 28
- शामजित त्रिपाठिन a. of नित्यदानादि-  
पद्धति.
- शार्ङ्गधर a. of विवाहपटल m. in निर्णय-  
सिन्धु.
- शार्ङ्गधर a. of धनुर्वेदसंग्रह or वीर-  
चिन्तामणि.
- शालङ्कायन m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (on  
आशौच p. 190), m. in आद्यमण्ड.
- शाश्वतेन्द्रसरस्वती a. of परमहंसधर्म-  
निरूपण.
- शिक्षप, son of मध्वनाचार्य, a. of संस्कार-  
पद्धति.
- शिक्षाभट्ट a. of आपस्तम्बपूर्वप्रयोगपद्धति.
- शिरोमणिभट्ट (a दाक्षिणात्य); a. of  
आह्निकरत्न, अग्नेर्वाह्निक and सुहर्त-  
रत्न.
- शिव, son of विश्वकर्मेन्द्र; a. of राज्या-  
भियेकपद्धति.
- शिव, son of मोघिन्द, of the चतुर्धर  
family, originally from कर्पूरग्राम  
(modern Kopergaon) on the  
Godavari; a. of धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश  
(composed at Benares in 1776  
A. D.).
- शिव a. of संकृतकौमुदी.
- शिवदत्त, son of सूर्यदास; a. of com.  
on समरसार.
- शिवदत्त m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 2. p.  
594) and by रघुनन्दन.

शिवदत्त, son of उमादत्त of the ली-  
आलवंश ; a. of स्मृतितत्त्वसार.

शिवदत्तशर्मन a. of गजपतिरसोदय.

शिवदास a. of com. on आशीचतत्त्व of  
महादेव.

शिवदास, son of सूर्यदास ; a. of com.  
on समरसार.

शिव देवत, son of श्रीकृष्ण देवत of the  
भारद्वाजगोत्र ; a. of सुहृत्चन्द्रामणि.

शिवनन्दन a. of सिद्धान्ततिथिनिर्णय or  
तिथिनिर्णयतत्त्व.

शिवनन्दननाथ a. of तिथिनिर्णयतत्त्व  
(probably same as the preceding).

शिवनारायणानन्दतीर्थ a. of वसुकोश-  
पात्र.

शिवप्रसाद a. of प्रयोगवदीप or प्रयोग-  
सार.

शिवप्रसाद, son of श्रीनिवास of पुष्करपुर ;  
a. of म्मातोद्गम. Ms. No. 11958  
(Baroda O. I.) was copied in  
1610 (खगोलपत्रिते शके) and the  
work mentions मदननन्द and दण्ड-  
रानन्द and so was composed  
between 1585-1685 A. D.

शिवभट्ट a. of आर्यनिर्णय.

शिवभट्ट, son of गोविन्दपुरि (pos-  
sibly same as above). Later  
than 1650 A. D. ; a. of वृणवति-  
आर्यनिर्णय.

शिवनाथ, son of विश्वाम of the Modha  
caste ; a. of सुयोधनीपद्धति and  
कारिकार्थबोधिनी com. on the  
गोभिलकृतसूत्र, नवग्रहशक्तिपद्धति, of  
com. on कर्मवदीप, छन्दोभाष्यादिक,  
शान्तिचिन्तामणि, आर्यचिन्तामणि,  
रुद्रचिन्तामणि, of मण्डपकुण्डमण्डन  
and com. प्रकाशिका.

शिवराम a. of वायवीयध्वज.

शिवराम a. of दर्शनाद्वययोग.

शिवराम a. of मन्त्रसारसंग्रह.

शिवराम a. of आरामोत्सर्गपद्धति, आह्निक-  
पद्धति and आह्निकसंश्लेष, रुद्रार्चन-  
चन्द्रिका.

शिवरामशुक्ल, son of विश्वाम ; a. of कृष्ण-  
चिन्तामणि composed in 1578  
A. D. He is probably the  
same as above. B. O. mss.  
cat. vol. I. No. 72 pp. 64-65  
gives 1562 शके (कक्षतुल्यशतैश्च  
निते शके तु पत्रे सुव्यक्तमिति etc.)  
as date of copying.

शिवदास शुक्ल (शुक्ल ?) ; a. of जाति-  
मातृव.

शिवशङ्कर a. of विष्णुपूजाक्रमदीपिका.

शिवस्वामिन् Earlier than 1150 A. D.†  
m. in मद्. पा. ( p. 619 ), in  
कालादर्श, स्मृतिच० ( on आशीच p.  
175 ), परा. मा. ( I. part 2 p.  
148 ).

शिवशुरि महाजन, son of उपम्बक ; a. of  
कुण्डमण्डपहोमदी and com. कुण्डा-  
लोक. Later than 1680 A. D.

शिवानन्द a. of उपवयनचिन्तामणि.

शिवानन्द, son of तारापति ठाकुर ; a.  
of निर्णयदर्पण.

शिवानन्दगोस्वामिन् a. of लक्ष्मीनारा-  
यणार्चाहोमदी

शिवानन्दभट्टगोस्वामिन् a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

शिवोपाध्याय a. of शिवरात्रिनिर्णय.

शीतलदीपिन a. of सुहृत्चन्द्रामणि.

शुकदेव a. of विष्णुपूजाविधि. About  
1635 A. D.

- कदेवमिश्र, son of विट्ठलमिश्र ; a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.
- कुक्राचार्य a. of नीतिसार.
- कुलेश्वरनाथ ( probably ईश्वरनाथशुक्ल ); a. of स्मृतिकल्पद्रुम and com.
- कुनःपुण्ड a. of स्मृति ; m. in मिताक्षरा ( on पाञ्च. III. 16 ), अपरांक pp. 887, 902.
- कुनःशेष m. in हेमाद्रि and प्रायश्चित्त-मण्ड.
- कुम्हार a. of तिथिनिर्णय ( one ms. in B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 1530 p. 163 is dated शके 1679 ).
- कुम्हार m. in वितृम्भिक of श्रीधर.
- कुलपाणि Sec. 95 ; a. of दीपकलिका ( com. on राजबन्धनस्मृति ), of वरि-शिष्टदीपकलिका, स्मृतिविवेक ( a digest of which at least 14 parts are known, vide p. 394 ). Aufrecht ( L. 660 ) ascribes the रामयप्रदीप to him, but this is not correct. Ms. No. 10849 प्रायश्चित्त-विवेक ( Baroda O. I. ) was copied in संवत् 1501 माघ ( Feb. 1445 A. D. ).
- कुशाचार्य a. of अणुद्वाराय.
- कुलक ( numerous works are attributed to him ; the same कुलक cannot be the author of all ) ; a. of अर्कविवाहपद्धति, अम्बोधोपासनपद्धति, अधोमुखजननशान्ति, एकदशहोम-न्यासांशधि, अद्भुतोत्पत्तिशान्ति, अना-कृतशान्ति, अपसृत्युजवशान्ति, जीव-वृक्षारूपयोग, कारिकावली, of यज्ञ and यज्ञपरिशिष्ट, of a धर्मशास्त्र work ( in which प्रयोगपरिजात is mentioned ), of वृद्धकारिका, of a स्मृति, of गर्भाधानादिषोडशकर्म-पद्धति, नागबलि, पुत्रप्रीतिग्रहप्रयोग, प्रणवकल्प, मूलनक्षत्रशान्तिप्रयोग, सं-न्यासग्रहणपद्धति.
- कौरिन्द, son of रामभद्र ; a. of वागवती-तीर्थयात्राप्रकाश.
- रामसुन्दर, son of गङ्गाधर ; a. of देश-प्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग, समावर्तनप्रयोग.
- रामसुन्दरभट्टाचार्य a. of आशीषदीपिका.
- क्रीकण्ठ a. of मुहूर्तमुक्तावली.
- क्रीकण्ठ Earlier than 1150 A. D. ; m. in स्वयंवर्यसार of श्रीधर, डोण्डू's आर्य-विधि and by रघुनन्दन.
- क्रीकण्ठ a. of प्रयोगमञ्जरीसंहिता.
- क्रीकण्ठतर्पि, pupil of महादेवतर्पि ; a. of मिश्रतत्त्व.
- क्रीकण्ठशर्मन a. of शास्त्रिसार.
- क्रीकण्ठापन a. of चातुराश्रमधर्म.
- क्रीकर Sec. 62. .
- क्रीकराचार्य, father of श्रीनाथ आचार्य-चूडामणि. About 1475-1500 A. D. ; a. of दायनिर्णय, विवादनिर्णय ( of which दायनिर्णय seems to be part ). Seems to have been connected with आर्यविवेकटीका also.
- क्रीकण्ठ a. of com. on आर्यविवेक of कुलपाणि.
- क्रीकण्ठ a. of स्मृतिवार.
- क्रीकण्ठ तर्कानन्दर a. of दायक्रमसंग्रह, and of com. on दायभाग. About the middle of the 18th century.

श्रीकृष्णभट्टाचार्य, son of नारायणधन्य-  
घटीय; a. of संयन्त्रप्रयोगसार.

श्रीकृष्णविद्यावासीश a. of ज्ञानिकल्प-  
प्रदीप or कल्याणप्रदीपिका.

श्रीगर्भ a. of सूत्राद्विकावार. Earlier  
than 1540 A. D.

श्रीदत्त Sec. 89. Between 1275-1310  
A. D.; a. of आचारादर्श, छन्दोमा-  
लिक, पितृभक्ति (for students of  
यजुर्वेद), शास्त्रनिर्णय, आश्वकल्प (for  
students of सामवेद), सम्यग्प्रदीप,  
व्रतसार. Vide N. vol. III p. 34  
and vol. II p. 363 for आश्वकल्प  
and N. vol. V p. 250 for पितृ-  
भक्ति. Aufrecht (I p. 668) is  
wrong in regarding पितृभक्ति as  
another name of आश्वकल्प; vide  
Ulwar cat. extract No. 351 for  
व्रतसार.

श्रीदत्त, son of नामेश्वरमिश्र. Before  
1418 A. D.; a. of एकाग्रिदानपद्धति,  
पुरश्चरणपद्धति, (m. in the एकाग्रि-  
दानपद्धति), आचमनध्यायनपद्धति (pro-  
bably of this author and not of  
the preceding).

श्रीदेव a. of स्तुतितत्त्वप्रकाश.

श्रीधर, son of नामभट्ट विष्णुभट्ट, of  
विश्वामित्रगोत्र. Sec. 81.; a. of  
स्तुत्यर्थसार and श्रीधरीय.

श्रीधर a. of आशौचदशकटीका.

श्रीधर a. of कालविधान.

श्रीधर a. of कालविधानपद्धति. Pro-  
bably the same as above.

श्रीधर son of बालचन्द्र, son of डोल  
who was sole minister of the king

of Delhi. About 1500 A. D.; a.  
of जटमङ्गविलास.

श्रीधर, son of प्रभाकरनाथक; a. of  
नित्यकर्मपद्धति. He was a fol-  
lower of the माध्वनिर्णय re-  
cension of शुक्रयजुर्वेद and based  
his work on कान्यापन; mentions  
रत्नकरण्डिका. Ms. No. 603 (Ba-  
roda O. I.) is dated संवत् 1547  
भाद्रपद (1490 A. D.). He wrote  
also भाष्य on विनायकशान्तिपद्धति.  
Vide Ms. No. 5491 (Baroda O.  
I.). He mentions विज्ञानेश्वर  
therein. The ms. was copied  
in संवत् 1607 माघ शुद्ध १३ (1551  
A. D.). D. C. Ms. No. 119 of  
1884-86 of the नित्यकर्मपद्धति is  
dated संवत् 1434 चैत्र वद्य १४ शनि-  
वासर (i. e. 1378 A. D.).

श्रीधर a. of विश्वामित्रसंहिता.

श्रीधर a. of भट्टवेणवखण्डन.

श्रीधर, son of रामे वर and younger  
brother of नारायणभट्ट. About  
1520-1590 A. D.; a. of साविण्ड्य-  
दीपिका or साविण्ड्यनिर्णय.

श्रीधर (अग्निहोत्रिय), son of श्रीसूर्य, son  
of नामेश; a. of कुण्डलार्णव.

श्रीधरपति a. of दानचाम्दिकावली.

श्रीधरभट्ट a. of व्यक्तहारदशश्लोकी or दाय-  
वशाक.

श्रीधरमिश्र a. of दानवरीक्षा.

श्रीधरसूरि a. of आचारपद्धति.

श्रीधरस्वामिन् m. by रघुनन्दन in एका-  
दशीतत्त्व (vol. II p. 25), in मल-  
मासतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 820, as the  
author of a समुच्चय).

श्रीनाथ आचार्यशूद्रामणि, son of श्रीहर; a. of कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव or कृत्यकालनिर्णय, विवेकार्णव and शुद्धितत्त्वार्णव, आचार-चन्द्रिका, दानचन्द्रिका, and आशु-चन्द्रिका, मृदुदीपिका and उज्ज्वल-आशु-दीपिका or आशुदीपिका, प्रायश्चित्त-विवेक, दुर्गोत्सवविवेक, श्राद्धविवेक and of तात्त्वदीपिका (com. on तिथि-विवेक of शूलपाणि), दाशम्यदिपिनी (com. on दशम्य), आशुविवेक-व्याख्या (com. on शूलपाणि's आशु-विवेक), सारमञ्जरी (com. on उन्मो-नपरिशिष्टप्रकाश of नारायण). Be-  
tween 1470-1540 A. D. as he quotes कुल्लुक, मदनपाणिजित and शुद्धिविन्तामणि of पाचरपति and as his शुद्धितत्त्वार्णव is quoted in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन and as रघुनन्दन speaks of him as his guru and mentions his आशुचन्द्रिका in the पञ्चवेदिव्याख्यतत्त्व (Jivananda vol. II p. 393).

श्रीनाथभट्ट a. of दत्तकनिर्णय.

श्रीनिवास a. of लक्ष्मीसर्पासा.

श्रीनिवास a. of सुबोधिनी com. on जैमिनिपुत्र and of सुबोधिनी on ब्राह्मणपुत्र.

श्रीनिवास a. of धर्मविवेक.

श्रीनिवास a. of शुद्धिदीपिका (com-  
posed in 1159-60 A. D.).

श्रीनिवास a. of सदाचारस्मृति. Pro-  
bly same as above.

श्रीनिवास, pupil of वादवाचार्य; a. of  
आश्लिषकीस्तुत्र a com. on सदा-  
चारस्मृति by आनन्दतीर्थ.

H. D. 95.

श्रीनिवास, pupil of कृष्ण; a. of स्मृति-  
सिन्धु.

श्रीनिवासरतनूबागीश a. of आशीचनिर्णय.

श्रीनिवासरतनू a. of सन्ध्याचन्द्रनभाय.

श्रीनिवासरतनू a. of ब्रह्मोद्गमप्राय-  
श्चित्त.

श्रीनिवासरतनू a. of सदाचारसंग्रह.

श्रीनिवासरतनू, son of श्रीनिकेतन; a. of  
शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका and भेरवाचापरि-  
जात.

श्रीनिवासरतनू a. of प्रायश्चित्तसुबोधिनी

श्रीनिवासरतनू, brother of सीताराम;  
a. of प्रथमचन्द्रिका.

श्रीनिवासरतनू a. of दत्तरत्नप्रदीपिका.

श्रीनिवासरतनू a. of प्रणवदर्पण.

श्रीनिवासरतनू, son of गोविन्दार्य of the  
होशिकगोत्र; a. of तिथिनिर्णयकारिका  
and of श्रीनिवासरतनूदीपिका (on वेत्ता-  
नसूत्र).

श्रीपति a. of अष्टतत्त्वसार.

श्रीपति or नीलकण्ठ a. of वैद्यज्ञवल्क्य.

श्रीपति a. of मुहूर्तसन्माला m. by रघु-  
नन्दन.

श्रीपति a. of श्रवणारनिर्णय m. by रघु-  
नन्दन in एकादशीतत्त्व (vol. II. p.  
39) and in मलमासतत्त्व.

श्रीपति a. of श्रवणारसमुच्चय m. in  
संस्कारतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 928)

श्रीश्रीम vide under श्रीम.

श्रीशुभाचार्य of the भारद्वाजगोत्र, same  
as वल्लभाचार्य; a. of जगद्गुण.

श्रीशैलतताचार्य, son of मुन्दार्य; a. of  
वचनसारसंग्रह.

श्रीहर्षदीक्षित a. of हर्षकौमुदी com. on  
शारदातिलक.

श्लोककान्तापन m. by अपरार्क p. 485.

श्लोकगोमिल m. by हेमाद्रि.

श्लोकमौलम m. by कालविवेक of  
जीवतवाहन, अपरार्क (p. 483), काल-  
माधव (p. 153).

श्लोकध्यास m. in मन्त्र-वा.

श्लोकापस्तम्ब m. in आचारमयूख.

श्वेतकेतु m. in आप. घ. सू. I. 4. 13.  
19.

संकरषणशरण a. of वैष्णवधर्मसुरद्रममञ्जरी.

सचलामित्र a. of स्मृतिसार (B. O. mss.  
cat. vol. I. No. 447 p. 524).

सच्चिदानन्द a. of वैदिकाचारनिर्णय.

सच्चिदानन्दनाथ a. of ललितार्चनचन्द्रिका.

सच्चिदानन्दमरस्वती a. of यतिसिद्धान्त-  
निर्णय.

सद्य (probably a purely astronomi-  
cal writer) m. in कालविवेक (p.  
191) of जीवतवाहन, अपरार्क (p. 550).  
A सन्यासार्थ is mentioned by  
बराहमिहिर (6th century) in his  
बृहज्जातक.

सत्यतपस्व a. of a स्मृति; m. in स्मृति-  
चन्द्रिका, in कालमाधव (p. 88), in  
नि. सि.

सन्यासतीर्थ a. of कर्मप्रकाशिका (com.  
on जयतीर्थ's टीका on कर्मनिर्णय of  
आनन्दतीर्थ).

सत्यव्रत a. of स्मृति; m. by कालविवेक of  
जीवतवाहन (p. 141), आद्यसागर of

कुल्लुक, स्मृतिच०, अपरार्क (pp. 134,  
527, 548).

सत्याशीशशिष्य a. of आशीचसंग्रह.

सदानन्द a. of com. on विष्णुपूजाक्रम-  
दीपिका.

सदानन्द a. of छन्दोगादिक

सदानन्द a. of दिव्यसंग्रह.

सदानन्दस्वामिन् a. of शैवसुधाकर (B.  
O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 387 p.  
454)

सदाशिव son of देवेश्वर; a. of प्राय-  
श्चित्तसंग्रह.

सदाशिव a. of आचारचन्द्रोदय.

सदाशिव a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.

सदाशिव a. of प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह.

सदाशिव, son of सदाशिव of the ब्रह्म-  
family. First quarter of 18th cen-  
tury A. D.; a. of आचारचन्द्रोदय,  
आशीचस्मृतिचन्द्रिका (composed for  
king जयसिंह of जयनगर), लिङ्ग-  
चर्चनचन्द्रिका.

सदाशिव a. of चतुरशीतिज्ञातिप्रकाशित.

सदाशिव, son of विपाठि परमानन्द; a. of  
दानमनोहर (composed in. 1678-  
79 A. D. at the bidding of  
गोविन्द मनोहरदास).

सदाशिव a. of दायभाषटीका.

सदाशिव (same as आपदेव q. v.);  
a. of सायणब्रह्मसंहिता.

सदाशिवदीक्षित a. of ग्रहणज्योतिषिका.

सदाशिवद्विषेदिन् a. of शालग्रामलक्षण.

सनकुमार m. in नि. भि., निर्णयासुत,  
विस्थलीसुत.

सनातनगोरशामिन, son of कुमार and  
pupil of चैतन्य and brother of  
रूप and बल्लभ. About 1500-1550  
A. D.; a. of भक्तिरसासुतसिन्धु and  
हरिभक्तिविलासटीका.

सप्तर्षि- a स्मृति is ascribed to them.  
Vide under सप्तर्षिसंमतस्मृति.

समुद्रकर a. of भाष्य on: श्राद्धसूत्र  
(कात्यायनीय); m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व  
(vol. I pp. 194, 220), आह्निक-  
तत्त्व (vol. I pp. 336, 388),  
तिथितत्त्व (vol. I p. 174), श्रद्धि-  
तत्त्व (vol. II p. 311).

संघमभट्ट About 1000 A. D.; m.  
in कालविवेक of जीमूत (pp. 240,  
255).

सरस्वतीतीर्थ or नरहरि a. of स्मृतिवर्णन.  
About 1300 A. D.

सर्वज्ञनारायण vide under नारायण-  
सर्वज्ञ.

सर्वेश्वर, son of विश्वेश्वर, son of  
भूतेश्वर; a. of स्वयहारसर्वस्व.

सर्वेश्वर, son of लीलाधर; a. of  
संस्थाकारिका.

सर्वोक्त विवेचिन् a. of विवादसामर्थ्य  
(compiled for Sir William  
Jones in 1789).

सहस्ररामिन् m. in com. on आशी-  
चाष्टक of पररुचि.

सांख्यायन vide under आह्वयन.

सामराज a. of व्रतरत्नाकर.

साम्बभट्ट a. of मायवीरपुराणप्रयोग.

साम्बाजी or साबाजी प्रतापराज, son of  
पण्डित वद्वनाम of जामदग्न्यवन्त-  
गोत्र. He was a protegee of  
निजामसाह; a. of परशुरामप्रताप and  
भार्गवानन्ददीपिका (vide ms. No.  
5887 Baroda O. I. for राजवल्लभ-  
काण्ड of the परशुरामप्रताप and  
दानकाण्डपर्य is a part of it).

सायण, brother of माधवाचार्य and  
son of मायण. Vide sec. 92.  
Several works are attributed to  
him, but one cannot be certain  
of their authenticity; a. of गो-  
विलसद्गम्यभाष्य, जातिविवेकशतप्रश्न,  
पुरुषार्थसुधानिधि, संध्याभाष्य, प्राय-  
श्चित्तसुधानिधि, रामतत्त्वप्रकाश, स्मृति-  
संग्रह.

सारङ्गपाणि, son of सुकुन्द; a. of  
विवाहपट्ट.

सार्वभौम (this is a mere title);  
a. of स्मृतिग्रन्थराज, दावभागव्यवस्था.

साहेवराम a. of तीर्थसंग्रह.

सिद्धनाथ a. of तुलादानप्रकरण.

सिद्धलक्ष्मण a. of तिथिनिर्णय (com-  
posed by order of king प्रतापदेव  
of Kalpi).

सिद्धान्तपञ्चानन a. of याज्ञतत्त्व (part  
of वृत्ततत्त्व).

सिद्धान्तवागीश, son of श्रीहर्षाचार्य; a.  
of श्रद्धालोक com. on मिताक्षरा  
(B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 383  
p. 448).

सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य. Not later  
than 1610 A. D.; a. of तार्थ-  
कोमुदी, कृत्यकोमुदी, व्यवहारकोमुदी,  
शुद्धिकोमुदी, संक्रान्तिकोमुदी.



सिद्धान्तवाचस्पति a. of शुद्धिमठम्भद.

सिद्धेश्वर, son of दामोदर, son of शङ्करभट्ट. About 1630-1670 A.D.; a. of संस्कारभास्वर or संस्कारमधुसूत, संस्काराधुत.

सीताराम, son of नरहृण्ड of कौण्डिन्य-गोष; a. of तत्त्वविहृति com. on नीतिप्रकाश of वेदाभ्यास.

सीतारामचन्द्र, son of श्रीधरामन्दु and कामका and grandson of वृन्दि, of कौण्डिन्यगोष; a. of कालनिर्णय-चन्द्रिका.

सीतारामशास्त्रिण a. of दत्तत्रयार्ण.

सुदर्शनचार्प, son of दामिज, Earlier than 1500 A.D.; a. of तात्पर्यदर्शन com. on आपस्तम्बश्रुति (pr. in Kashi S. series); आ-क्षिप्तिमार, तिथिनिर्णय, आद्यनिर्णय; m. in भट्टोजि's com. on चतुर्विंश-तिमत् and in विष्णुस्मृत्यनत, by नारायणभट्ट in his प्रयोगरत्न, in the द्वैतनिर्णय of शङ्करभट्ट. He men- tions कर्माभिधान in the हार्य- दर्शन.

सुन्दर, son of राघव; a. of वाराणसी- दर्पण.

सुन्दरसेन m. in com. on नीतिवाक्या- धुत.

सुबल्लण्य, son of चन्द्रेश. Later than 1400 A.D.; a. अभितवपदशति with com. धर्मप्रदीपिका.

सुमन्तु Sec. 29.

सुरेश्वर a. of पतिसंख्यावार्तिक.

सुरेश्वर a. of तिथिस्वरूप or सर्वतिथि- स्वरूप.

सुरेश्वर उराण्य. Earlier than 1500 A.D.; a. of उपपदसौख्य.

सुरेश्वरस्वामि, pupil of रघुरामतीर्थ; a. of उपपायोदहारनमाला and महादेवपरिषदाप्रयोग.

सुरेश्वराचार्य a. of काशीसूतिमोक्षनिर्णय or काशीमोक्षनिर्णय.

सुशक्तपाचर्य a. of विष्णुतीर्थपञ्चाख्यान.

सुरमिश्र a. of जगन्नाथप्रकाश (compiled under orders of जगन्नाथ, king of हज्जेरा).

शुक्रभट्टलक्ष्मीरविह a. of कालाधुत.

सूर्यपण्डित. Later than 1500 A.D.; a. of com. on कालनिर्णयदीपिका of रामचन्द्राचार्य.

सूर्यकरप्रकाश a. of ज्ञानवली (compiled at the bidding of नवराज).

सूर्यनारायण (इन्द्रगण्ड) a. of आक्षिप- भास्कर.

सूर्यराम a. of कर्मविधाकसार.

सूर्यसेन (reputed) a. of निर्णयधुत.

सोडदेव, son of सौतमदेवनाथ, son of कृष्णदेव who was treasurer (कोषा- धिकारी) to a गौड prince; a. of शेषाधुत (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 389 p. 456).

सोमश्रीति आचार्य a. of सप्तव्यसनकथा- समुच्चय.

सोमवत्त m. in हेमाद्रि (कालखण्ड p. 79).

सोमदेव a. of नीतिवाक्याधुत. He wrote his यज्ञतिलक in śaka 881 (969-70 A.D.).

सोमनाथ a. of भक्तिरहस्य.

सोमनाथ, son of सुबल and द्वापाश्विका and surnamed सकलकल and a resident of जलपाम; a. of जालि माहा (D. C. No. 302 of 1884-1886 is a work in about 160 verses in various metres on लक्ष्मीनिष्ठा, वैराग्य, पार्वतीस्तुति, but not on धर्मशास्त्र or castes).

सोमनाथभट्ट, son of दुरभट्ट of the निमल family; a. of सोमनाथीय.

सोममिश्र m. in अविवाह's प्रवृत्तयति.

सोमशास्त्र a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

सोमशस्तु, pupil of सचिद, pupil of ईशान; a. of कर्मक्रियाकाण्ड (composed in 1073 A. D.). HP. cat. p. XI.

सोमवन्दराक्षिण्य a. of विवाहपटलस्तवक.

सोमेश्वर चलोकात्मल Calukya king, son of विक्रमादित्य. Reigned 1127-1138 A. D.; a. of अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि or मानसोल्लास (composed in śaka 1051 i. e. 1129 A. D.).

सौम्य m. in स्मृतिच०.

सुबलशीर्ष m. in नि. सि.

स्मार्त i. e. रघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्य m. in the अ. म.

स्वल्पयोगलोक m. in कालविषेक of जीमूत-बाहुन; vide p. 286 n. 631.

स्वल्पभर्तृ m. in स्मृतिसार of हरिनाथ.

हरजीभट्ट About 1610 A. D.; a. of सुवर्तचन्द्रकला.

हरदत्त Sec. 86; a. of अनाकुटा (com. on आप. सू. सू.), अनाथिला (com. on आश्व. सू. सू.), उज्ज्वला (com. on आप. घ. सू.), com. on आप-स्तम्बीय मन्त्रप्रश्न or मन्त्रवाह (or एकाग्रिकाण्डमन्त्र), मिताक्षरा (com. on मौ. घ. सू.), com. on आपस्तम्ब-परिभाषासूत्र.

हरदत्त a. of स्मृतिसंग्रह.

हरि a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

हरि a. of सतुदय.

हरि, son of नरसिंह of the अष्टपुत्र family; a. of एकादशीनिवेष्ट (composed at विराटनगर, modern Wai, on the Kṛṣṇa river).

हरि a. of शिबाराधनदीपिका.

हरिकृष्ण सिद्धांत a. of मकरन्दप्रकाश. (ms. dated 1668 A. D.)

हरियण a. of व्यवहारसमुच्चय.

हरिविरि a. of कुक्ष्येजानुक्रमणिका.

हरिजीवनमिश्र a. of स्नानसूत्रपद्धति.

हरिवत् son of सुधर; a. of कर्मदीपिका (ms. No. 6892, Baroda O. I.).

हरिदत्तमिश्र a. of तिथिचमित्रका.

हरिदत्तमिश्र a. of व्यवहारपरिभाषा.

हरिदास, son of पुरुषोत्तम; a. of प्रस्ता-वरत्नाकर (composed in संवत् 1614 i. e. 1557-58 A. D.).

हरिदास, son of वत्सराज; a. of लेख-मुक्तामणि. Earlier than 1625 A. D.

हरिदासतर्काचार्य m. by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 243)

हरिदीक्षित a. of com. on दायभाग.

हरिदेवभट्ट m. in आश्वसागर of कुल्लुक-  
भट्ट.

हरिदेवसूरी a. of विवाहपटल.

हरिनन्दन a. of सुहृत्तरत्नाकर.

हरिनन्दन a. of गङ्गाभास्करिकाश ( com-  
posed in 1795-96 A. D. ).

हरिनाथ Sec. 91 ; a. of स्मृतिसार or  
-सारसमुच्चय.

हरिनाथमिश्र a. of दत्तकतत्त्वनिर्णय or  
-विनिर्णय.

हरिनाथाचार्य a. of सङ्केतकौमुदी, मन्ता-  
नदीपिका.

हरिनारायण a. of मूर्तमञ्जरी.

हरिनारायण a. of वर्षकृत्य.

हरिनारायण a. of शुद्धितत्त्वकारिका  
( based on रघुनन्दन's work ).

हरिनारायण ( a title of वैरचसिंह king of  
मिथिला ) a. of महाणव divided  
into seven तरङ्ग on कृत्य, आचार,  
विवाद, व्यवहार, दान, शुद्धि and आश्व.  
B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 76  
p. 69 contains the first viz. on  
कृत्य.

हरिप्रसाद, son of मकरन्द ; a. of आचार-  
तत्त्व.

हरिप्रसाद, son of गङ्गेश or गङ्गेश्वर of  
मथुरा ; a. of सद्धर्मतत्त्वार्थ in 62  
verses.

हरिप्रसादशर्मन a. of प्रतिष्ठाप्रकाश.

हरिभट्ट a. of सुहृत्तरत्नाकर.

हरिभट्ट a. of विवाहपटल.

हरिभट्टदीक्षित a. of अन्वयकर्मदीपिका

हरिभाबु शुक्ल a. of शास्त्रसारावली.

हरिभास्करशर्मन, son of आपाजिभट्ट or  
आपाजिभट्ट. Vide under भास्कर-  
शर्मन.

हरिमिश्र a. of विधवाविवाहविचार.

हरिराम Later than 1600 A. D. ; a. of  
com. on अविस्मृति, of आद्विकसार, of  
com. on छन्दोगपरिशिष्टप्रकाश of  
नारायण, of प्रायश्चित्तसार, of com.  
on गृह्यस्मृति, of com. on मलमास-  
तत्त्व, of व्यवहारप्रकाश, आश्ववर्णन,  
षट्कर्मविवेक.

हरिराय a. of शिवपूजनपद्धति.

हरिराय गोस्वामिन a. of तत्त्वप्रज्ञाविवेक.

हरिलाल a. of दीपिका ( com. on  
आचारादर्श of श्रीदत्त ).

हरिलालमिश्र a. of तिथ्युक्तिरत्नावली.

हरिवंश m. as a predecessor in काल-  
विवेक of जीवन्त and in शुद्धितत्त्व  
of रघु ( vol. II. p. 295 ).

हरिसङ्कर a. of पात्राप्रयोगतत्त्व.

हरिशर्मन Earlier than 1500 A. D. ; m.  
in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघु ( vol. I p.  
531 ) as भाष्यकार of पारस्करशुद्ध, in  
शुद्धितत्त्व ( vol. II. p. 305 ), उद्वाह-  
तत्त्व ( vol. II. p. 143 ) etc. ; in  
यजुर्वेदिशास्त्रतत्त्व ( vol. II. p. 488 )  
हरिहर and हरिशर्मन are separately  
mentioned in the same sentence  
on a passage of the काशीयपद्य.

हरिश्चन्द्र a. of धर्मसंग्रह.

हरि सामन्तराज, son of कृष्ण ; a. of  
सुप्रकाश.

हरिसेन of Benares ; a. of राजनीति.

हरिहर a. of com. on आक्षौचदशाक or दशश्लोकी. Ms. (Baroda O. I.) No. 1526 is dated शके 1448.

हरिहर (probably the same as हरिहर above) a jurist m. in वि. र.

हरिहर a. of com. on छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट-प्रकाश of नारायण.

हरिहर a. of प्रयोगरत्न.

हरिहर, son of भास्कर alias भानुभट्ट ; a. of अल्पवेष्टिपद्धति (following the भारद्वाजसूत्र).

हरिहर आग्निहोत्रिन् Sec. 84. Between 1275-1400 ; a. of भाष्य on पारस्करसूत्रसूत्र and पद्धति thereon and of com. on स्नानविधिसूत्र of कात्यायन.

हरिहरपाण्डित, son of नारायण ; a. of आचारसंग्रह.

हरिहरभट्टाचार्य a. of समयप्रदीप (composed in śake 1481 i. e. 1559-60 A. D.).

हरीश्वर a. of शास्त्रिपरिच्छेद (B. O. Mss. cat. vol. I. No. 379 p. 434). Later than 1450, as he mentions रत्नाकर and शास्त्रिविवेक.

हर्ष or श्रीहर्षदीक्षित a. of हर्षकौमुदी (com.) on शारदातिलक.

हर्षणभट्ट m. in आश्वसागर of कुल्लूक.

हलधरदीक्षित, son of पद्मनाभ ; a. of स्मृतिवर्षण.

हलायुध 1000-1100 A. D. ; a jurist m. in कल्पतरु, वि. र., स्मृतिसार of हरिनाथ.

हलायुध, son of धनञ्जय of the बालगोत्र, brother of ईशान and पशुपति. Sec. 72. ; a. of ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व, पाण्डितसर्वस्व, वैष्णवसर्वस्व, शैवसर्वस्व, कर्मोपदेशिनी.

हलायुध a. of com. on आश्वपद्धति of पशुपति.

हलायुध, son of सङ्कर्षण. Between 1200-1400 A. D. ; a. of com. प्रकाश on the आश्वकल्पसूत्र of कात्यायन. Vide p. 301 above.

हलायुध, son of पुरुषोत्तम ; a. of पुराणसर्वस्व (composed in 1474 A. D.).

हलायुध a. of संचयनप्रदीप (mentioned in the एकादशीतत्त्व and क्षुधितत्त्व).

हलायुधभट्ट a. of com. on the मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर.

हलिरामशर्मन् a. of कामरूपशास्त्रापद्धति.

हारीत. Sec. 11, 56 ; a. of धर्मसूत्र and (another हारीत) a. of a स्मृति in verse on स्वयम्भार &c.

हिरण्यकेतु m. in आश्वसागर of कुल्लूक.

हिरण्यकोशिन् a. of धर्मसूत्र, पितृमेघसूत्र, श्रृंगसूत्र.

हृदयनाथ a. of नान्दीमुखनिरूपण (B. O. mss. cat. No. 242 p. 264) ; ms. dated शके 1753.

हृदयानन्द विद्यालङ्कार a. of ज्योतिःसार-संग्रह.

हेमकरभट्ट m. by कुल्लुक in आश्वलायन.

हेमाचार्य a. of अहंशीति. Flourished between 1088-1172 A. D.

हेमाद्रि, son of कामदेव, son of वामदेव. Sec. 87; a. of चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि, आश्वकल्प (according to कात्यायन).

हेमाद्रि a. of त्रिखलीषिधि.

हेमाद्रि a. of लक्षणसमुच्चय.

होरिलमित्र (or होलिल); a. of परमेश्वरीदासायि or सद्युतिसंग्रह, आश्वकल्पप्रदीप (Ulwar cat. extract No. 355), आश्वकल्पदीप.



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